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ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA:

A COLLECTION OF INSCRIPTIONS

SUPPLEMENTARY TO

THE CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

OF THE

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY,

TRANSLATED BY ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

EDITED BY

JAS BURGESS, CIE, LL D, FRSE.

HON A F I A, F P G S M R A S, M S O C A S P A R I S,

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VOLUME II

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PREFACE.

AS I remarked in the Preface to the former volume, this is properly to be regarded as one of the series of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, and practically may stand as the fifth volume of that publication indeed, but that I had hoped the series of the *Corpus* would be resumed at an early date, these two "supplementary" volumes would also have borne the title chosen by the late General Sir A. Cunningham.

This volume completes what I had undertaken and closes my work in connexion with Indian Epigraphy. Among other papers, it contains a new and corrected edition of the Harsha inscription, first published by the Rev Dr Mill nearly sixty years ago, now edited by Professor Kielhorn from excellent impressions obtained for me by Colonel S. S. Jacob, C. I. E. The Badâl pillar inscription first published by Sir Charles Wilkins in 1788 has also been anew translated by the same scholar, from Mr H. B. W. Garrick's fresh impressions. The Pillar and Rock Edicts of Asoka have been finally revised by Professor Buhler, who has also continued the very important series of short epigraphs discovered by Dr Fuhrer at Mathura, along with the extensive collection of votive inscriptions made by the same scholar at Sânci.

The very early Bauddha inscriptions discovered by Alex. Rea, Esq., of the Madras Archæological Survey, in the brick remains of a Stûpa at Bhattiprolu in the Krishnâ district, have also been edited by the same able scholar. This important discovery was reported to the Madras Government by Mr Rea on 22nd February, 1892, and his letter was printed in G. O. of 22nd April 1892, No. 270. It will be interesting in connexion with the epigraphs to give some details of the discovery here. Mr R. Sewell (*Lists of Antiquarian Remains in Madras Presidency*, p. 77) states that this Stûpa "was greatly demolished a few years ago" (i. e. before 1882) for the "purpose of making a road, and some of the marble sculptures were utilized in building a sluice on the Krishnâ canal close by, where the road to Vellatûru crosses the canal. I have it direct from the officer chiefly concerned in the demolition that the mound was between 30 and 40 feet high, of a circular shape like a dome, but ruined at the top, that there was a marble pillar standing erect, and sculpture here and there in marble. He found inside the dome a casket made of six small slabs of stone dove-tailed into one another measuring about 2½ feet by 1½ feet by 1 foot. Inside this was a common clay *châtti*, and inside the *châtti* a neat casket made of 'soap-stone,' which contained a crystal phial. In the phial was a pearl, a few bits of gold-leaf and some ashes. Wishing to remove his discoveries, the stone casket was accidentally broken and the remains were left at Bhattiprolu. The *châtti* was also broken. The

'soap-stone' casket was smashed during a voyage to England and the fragments thrown away. The crystal phial was presented to Dr Burnell."

"The villagers of Bhattiprolu told me that they remember some railing or wall, which they described as about four feet high, surrounding the tope"*

Mr Rea found that the building had been of solid brick work throughout, and that a portion of the base of the dome and the wall of the procession-path at the south-east quadrant, were intact. From these he made out that the dome must have had a diameter of 132 feet and the base of 148 feet,—being thus about ten feet larger than the Amarāvati stūpa. Outside the basement, and 8 feet below the present surface, he found a brick floor about 12 feet broad, at the outer edge of which were fragments of marble,—probably of the great enclosing rail.

"I learned," he says, in his very instructive report, "that the casket had been found just above the summit of the remaining portion of the brick dome. I ascertained this point to be 15 feet above the level of the floor of the procession-path which surrounds the building. Although this casket had been found, I considered that, as the principal deposit is usually placed down in the centre near the foundation, or at the level of the procession-path, there was a great probability of there being another. After having found the centre of the circular brick-work, which, through the demolition, is not now in the middle of the mound but considerably towards the north, I saw that the bricks there had not been touched. In the centre was a narrow well, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, filled with earth. This hole, it appears, was open when the top of the stūpa was removed, and was then sounded with a rope to a depth of about 15 feet from the present surface. Around it were courses of eight bricks radiating from the centre to a diameter of 3 feet. These bricks I removed to a depth of 14 feet 6 inches.

"At that depth I came on a large, irregular, triangular slab of black stone laid on the outside of the excavated shaft. The two inner sides of the stone radiated from the centre, its outer side was curved concentric with the brick-work, and extended a foot into the wall of the shaft. It would have lain clear, had another ring of brick-work been removed, making the shaft 5 feet in diameter, but I did not expect to find more than one casket, in the centre. On removing it, I found a rectangular cutting on the under surface of the stone measuring 11 inches by 8 inches and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep. The length was placed east and west. Below it was another similar but thicker stone with a raised rectangular rim on its upper surface cut to fit into the hollow in the upper stone. The inner sides of this rectangle slope down into a circular cavity 5 inches deep. The

* Conf. Ind. Ant. vol I, pp 153, 374, vol III, p 124, *Madras G. O.* 1st Nov. 1878, No 1620, pp 33, 34

upper surface of the lower stone is smooth, and cut on it, round the four sides of the casket-chamber, are two lines of an inscription in characters similar to those of the Asoka inscriptions" (see Nos 1 and 11, pp. 326, 327).

In the cavity, was a small globular black stone relic-casket. Around the casket and mixed with some earth which filled the cavity, were the following objects:—2 small hemispherical hollow copper or bell-metal (?) cups, 1½ inches in diameter; they fit into each other, and one bears traces of some sort of resin having been inside. On the apex of one is a gold bead, 1½ inches in diameter; the other has had a gold bead also, which was found in the earth alongside. 1 copper finger ring and several bits of copper. 1 small bead. 2 double pearls. and the following articles in gold, weighing collectively 2 tola and 13 grams (i.e., 118 grams) viz, 1 single and 1 double gold bead. 7 small triangular pieces. 4 lotus flowers in thin sheets with eight blue petals, each 1½ inches across. 2 trisulas in thin plates each 1½ inches by 1 inch. 1 hexagonal crystal with slightly convex sides, 2½ inches by 1 inch, pierced with a hole through its axis. On each of the side of the prism is lightly traced an inscription in the same character as that on the stone (see No 8, p. 329).

"The two hemispherical vessels lay on the west side of the casket, the crystal prism, gold flowers and other articles on the east. The relic-casket 1½ inches in diameter by 1½ inches in height. The lid fits by a groove into the lower portion. Inside was a cylindrical crystal phial 2½ inches in diameter by 1½ inches in height. It is moulded on the sides, flat on the top and bottom, and has its lid fitted in the same manner as the stone receptacle. Inside is a flat piece of bone, half an inch across, smooth on one side and coiled on the other. It seems to be a piece of a small bone.

"In the stone casket below the phial were—9 small lotus flowers in gold-leaf, 6 gold beads over an eighth of an inch in diameter, and 8 smaller, 4 small lotus flowers in thin copper, 19 small pierced pearls, 1 slightly blue coloured amethyst bead and 24 small coins or tokens of a light coloured metal, some of them resembling bell-metal. They are plain on the reverse and on the obverse have lotus flowers, trisulas, feet with a snake coiled round, and other emblems more or less legible. They were laid on the bottom of the casket—with the smooth sides down—in the form of a *svastika*, and had become fixed to the stone by oxidation. In the *svastika*, nine of the coins were in the central rectangle, three on each of the four arms, and the other three over the centre. The flowers and beads seem also to have been originally arranged symmetrically. An example of this symbolic use of the *svastika* was found in the centre of the stûpa at Pedda Ganjâm.

“ At a depth of 17 feet, was another black stone, on the north side of the well, and, like the first, sunk a foot into the wall. It is roughly triangular in form, with rounded corners, and measures about 2 feet across, by 10 inches thick. On the top is a circle, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, raised half an inch. The under-side is smooth with a circular hollow 12 inches in diameter and half an inch deep. The circle is filled in with an inscription in 18 lines (No iii, p 327), while around it, are two others in two lines (Nos iv and v, p 328). All had the letters filled in with white. Below it was a stone, roughly rectangular, with rounded corners. In it is a circular cavity $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter at the top and 4 at the bottom. Round the top is a raised rim $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, and on the upper surface, round the hole, are inscriptions in two lines (Nos. vi and vii, p 328). The characters are the same as those of the inscription first described. The letters were filled with *chunam*, evidently that they might show distinctly in the black stone. The cavity was nearly filled with earth and had no inner stone casket. In it was a crystal phial $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches high. Its lid is moulded like a *dāgaba*. The top and bottom were lying separate and filled with earth. There was no sign of a relic inside. Mixed with the earth in the stone cavity were,—164 lotus leaves and buds, 2 circular flowers, a *trisūla*, and a three-armed figure like a *svastika*,—all in gold leaf, 2 gold stems for the lotus flowers—one of them attached, 6 gold beads, and 1 small coiled gold ring. The lotus leaves (or petals) are of different sizes, having been fitted inside each other as in the flower itself. The beads represent the opening buds. These articles weigh collectively close on $1\frac{3}{4}$ tolas (315 grs.) Also, two pearls, 1 garnet; six coral beads and one bit of the same material, 1 slightly blue, flat, oval, crystal bead, one pointed, oval, white crystal bead, and two green tinged, flat, hexagonal beryl drops. One is $\frac{1}{8}$ and the other $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in length, a number of bits of corroded copper leaf, including lotus flowers, stems, a miniature umbrella, and one or more thin sheets of silver folded flat into about eight thicknesses. The metal of the latter is much corroded and extremely brittle. It will be impossible to unfold the sheets. One side is broken but the fragments remain. The largest piece measures 2 inches by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and shows some letters or symbols pricked on with a metal point.

“ At a depth of 18 feet another black stone lay sunk a foot into the wall on the east side of the shaft. It is an irregular circular stone measuring about 2 feet 3 inches across, by 10 inches thick. On its under surface is a circular space sunk half an inch with an inscription in eight lines (No viii, p. 328). The letters were whitened. This stone lay on the top of another, roughly square in shape, and measuring 2 feet 5 inches by 2 feet 3 inches by 11 inches thick. On the upper side is a circular cavity $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches deep.

7½ inches broad at the top and 5 inches at the bottom. On the top is a rim 2¼ inches broad which fits into the hollow in the upper stone. On the upper surface of the stone, round the rim, is an inscription in one line, with letters whitened (No 1x, p 329).

"The cavity was nearly filled with earth. In it were 1 crystal phial of the shape of that found inside the second stone receptacle but slightly larger. It measures 2½ inches in diameter by 3 inches high. The two pieces were filled with earth and lay apart.

"Close to the phial, was found the actual relic casket with the relics inside. It is made of a large beryl measuring $\frac{7}{8}$ inch in length, by $\frac{1}{2}$ inch, by $\frac{3}{4}$ inch. A cylindrical hole, $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in diameter, is drilled in its axis, in which are the relics,—three small pieces of bone. The hole is closed by a small white crystal stopper with hexagonal bulbous top. The necking is covered with gold leaf, and another sheet of the same material is fixed outside on the bottom. This unique casket had been originally placed inside the crystal phial, but had been displaced probably by shaking of the stone when it was laid. There was also in the cavity —1 amethyst bead $\frac{1}{8}$ inch long, another smaller, and 1 yellow coloured crystal bead, 1 small hexagonal crystal drop of a slightly yellowish colour, and another flat one of white crystal, 1 bone bead, 6 pearls, and 32 seed pearls, all pierced, 30 lotus flowers, a bent two-armed figure, and a quatre-foil in gold leaf, a piece of seemingly decomposed quartz having the appearance of salt but insoluble in water, a few bits of copper, and an iron (?) cinder.

"The inscriptions are of importance, as, being found in connection with the relics, they must be contemporaneous with the foundation of the stûpa, and shew it to have been an early one."

This report by Mr Rea is a model of accurate and careful detail such as is seldom met with in such papers, and throws all the light possible in the circumstances on the discovery of these early Bauddha inscriptions. The whole of the objects found have been delivered by Mr Rea to the Central Museum at Madras.

The volume concludes with a paper supplementary to that given in the previous one by Professor H Jacobi of Bonn University, completing his ingenious method of computing accurately Hindu dates found in ancient documents. The table of contents will show the list of other papers and the names of the respective contributors. To all of them my best thanks are tendered. To Dr A Fuhrer, Ph D, as assistant editor, I am deeply indebted for much valuable assistance in many ways, ever readily rendered.

JAS BURGESS

22, SETON PLACE, EDINBURGH

August, 1894

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

I—JABALPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF YASAHKARNADEVA [A D 1122]

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH D., C I E., GÖTTINGEN

This inscription, of which I am unable to say where¹ or by whom it was discovered, was engraved on two plates. Both plates were deposited in the Nāgpur Museum, where a Devanāgarī transcript of the whole inscription was made which seems to exist still and which will be referred to below. Subsequently the second of the two plates was either lost or stolen. But the first plate is still in the Museum, and, since the inscription even in its fragmentary state is of some importance, being the only one of the Chedi king Yaśahkarnadeva hitherto discovered, I edit it now from five rubbings and impressions which during the last two or three years have been kindly supplied to me by Dr Burgess, Mr Flect, and Colonel J. A. Temple.²

The plate is inscribed on one side only, and measures about 1' 6½" broad by 1' high. At the bottom it has a round hole, about ⅝" in diameter, for a ring which has probably disappeared together with the missing plate. The writing has suffered a good deal from corrosion, and there are in consequence several *alsharas* which cannot be read with absolute certainty. But, fortunately, everything of historical importance is clear and distinct, and there is no doubt about the purport of any part of the inscription. The size of the letters is between ⅜" and ⅞". The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. Excepting the introductory *om om namo Vrahmane* and a few words at the end, the inscription is in verse. The total number of verses is 21, of which 16 occur also in the Kumbhī copper-plate inscription of Gosaladevi.³ As regards orthography, the letter *ḥ*

¹ I call the plate the Jabalpur plate, because it is so called by Sir A. Cunningham. The district of 'Javalipattana or Jāuli patan' was apparently mentioned in the lost portion of the inscription. See the references in note 2, below.

² See Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, 2nd edition, Introduction, pp. li and lii, and Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. IX, pp. 87 and 88. Several of the statements which have been made regarding this inscription, on the basis of the Nāgpur Museum transcript, are very incorrect. Thus, according to one account, the inscription is one of Karnadeva, according to another it belongs to Gayalarna, and the transcript is said to read *Sri-mahesa Karna*; but there can be no doubt that the inscription belongs to Yaśahkarna and that, what the copyist had before him in the now lost plate, was *Srīmad-Yaśahkarna*. Karnadeva is said to have built a fort named Karna Meru from which flowed the river Karnavati, in reality Karna built a temple at Banaras, which the poet describes as Karna's Meru, and he founded the town of Karnavati. The same Karna is said to have conquered Bhīmaśvara, king of Andhra, who is identified with Bhīma II, one of the eastern Chulukyas. What the inscription really says is, that Yaśahkarna defeated the king of Andhra, and that he subsequently presented the holy Bhīmaśvara (or Śiva) with many ornaments. [See page 7, note 48—E. H.]

³ Edited and translated in the *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. VIII, pp. 433—495, and re-edited by Dr F. E. Hall, *ib.*, vol. XXXI, pp. 116—129. It will be seen that the present inscription, in verses 3, 5, 8, 12, 14, and 20, furnishes decidedly better readings than those given by Dr Hall, and that in verse 21 it supplies certain words which have been either omitted or given quite wrongly in the published versions of the Kumbhī inscription.

is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, and the dental sibilant is frequently employed instead of the palatal, besides, *ś* is used for *s* in the word *śārdḍham*, in line 21, and *j* for *y* in *tiṇāmā*, in line 15

The metrical portion of the inscription, after mentioning, like the Kumbhī and other Chedi inscriptions, a number of divine and semi-divine beings, gives the usual genealogy of the Kalachuri (or Chedi) kings of Tripuri, from Yuvaiśjadēva down to the reigning king Yaśahkarnadeva (Yuvaiśjadēva, Kokalla, Gāṅgeyadeva, also called Vikramāditya, Karnadeva, who married the Hūna princess Āvalladevī, and Yaśahkarnadeva). And, in addition to the well-known facts that Gāṅgeyadeva with his hundred wives obtained final salvation at Prayāga, and that Karnadeva founded the town of Karnāvatī, it only records (in verse 13) that Karnadeva also built a magnificent temple at Kāśī or Benares, where evidently verse 13 was composed, and (in verse 23) that Yaśahkarnadeva defeated the ruler of Andhra, in the vicinity of the river Godāvarī.

Of the prose portion of the inscription only a few words remain. But from these words—‘and this *Paramabhaktāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, who [meditates on] the feet of the illustrious Vāmadeva,’⁴—it is clear that the inscription must have recorded a grant made by, or during the reign of, the king who in the metrical portion is mentioned last, *i.e.*, Yaśahkarnadeva. And it is fortunate that the Nāgpur Museum transcript, inaccurate as it is in other respects, enables us to ascertain the time when this grant was made, in my opinion, with certainty. We know that Yaśahkarnadeva was succeeded by his son Gayakarnadeva, and we possess an inscription of this Gayakarnadeva⁵ which must have been put up towards the end of his reign and which bears a date corresponding to the 17th June, A. D. 1151. Yaśahkarnadeva would therefore have ceased to reign some time before, and probably at such a distance from, A. D. 1151, as would suit the relation to each other of father and son. Now according to the Nāgpur Museum transcript of the present inscription⁶ the grant recorded in it was made ‘at the time of the Makara-samkrānti, on Monday, the 10th of the waning moon of Māgha.’ And during the sixty years preceding A. D. 1151, the only year which fulfils these conditions is A. D. 1122. For in that year⁷ the 10th of the dark half of Māgha fell by the *pūrnimānta* scheme on Monday, the 25th December, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 8 h 39 m after mean sunrise, and in the same year the Makara-samkrānti took place 15 minutes before mean sunrise of, or for religious purposes on, the same Monday. And I have no doubt that Monday, the 25th December A. D. 1122, corresponding, with my epoch of the Chedi era, to Māghabadi 10 of Chedi-samvat 874, is the true date of the grant, and that this is a reliable date for Yaśahkarnadeva, whose reign probably ended shortly afterwards.

⁴ Compare *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 225

⁵ See *ib.*, vol. XVIII, p. 210

⁶ See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. IX, p. 88

⁷ See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 218. After I had made the necessary calculations regarding the above date for my paper on the epoch of the Chedi era and found the above result, I learnt from Mr. Fleet that, according to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's calculations, in the century Śaka-samvat 1000 to 1100 (A. D. 1078–1178) the only year in which the Makara-samkrānti occurred on a Monday, which was the 10th lunar or solar day of the month Māgha, was Śaka-samvat 1044 expired (A. D. 1122–23).

TEXT⁸

L 1

ओं⁹ [॥^{*}] ओ नमो ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणे ॥

जयति जलजनाभस्तस्य नाभीसरोज जयति जयति तस्माज्जातवानज(ज)सूतिः ॥(1)

अथ जयति स तस्यापत्यमतिस्तदक्षस्तदनु जयति जन्म प्राप्तवा-

2

नन्विवन्धु.^{10,11}—[1]अथ वी(वी)धनमादिराजपुत्र गृहजामातरमजवान्ववस्य¹² ।तनय जनयाव(व)भूव राजा गगनाभोगतडागराजहस ॥¹³—[2]

पुत्र पुरुरवसमौरसमाप सू-

3

तुर्देवस्य सप्तजलरासि(शि)रसायनस्य ।

आसीदनन्यसमभाग्यशतोपभोग्या यस्योर्व्वसी(शी) च सुकलत्रमिहोर्व्वरा च ॥¹⁴—[3]

अ[त्रा]न्वये किल शताधिकसप्तिमेधयूपोरुद्वयमुनो-

4

क्तविविक्तकीर्त्तिः ॥(1)

सप्ताब्धि(ब्धि)रत्नरस(श)नाभरणाभिरामविस्त्र(स्त्र)भ[रा]सु(श)भरतो भरतो व(व)भूव ॥ —[4]

हेलागृहीतपुनरुक्तसमस्तस(श)स्त्रो गोत्रे जयत्यधिकमस्य स कार्त्तवीर्यं ॥(1)

अ-

5

तैव हेहयनृपान्वयपूर्व्वपुंसि राजेति नाम स(श)शलक्ष्मणि चक्षमे य ॥ —[5]

स हिमाचल इव कलचुरिवस(श)मसूत क्षमाभृता भर्त्ता [॥^{*}]

मुक्तामणिभिरिवामलहत्तै, पूत महीप-

6

तिभि. ॥¹⁵—[6]

तत्रान्वये नयवता प्रवरो नरेन्द्र पौरन्दरीमिव पुरी त्रिपुरी पुनान ॥(1)

आसीन्मदान्यनृपगन्धगजाधि[राज]निर्मायकेसरियुवा युवराजदेव ॥¹⁶—[7]

सिंहासने नृप-

7.

तिसिंहमसुथ सूनुमारूपद्रवनिभर्त्तुरमात्यमुख्या. ॥(1)

कोकलमण्णवचतुष्टयवीचिसघसघट्टरुद्धचतुरङ्गचसूप्रचार ॥ —[8]

इन्दुप्रभा निदति हारगुच्छ जुगुप्सते

8

चदनमाक्षिपन्ती [॥]

यत्र प्रभौ दूरतर प्रयाते वियोगिनीव प्रतिभाति कीर्त्ति ॥¹⁷—[9].मरकतमणिपट्टप्रौढवक्षाः स्मिताक्षो¹⁸ नगरपरिघदैघी¹⁹ (धै) लघय[न्दो]र्द्वयेन ।

[शिर]सि

9

कुलिस(श)पातो वैरिणा वीरलक्ष्मीपतिरभवदपत्य यस्य गाङ्गेयदेव. ॥¹⁹—[10]

सवीरसिंहासनमौलिर[त्र] स विक्रमादित्य इति प्रसिद्ध ।

य[स्माद]कस्मादप[वर्गं ?]-

8 From impressions supplied to me by the Editor and by
Mr Fleet.

9 Expressed by a symbol

10 Read °नन्विवन्धु

11 Metre, Mālinī.

12 Read °ननवान्ववस्य.

13 Metre, Apachchhandasika

4 Metre of verses 3—5, Vasantatilakā.

15 Metre, Āryā

16 Metre of verses 7 and 8, Vasantatilakā. As the noun *nirmātha* does not seem to occur anywhere else, I suspect it to have been put wrongly for *nirmāthi* (*nirmāthin*)

17 Metre, Upajati

18 This word is quite clear in the rubbings

19 Metre, Mālinī

- L 10 मिच्छन्नकु[च्छ]ल[ः][कुं स्वजि²¹]ता व(व)भार ।(॥)²⁰—[11]
 प्राप्ते प्रयागवटमूलनिवेस(श)व(व)न्धौ सार्धं शतेन गृहिणीभिरमुत्र मुक्ति ।
 पुत्रोऽस्य खड्गदलि[तारि]करोन्द्रकुम्भमुक्ताफलेः
- 11 स्म²¹कुम्भोर्चति कर्णदेवः ॥²²—[12]
 कनकसि(शि)खरवेन्नैजयन्तीसमीरग्लपितग[ग]नखेलत्वेचरोचक्रखे[ट] ॥(१)
 किमपरमिह काम्या(श्या) य[स्य] दुग्धाब्धि(ब्धि)वीचीवल[यव(व)?]-
- 12 हल[कीर्त्तः] कीर्त्तनं कर्णमेरु, ॥²³—[13]
 अग्र धाम स्ने(शे)यसो वेदविद्यावल्लीकद स्व.स्रवन्त्या¹ किरीट [१*]
 ब्र(व्र)ह्मस्तभो येन कर्णावतीति प्रत्य[ष्टापि] च्मातलब्र(व्र)ह्मलो[क]
- 13 ॥²⁴—[14]
 अजनि कलचुरीणा स्वामिना तेन हृणान्वयजलनिधिलक्ष्म्या श्रीमदावल्लदेव्यां ॥(१)
 शशभृदुदयम(श)ङ्गाक्षुब्ध(ब्ध)दुग्धाब्धि(ब्धि)वेलासहचरितयस(श) श्रीः श्रीयस(श);कर्ण-
- 14 देव ॥²⁵—[15]
 [चद्रार्कदीप]वति पर्वतराजपूर्णकुम्भावभामिनि महा[ब्धि(ब्धि)]चतुष्कमध्ये[१*]
 चक्रे पुगेहितपुर[स्कृ]तिपूत[कम्पा] धर्मात्मनोऽस्य हि पितेव महाभिपेक ॥²⁶—[16]
 न
- 15 खलु स[मदगो]ष्ठीपक्षपातस्य पात्र ।²⁷न खलु कलुषचर्याकञ्जलो[ज्ञावकय?] ॥(१)
 कलयति कलिनामन्युद्धमं यस्त्रिजा(या)मातममि जयति जम्बू(म्बू)द्वीपरत्नप्रदीप ॥²⁸—[17].
 चिन्ता-
- 16 मणि[क्षण?]सु(श)क्तियु[ग्म]क्रोडे स्याद्यदि कामधेनुदग्ध [१*]
 दृश्ये(शे)त दृशोस्तस्य दातु. मादृश्य(श) [ध]वलारुणेक्षणस्य । (॥)²⁹—[18]
 य ककुप्कुञ्जगलानस्तभमव्र(व्र)ह्मचारिण ।
- 17 [आरा(शा)न्ते]पु जयस्तम्भानुदस्तभयदुचकै ॥³⁰—[19]
 यो ब्र(व्र)ह्मण पाणिपु पक्षपाणि दाता³¹निधत्ते पयस³² पृपन्ति [१*]
 तेरेव तृष्णामवधय ते च ग्लाकरोपि प्रययन्त्वव[ज्ञा ॥]³³—[20]
- 18 महीभर्ता महादानैस्संस्तुलापुरुषादिभि. [१]
 गरिम्णा [मि]रुत्थर्थ कृतार्थयति योर्विन । (॥)³⁴—[21]
 स्वर्गराजगजदन्तरुचीनि चीरनीरनिधिस(श)खसु(श)चीनि ।
 मा(शा)ङ्गि-
- 19 [विप?]फणिककुम्भामि स्कीतता दधति यस्य यसा(शा)मि ॥³⁵—[22]
 अन्धाधीस(श)मरन्ध्रदोर्विलसित खच्छन्दमुच्छिन्दता
 येनाभ्यर्चयत भूरिभि स भगवान्भीमस्व(श्व)रो

²¹ Metre, Uṣṇāḥ

²² This word is quite clear in the rubbings

²³ Metre, Vasumatilal

²⁴ Metre, Mahim

²⁵ Metre, Śilim

²⁶ Metre, Mahim

²⁷ Metre, Vasumatilal

²⁸ This sign of punctuation is superfluous
 Metre, Mahim

²⁹ Metre, Bhadraviraj The third Pada wants one short syllable, between *dris* and *tasya* I would suggest reading *tadāsyā*

³⁰ Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh)

³¹ This is quite clear in the rubbings

³² Metre, Indrayajā

³³ Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh)

³⁴ Metre, Svagita

L 20

[भूष]यै. ॥(1)

यस्या[व]र्ण[यदात्त?]नृत्त्वलहरीद्रुवस्त्रिगोदावरी

[वीर्याण्यु?]न्मदहसनादमधुरै स्रोत स्वरै. सप्तभि. ॥(॥)³⁵—[23]

कुर्वन्मही त्रा(त्रा)ह्मणसा-

21

दरिद्रनिव(व)र्हण [1*]

शा(सा)र्ह परसु(शु)रामेण य स्र्दामधिरोहति ॥³⁶—[24]

स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रस्त्रीवामदेवपा-

.

TRANSLATION

Om !

Om ! Adoration to Brahman !

(Verse 1) Glorious is (*the god*) whose navel is a lotus, glorious is the lotus which is his navel, (*and*) glorious is (*the god*) born from that lotus ! Glorious also is his offspring Atri, and glorious is the friend of the ocean who took his birth from Atri's eye!³⁷

(2) Now the king³³ who is the swan in the lake of the expanse of heaven begat as his offspring Bodhana, the son of (*that*) primeval king (*and*) son-in-law in the house of the friend of lotuses.

(3) This son of the god³³ who is the elixir produced from the seven seas obtained, as the son of his own body, Purûravas, who had both Urvasî and the earth here for his faithful wives, to be enjoyed by him with their hundreds of unrivalled blessings

(4) In this family forsooth was born Bharata, whose pure fame is proclaimed by the Yamunâ, hemmed in by more than hundred posts of horse-sacrifices (*offered by him*),—Bharata, who delighted in the welfare of the earth, made lovely, as by a pearl-ornament, by the girdle of the seven seas

(5) Highly glorious is in his family that Kârtavîrya who, though he had no need of them, wielded with ease every weapon, (*and*) who allowed the title of king⁴⁰ only to the Moon, the ancestor of the family of these Haihaya princes

(6) Resembling the Himâlaya, the lord of mountains, that lord of princes begat the Kalachuri race which is purified by rulers of spotless conduct, as with pure round pearls

(7) In this family was a prince, foremost of the prudent, who purified the town of Tripurî so that it was like Indra's city,—Yuvârâjadeva, who destroyed the lords of princes blinded by passion, as a young lion does powerful infuriated elephants

(8) The chief ministers of that ruler of the earth placed on the throne his son Kokalla, a lion-like prince, the progress of whose armies, comprising elephants, chariots, horsemen and soldiers on foot,⁴¹ was checked (*only*) by their encountering the masses of waves of the four oceans

³⁵ Metre, Śardûlavikr̥dita³⁶ Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh)

³⁷ This first verse glorifies the god Vishnu, his navel the god Brahman, Atri, and the Moon. Further on we are told that the Moon's son Bodhana (or Budha, i.e., Mercury) married (Ila or Ida) a daughter of the Sun (or Mitra-Varuna), and that their son was Pururavas. 'The friend of the ocean' is the moon, 'the friend of lotuses, the sun

³⁸ i.e., the moon³⁹ i.e., again the moon, under the name of Soma confounded with the Soma plant

⁴⁰ For the same idea, compare *ante*, vol I, p 313, verse 16. Dr F. E. Hall's reading *chakrame* to the Kumbhi copper plate (instead of *chakrahame*) yields no sense

⁴¹ The original has only the word *chaturanga*

(7. 9) That lord having gone far away, his fame shows like a forsaken woman, deriding white sandal, it reproves the lustre of the moon, and is a reproach to a string of pearls

(10.) His son was Gāngeyadeva, a thunderbolt falling on the heads of enemies (and) the lord of the fortune of heroes, with a chest broad like an emerald tablet, (and) with smiling eyes, (and) with his two arms surpassing the length of a city bar

(11.) The crest-jewel of crowned heads, he has become famous under the name of Vikramāditya, for, striving after final beatitude (and) free from wicked deceit, he ruled the earth which he had himself conquered all of a sudden.

(12) When, fond of residing at the foot of the holy fig tree of Prayaga, he had found salvation there together with his hundred wives, his son Kainadeva honoured the quarters with the pearls from the frontal globes of the majestic elephants of his enemies, cleft by his sword

(13) Of him whose great fame is like the circle of waves of the milky ocean, need we say more than that here, at Kāśī, there is a temple (erected by him), Karna's *Meru*,⁴² (so lofty) that the wind of the flags which wave from its golden spires lessens the fatigue of the damsels of heaven, when playing in the sky?

(14) He set up the pillar of piety, called Kaināvatī, the foremost abode of bliss, the root of the creeping plant—knowledge of the Vedas, the diadem of the stream of heaven, the world of Brahman on the surface of the earth.

(15) That lord of the Kalachuris begat on the illustrious Āvalladevi, (another) goddess of fortune produced from the ocean of the Hūna family, the illustrious Yaśahkarnadeva, the glory of whose fame is co-extensive with the billows of the milky ocean which rose (when he arose), mistaking him to be the rising moon

(16) Of this law-abiding (son) the father, whose acts were purified by the respect which he paid to the family priests, performed himself the great inauguration ceremony in the midst of the four great oceans, made resplendent, as by a full jar, by the king of mountains, and illumined by the moon and the sun.⁴³

(17) Glorious is that jewel-lamp⁴⁴ of Jambūdvīpa which sends forth its rays in the darkness of night of the Kali age, never filled with partiality for the assemblies of the arrogant, and never displaying the lamplight—base conduct

(18) If the milk of the cow of plenty were (put) within the two black shells of the gem which grants every desire, then there would be seen a likeness with the eyes of that bountiful (ling) whose eyes are both white and red⁴⁵

(19) He erected high pillars of victory near the confines of the regions, as companions of the posts to which the elephants of the quarters are fastened

(20) This bountiful (lord) puts five or six drops of water into the hands of the

⁴² *Meru* denotes a particular kind of temple (hexagonal, with twelve stories, variegated windows, and four entrances, *Bṛhat-samhitā*, Ivi, 20), and the word is chosen here because it is also the name of the well-known fabulous mountain of enormous height, the summit of which is the residence of Brahman. A similar temple is said to have been built by Gāngeyadeva, see v 9 of the next inscription

⁴³ At an ordinary *abhishheka* water from all the oceans, golden jars, etc., should be used. To show the magnificence of Yaśahkarna's *abhishheka*, the poet says that the ceremony here was performed in the midst of the four oceans, and that the Himālaya took the place of the ordinary golden jars, etc., and he implies that Y was inaugurated in the sovereignty of the whole earth, bounded by the oceans

⁴⁴ i.e., a lamp in which jewels give out light. Jambūdvīpa is the central division of the world, including India

⁴⁵ The general meaning of this verse is that the king possesses the properties of both the fabulous cow of plenty and the gem which grants every desire

Brāhmans⁴⁶, and they with these already quench their thirst, and afterwards show their contempt even for the ocean ⁴⁷

(*℥*. 21) In weight (*like the mountain*) Meru, this ruler of the earth exceedingly gratifies supplants by bestowing on them (*gold*) equal to his own weight and by other great gifts

(22) Bright like the tusks of the elephant of the king of heaven, pure like the shells of the ocean of milk, (*and*) lustrous like the snake's skin in which Vishnu is clad, his fame has become superabundant

(23) Extirpating with ease the ruler of Andhra (*even though*) the play of (*that king's*) arms disclosed no flaw, he revered the holy Bhīmeśvara⁴⁸ with many ornaments The Godāvarī, with her waves, trees and creeping plants dancing, has sung his deeds of valour with the seven notes of her stream, sweet like the cries of the intoxicated flamingo.

(24) Crushing the power of his enemies and making over the earth to the Brāhmans, he engages in a course of rivalry with Paraśurāma

And this . . . the *Paramabhattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Parameśvara*, who [meditates on] the feet of the illustrious Vāmadeva

II—BHERA-GHAT STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE QUEEN ALHANADEVI

THE [*CHEDI*] YEAR 907

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH D, C I E, GÖTTINGEN.

The stone which bears this inscription was procured by Dr. F. E. Hall, in 1857, at Bhera-Ghāt on the Narmadā, in the Jabalpur district of the Central Provinces, and subsequently presented by him to the American Oriental Society in whose Cabinet, at New Haven, it is now deposited. It is a plain block of greenstone, of a soft texture and easily cut, 2' 9½" broad by 1' 10½" high¹. The inscription was first edited, with an English translation and notes, by Dr. Hall in the *Journal Am Or Soc*, vol VI, pp 499-532, and Dr. Hall's text was afterwards reprinted in Roman characters, with a photozincograph of the inscription, in Dr. Burgess' *Memoranda, Archaeol Survey of Western India*, No 10, pp 107-9, and his translation in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeol Survey of India*, vol. IX, pp 91-94. I now re edit the inscription from two excellent impressions and a rubbing kindly prepared for me, at Professor Lanman's request, by Mr. Herbert C. Tohwan, of Yale University, New Haven².

The inscription contains 29 lines of writing which cover a space of about 2' 7½" broad by 1' 9" high. With the exception of two *aksharas* each at the end of lines 11 and 12, which are almost entirely broken away, and about half a dozen other damaged *aksharas*,

⁴⁶ viz, at the time when he is making donations to them

⁴⁷ The word translated by 'ocean' means originally 'a mine of precious stones'

⁴⁸ i.e., the god Śiva. [I take this to refer to the Bhīmeśvara temple at Drāksharāma in the Godāvarī district.—E. H.]

¹ See the *Journal Am Or Soc*, vol VI, pp 499 and 534, and C. Giant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, 2nd ed., p 73

² It is hardly necessary to say that Dr. Hall's text and translation were prepared with his usual care and scholarship. Nevertheless, a few slight errors of his were pointed out already by the Committee of Publication of the American Oriental Society while his paper was passing through the press, and I have had occasion to differ still further from Dr. Hall, as regards both the text and the translation.

the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty throughout. The size of the letters is between १^०/_{१६} and १^१/_{१६}. The characters are Nagari, carefully drawn and engraved, and they include the sign of the *jihāmūṭiya* in *mahīpalak Karanah*, in line 9, and that of the *upadhmanīya* in *Hīnah praharisham*, in line 10. The language is Sanskrit, and excepting the introductory *om om namah Śrīya* and the date at the end, the inscription is in verse.¹ The language is not quite free from mistakes.² For, in line 10, we find the perfect form *chakape*, instead of *chakampe* (which would not have suited the metre), and, in line 25, the imperative *vyadhātām*, possibly an error of the writer or engraver, instead of *vidhātām* which would suit the metre equally well. Besides we have, in line 9, the wrong abstract noun *chandimatā*, and, in line 2, the adjective *ratna*, used in the sense of the participle *valgat*. And the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed in *kim=vā*, line 2, and in *yushmān-karīrah*, line 3. As regards orthography, the consonant *b* is seven times denoted by its own proper sign, but just as often by the sign for *c*. Thus, in lines 7 and 10 we read *bibhrat*, but in line 6 *ribhrat*, in line 16 *buddher*, but in line 1 *vuddhim*, &c. The sibilants are generally employed each in its proper place, but in line 14 we have *śatāla*, instead of *satāla* as the word is correctly written in line 27. Instead of the sign of *anuvāra* the dental *n* has been wrongly employed in the word *sinha* (in the proper names *Vairisinha*, *Vyavasinha*, &c., in lines 16, 17, 21-23, and 29), in *vanśa*, line 20, and in *sudhānukh*, line 18 (properly written *sudhān ku* in line 1), and even at the end of a word before an initial sibilant, in *śaṇṭatsu*, line 5, and *śān-śrīrat*, line 28. And, generally, it may be noted that out of about 60 cases where the use of the *anuvāra* would have been optional, at the end of a word before a following initial consonant, and where it would now be usually employed throughout, it has been actually employed only about 25 times, while in the rest of the cases the nasal of the class to which the following consonant belongs has been used instead; and that the sign of *anuvāra* never occurs, instead of the sign for *m*, at the end of a verse or half-verse.

The inscription was composed by Śaśidhara, a younger son of Dharaṇidhara³ and grandson of Maheśvara, of the Mauna *gotra*, written on the stone by his elder brother Prithvidhara, and engraved by Mahidhara, a son of the artisan Bālasimha (verses 32-35 and 37). And its object is, to record that the queen Alhanadevi, the wife (or rather, widow) of the king Gayakarnadeva, and mother of the reigning king Narasiṃhadeva and his younger brother Jayasimhadeva, founded a Śiva temple, with a *matha* or cloister, a hall of study, and gardens attached to it, that, probably for the maintenance of these buildings and their occupants, she assigned the income from the two villages of Nāmatūndī, in the Jāulī *pattalā*, and of Makarapātaka, on the right bank of the Narmadā in the land adjoining the hills, and that the management of the whole establishment, thus founded by the queen, was entrusted in the first instance to a Pāsupata ascetic, named Rudrarāśi, of Lāṭa lineage (vv. 27-31). The inscription also records (in verse 36) that all the buildings, etc., aforesaid, at one of which the inscription may be supposed to have been put up, were designed or executed by the architect Pīthe.

¹ The second half of verse 20 grossly offends against a well known metrical rule.

² Similar mistakes are found in other Chedi inscriptions of the same period.

³ Dharaṇidhara, Prithvidhara and Mahidhara are mentioned also in the Tewar stone inscription of Gayākarnadeva of the Chedi year 902. Compare *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 210, note 2.

By way of introduction the inscription, after the words "om om, adoration to Śiva!", and six verses invoking the blessings of Śiva, Gaṇeśa, and Sarasvatī, furnishes the following meagre account of the royal family into which Alhanadevi had married, and of her own descent —

From a prince of the lunar family, named Arjuna (or Sahasrārjuna, v 7), was descended the king Kokailadeva (v 8) From him sprang Gāngeyadeva (vv 9-10), and his son was king Karna who is represented as having held in check the Pandyas Muralas, Kungas, Vangas, Kalingas, Kīras, and Hūnas (vv. 11-13) Karna's son was Yaśahkarna, said to have become famous by devastating Champāranya (v 14), and his son again was Gayakarna (vv 15-16) Gayakarna married Alhanadevi, a daughter of the king Vijayasimha (a son of Vairisimha who was a son of the prince Hamsapāla, a descendant of the son of Gobhila or Gobhilaputra,) and his wife Śyāmaladevi, a daughter of the king Udayāditya of Mālava (vv. 17-23) And Alhanadevi bore to Gayakarna two sons, Narasimhadeva, who in the inscription is represented as the reigning king, and his younger brother Jayasimhadeva (vv 24-26). Nearly all this is stated also in the Karanbel stone inscription of Jayasimhadeva, and I may therefore, for the present, refer the reader to my remarks on that inscription, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol XVIII, p 215

Our inscription is dated, at the end of the last line, in the year 907, on Sunday, the 11th of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha,—a date which must of course be referred to the Kalachuri or Chedi era When writing on the epoch of that era, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol XVII, p 216, I felt inclined to accept Mr Fleet's suggestion, based on an examination of the photozincograph of this inscription in No. 10 of the *Archæol. Survey of Western India* which alone was then available, that the figures for the day of this date were intended to be 10 (and not 11) But now my excellent impressions have shown me that the figures after all are 11, and that they are quite distinct and cannot be read in any other way And accordingly the probabilities regarding the corresponding European date are as follows With my epoch of the Kalachuri era, as to the general correctness of which there can now be hardly any doubt, and according to the way in which the other Kalachuri dates yield satisfactory results, our date should fall in A.D 1155 But in A.D. 1155 the 11th *tithi* of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha commenced 2 h 12 m after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 6th November, and ended 0 h 43 m after mean sunrise of Monday, the 7th November, apparently causing sudi 11 to correspond, civilly, to the Monday. In the following year, A.D 1156, on the other hand, the same 11th *tithi* of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha ended 1 h 46 m after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 25th November, and consequently, in that year, sudi 11 was, civilly, really a Sunday Now, that the day intended by the original date is either Sunday, the 6th November A.D 1155, or Sunday, the 25th November A.D 1156, appears to me certain, but I am not at present prepared to say confidently which of these two Sundays is the true date Supposing all the other Kalachuri dates to cite current years, the present date might be taken to quote, exceptionally, an expired year, and in that case its equivalent would be Sunday, the 25th November A.D 1156 But a more careful examination of the practice of other eras has shown that it is rather the *current* years which are quoted exceptionally And assuming that, what is true of other eras, must hold good also of the Kalachuri era, one would rather be inclined to look upon Sunday, the 6th November A.D. 1155, as the proper equivalent of the date, and to assume that the *tithi*, in this instance,

was joined with the weekday on which it commenced, and which was almost entirely filled by it

The two villages Nāmaundī and Makarapātaka, mentioned in the inscription, I am unable to identify. The Jāulī *pattalā*, which apparently was mentioned also in the lost portion of Yaśahkarna's copper-plate,⁶ must have been the country around Jabalpur

TEXT.⁷

- L 1. श्री⁸[॥*] श्री नम. शिवाय ॥
 कल्याणितामविकलां भवता तनोतु भाले कलानिधिका शशिशेखरस्य ॥(1)
 एकेव या प्रमथसार्यगतां द्वितीयावु(वु)द्विम्बदोपविरहेपि करोति नित्यम् ॥⁹—[1]
- 2 कि मालाः कुमुदस्य कि शशिकलाः किन्धर्मप्रकर्माकुराः¹⁰
 किम्वा¹¹कञ्चुकिकञ्चुका किमथवा भूत्युद्गमा भान्वमी ।
 इत्यन्नाकिवितर्किताः शिवशिरःसञ्चारिनाकापगा-
 रिङ्गद्वलुतरङ्गभङ्गिततयः पुण्यप्र-
3. पा. पान्तु व. ॥¹²—[2].
 भूत सद्भिषु यद्विभाति भुवनं यद्विभ्रमाद्यज्जग-
 नेत्रानन्दकरं धरात्रयरसाद्यन्यत्वहेतुश्च यत् ।
 यद्वन्मोहुरधाम यच्च यजते शीत यदेकान्ततः
 सस्पर्श यदरूपमेभिरवताद्युपान्श(ञ्श)रीरैः
- 4 शिवः ॥ —[3]
 शक्तिहेतिपरप्रीतिहेतुश्चन्द्रकचर्चितः ।
 ताण्डवाडव(व)र¹³ कुर्यान्नीलकण्ठ¹⁴ प्रियाणि वः ॥¹⁵—[4].
 विघ्नोघसन्तमससहरणाय शक्त मुक्त कलककलया शकल सुधाशोः ।
 कुन्दावदाततरदन्तमिषाद्धा-
5. न श्रेय परन्दिशतु वः सद्य द्विपास्यः ॥¹⁶—[5].
 रुधिरनेकेष्ववहारजातमातन्वती पातु सरस्वती वः ।
 यज्ञेशलालित्यलवादिप स्यात्सन्तु¹⁷पुंसाङ्गरिमा गरीयान् ॥*¹⁸—[6]
 गोत्रे रात्रिकरस्य भूपति-
- 6 रभूदि(द्धि)भस्वहस्र करा-
 न्प्रत्येकन्त्रिजगन्मनोविनयने रात्रिन्दिवं जागृवि. ।
 तेजोभिर्जगतीभृताम्परिभवी नाम्नार्जुनः सस्मृते-
 र्यस्याद्याप्यधिगम्यते वसु गतन्नीत च चौरैश्चिरम् ॥¹⁹—[7]
 तस्या-
- 7 न्वये समभवत्प्रथितः पृथिव्या नाथ कथाद्भुततमापि वृथा न यस्य ।
 कोकलदेव इति विभ्रदु[दार]रूपन्नाम त्रिलोकसुखसजननैकधाम ॥²⁰—[8]
 निर्जित्योर्जितगर्वपर्वतभृत. प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वी-

⁶ See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeol Survey of India*,
 vol IX, p 88

⁷ From the impressions

⁸ Expressed by a symbol

⁹ Metre, Vasantatilaka

¹⁰ The sign of *anusvara* in the last word is very faint,
 but it is there

¹¹ Read कि वा

¹² Metre of verses 2 and 3, Śardulavikrāṇita

¹³ Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh)

¹⁴ Metre, Vasantatilaka.

¹⁵ Read सासस्य

¹⁶ Metre, Indravajra.

¹⁷ Metre, Śardulavikrāṇita

¹⁸ Metre, Vasantatilaka.

L 8.

भुजः

प्राप्तानन्तयशा बभूव नृपतिर्गाङ्गेयदेवस्ततः ।
पृथ्वी येन विधाय मेरुमतुल कल्पद्रुमेण[रि]थंनं
स्वर्गादूर्ध्वमधःस्थितापि विबुधाधारे [स]मापादिता ॥¹⁹—[9].
पुण्यामृतेन संसिक्ता शुद्धसत्त्वप्रवर्हि-

9

[त]रा ।

यत्कीर्तिर्निततिः सर्वं व्याप त्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डमण्डपम(म्) ॥²⁰—[10].
तेनाजनि महीपालकृष्णः स्वर्णेन कुर्वता ।
पूर्णतृष्णार्णवानर्थिसार्थानर्थितकीर्तिना ॥ —[11].
पाण्ड्यशृङ्गिमताम्भुमोच मुरलस्तत्याज गर्व[य]हं²¹

10

[कु]ङ्कः²² सन्नतिमाजगाम चकपे²³वङ्गः कलिङ्गे सह ।
कीरः कीरवदास पञ्जरगृहे ह्यण७७प्रहर्ष जहौ
यस्मिन्नाजनि शौर्यविभ्रमभर विभ्रत्यपूर्वप्रभे ॥²⁴—[12].
अस्मद्भर्तृपरामर्शेन सकला-

11.

भुक्ते [मुव] यामसौ

तामेतान्तनवामहै तनुतराकारामितीव स्त्रिय, ।
यत्प्रत्यर्थिमहीभुजान्नयनजैर्वाप्यै, पयोधीन्वाधुः
स्फारान्त्रमहोर्मिभि, पुनरमी त वर्ध[याच्च]-²⁵

12

किरे ॥ —[13]

चम्पारण्यविदारणोद्धतयशःशुभ्रांशुना भासय-
त्राशाचक्रमवक्रभावहृदय क्षापालचूडामणि, ।
तस्माज्जन्म समाससाद विशद श्रीमान्यश.कण्ठं इ-
त्यौदार्याद[निकी]-²⁶

13

चकार विबुधान्यः प्रेक्ष्य सर्वानपि ॥ —[14].

तस्मादशेषगुणरत्ननिधेरगाधाङ्गवत्सभ, समभवद्भयकण्ठदेव ।
यस्य प्रतापतपनोप्यरिसुन्दरीणा शोकाण्णवोदयनिदानपदं प्रपेदे ॥²⁷—[15]

14.

द्युतिजितहरिताल, श्रीलताकल्पशाल, पृथुतरगुणमाल, शत्रुवर्गेककाल ।
विमलितरणमाल, कान्तकीर्त्या श(स)टाल, शिततरकरवालः सोभवद्भूमिपाल ॥²⁸—[16]
अस्ति

¹⁹ Metre, Śārdulavikrīḍita The akshara put in brackets in the last line of this verse is almost entirely broken away

²⁰ Metre of verses 10 and 11, Śloka (Anushtubh)

²¹ Of the akshara in brackets only the consonant 'r' is absolutely certain What the author meant to say, was probably गर्वायह

²² The akshara in brackets is so much damaged that only part of the letter 'k' remains Compare *Indian Antiquary*, vol xviii, p 217, line 10

²³ This reading is absolutely certain चकपे is grammatically incorrect, for चकपे

²⁴ Metre of verses 12 14, Śārdulavikrīḍita

²⁵ The word त of this line is quite certain Of the aksharas in brackets only the first is partly visible

²⁶ Of the aksharas in these brackets only the vowel 'i' of the first remains, the rest had been already supplied by

Dr Hall

²⁷ Metre, Vasantatilaka.

²⁸ Metre, Mahini

- L 15. प्रसिद्धमिह गोभिलपुत्रगोत्रन्तत्राजनिष्ट नृपति, किल हंसपालः ।
शौर्यावसज्जितनिरर्गलसैन्यसघनम्नीकृताखिलमिलद्रिपुचक्रपाल, ॥²⁹—[17].
तस्याभवत्तनुभवः प्र-
- 16 एतत्समस्तसामन्तशेखरशिरोमणिरञ्जिताङ्गे ³⁰ ।
श्रीवैरिसिन्धवसुधाधिपतिर्विशुद्धबुद्धेर्निधिर्न परमर्थिजनस्य चोद्यै, ॥—[18].
स ³¹वैरिसिन्धोप्यनयद्रिपूणां कुलानि गम्भीरगुहागृ-
- 17 ह्राणि ।
स्वयञ्च तेषामधिपत्यं चक्रे पुराणि दूरावजितालकानि ॥³²—[19]
तस्मादजायत समस्तजनाभिवन्द्यसौन्दर्यशौर्यभरभङ्गुरिताहितश्रीः ।
पृथ्वीपतिर्विजयसिन्धु³³ इति
- 18 प्रवर्द्धमानः सदा जगति यस्य यशःसुधान्शु ³⁴ ॥³⁵—[20].
तस्याभवन्मालवमण्डलाधिनाथोदयादित्यसुता सुरुपा ।
शृङ्गारिणी श्यामलदेव्युदारचरितचिन्तामणिरञ्जितश्रीः ॥³⁶—[21]
- 19 मेनायामिव शकरप्रणयिनी चोणीभृतान्नायका-
ह्रीरिस्थामिव शुभ्रभानुवनिता दक्षाग्रजानां सृजः ।
तस्मादल्लङ्घ्यदेव्यजायत जगद्रक्षाक्षमाङ्गुपते-
रेतस्यान्निज-
20. ³⁷दीर्घवन्शविशदप्रेम्बुत्पताकाकृति, ॥³⁸—[22],
विवाहविधिमाधाय गयकर्णनरेश्वरः ।
चक्रे प्रीतिम्परामस्या शिवायामिव शकरः ॥³⁹—[23].
शृङ्गारशाला कलशी कलानां लावण्यमाला गु-
21. णपश्यभूमि ।
असूत पुत्रद्वयकर्णभूपादसौ नरेश्वरसिन्धदेवम् ⁴⁰ ॥⁴¹—[24]
अस्य श्रीनरसिन्धदेवनृपतेः⁴² प्रोद्यन्मयचन्द्रमा
दिग्भिन्तीर्विन्दधातु व(व)न्युरसुधासम्भारगर्भा इव ।
भूर्भर्तारस-
- 22 वाप्य चैनमुचित प्रीतिन्तथा प्राप्नुया-
त्पूर्वेषाम् यथा मनागपि महाचोणीभृता ध्यायति ॥⁴³—[25].
अस्यानुजो विजयता जयसिन्धदेवः⁴⁴ सौमित्रिवप्रथमजैङ्गुतरूपसेवः ।
यो मेघनादव(व)हु-
- 23 मायमहातिकायसैन्यं द्विषामभिभवन्नह[ह] प्रहस्तः ॥⁴⁵—[26],
अकारयन्मन्दिरमिन्दुमौलिरिदम्भेनाङ्गुतभूमिकेन ।

²⁹ Metre of verses 17 and 18, Vasantatilakā

³⁰ Originally 'दि' or 'दि', but altered to 'दि' At the commencement of the next line read श्रीवैरिसिन्धु

³¹ Read वैरिसिन्धु

³² Metre, Upendravajrā

³³ Read 'सिन्धु'.

³⁴ Read 'सुधा'.

³⁵ Metre, Vasantatilakā

³⁶ Metre, Upajātī.

³⁷ Read दीर्घवन्

³⁸ Metre, Śārdūlavakrīḍita

³⁹ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

⁴⁰ Read 'सिन्धदेवम्'

⁴¹ Metre, Upajātī

⁴² Read श्रीनरसिन्धु

⁴³ Metre, Śārdūlavakrīḍita.

⁴⁴ Read जयसिन्धु

⁴⁵ Metre, Vasantatilakā.

सहासुना श्रीनरसिंहदेवप्रसूरसावल्लणदेव्युदारा⁴⁵ ॥⁴⁷—[27]

व्याख्यानशा-

L 24. लासुद्यानमालामविकलामसूस(म्) ।

अकारयत्तुय शम्भुप्रासादालीहयन्त्रिजैः ॥⁴⁸—[28]

देवायाम्ने वैद्यनाथाभिधाय प्रादाद्देवी जाउलीपत्तलायाम् ।

ग्रामनान्ना नामउण्डीति सर्वादायैः⁴⁹स्त्रा-

25 ई चारुचर्चाप्रसिद्धैः ॥⁵⁰—[29].

नर्मदादक्षिणे कूले पर्वतोपत्यकाश्रये ।

तथापरमदानामनान्ना मकरपाटकम् ॥⁵¹—[30].

लाटान्वय पाशुपतस्तपस्वी श्रीरुद्रराशिर्विधिवद्गन्ताम्⁵² ।

स्थानस्य रक्षावि-

26 धिमस्य तावद्यावन्मिमीते भुवनानि शम्भुः ॥⁵³—[31]

मौन्या(ना)न्वये⁵⁴भागववैतहव्यसावेतसितिप्रवरत्रयाद्ये ।

महेश्वराख्याहरणीधरोभून्नान्ना गरिमणा यशसा श्रिया च ॥⁵⁵—[32].

कोमल-

27 कान्तिसटालिनोच्चैःस्नेहातिभारभरितेन ।

दीर्घमनोज्ञदशेन त्रिभुवनदीपायित येन ॥⁵⁶—[33].

पृथ्वीधरस्तस्य सुत. समस्तगभीरशास्त्रार्णवपारदृष्टा ।

प्रशस्तिमेतामलिखद्यदीयैर्हि-

28 डम्गडली शिष्यगणैर्विजिग्ये ॥⁵⁷—[34].

एतस्यावरजस्तर्कनिष्ठातोद्भुतनैपुण,⁵⁸ ।

प्रशस्तिमकरोदेतान्मूरिः⁵⁹शशिधराभिधः ॥⁶⁰—[35]

⁶¹असूत्रयदिदं सर्वं विश्वकर्मविधानवित् ।

पीथेसमभिध. सूत्र-

29 धार. पृथ्वीमृयुर्यथा ॥ —[36].

सूत्रधाराग्रणीया(वा)लसिंहसूनुर्महीधरः⁶² ।

शिलान्तथाकरोद्वर्णैर्नमस्तारकित यथा ॥ —[37]

संवत् ६०७ मार्गसुदि ११⁶³रवौ ॥ ॥ ॥

⁴⁶ Read श्रीरसिंह°

⁴⁷ Metre, Upendravajra

⁴⁸ Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh)

⁴⁹ This sign of *visarga* is superfluous

⁵⁰ Metre, Śloka

⁵¹ Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh)

⁵² The correct form would of course be विश्वनाम्

⁵³ Metre, Indravajra

⁵⁴ The correction may have been made already in the

original

⁵⁵ Metre, Upajāti

⁵⁶ Metre, Āryā

⁵⁷ Metre, Upajāti

⁵⁸ Of the *alshara* too the superscript line which turns a into o is rather faint, but it undoubtedly is there

⁵⁹ Read ° त

⁶⁰ Metre of verses 35 37, Śloka (Anushtubh)

⁶¹ Originally चाम्, altered to चम्

⁶² Read °मालसिंह°

⁶³ There is no doubt whatever about these figures

TRANSLATION.

Om !

Om ! Adoration to Śiva !

(Verse 1) May the moon's digit on the forehead of the Moon-crested (*god*) provide for you unstinted bliss,—(*that digit*) which, only one (*and the first*), ever makes the troop of Śiva's attendants, even in the absence of the evening-twilight, think it to be (*joined by*) the second (*digit*) !⁶¹

(2) May those founts of holiness, the lines of the creeping and leaping⁶² tortuous waves of the river of heaven, meandering on Śiva's head, guard you,—(*those waves*) about which the celestials are doubting whether they be lotus-garlands, or lunar digits, or sprouts of righteous deeds, or serpents' skins, or (*the god's*) majesty bursting into view !

(3) (*That body*) which, being a gross⁶³ element, is all-pervading, (*that*) by whose revolution the world comes to light, (*that*) which gladdens the eyes of the creatures, and (*that*) which causes the diversity of savour and other (*qualities*) residing in earth, (*that*) which is the vast substratum of odour, (*that*) which sacrifices, (*that*) which is characterized by cold, (*and that*) which, colourless, is sensible to the feel,—may Śiva with these (*eight*) bodies⁶⁴ (*of his*) protect you !

(4) May Nīlakantha, who fills with delight men eager to wield spear and missile, when decorated with the young moon he exults in his dance, grant whatever is dear to you !⁶⁵

(5) May the Elephant-faced (*god*) in his mercy bestow on you supreme felicity,—who, under the guise of a tusk whiter than jasmine, bears the piece of the moon which is freed from the dark digit, able to dispel the profound darkness of crowds of obstacles !

(6) May Sarasvatī guard you,—who by manifold forms (*of speech*) brings about all intercourse (*of men, and*) by partaking of even a small portion of whose elegance in trifles (*even*), men may secure greater weight in assemblies !—

(7) In the Moon's family was a prince with thousand hands, day and night watching to guide one by one the minds of (*the dwellers in*) the three worlds, (*and*) by his splendour eclipsing the rulers of the world,—(*a prince*) named Aṅgana, by the (*mere*) remembrance of whom⁶⁶ is recovered even now what has been lost and carried off by thieves long ago

(8) In his lineage was born a renowned ruler of the earth of whom even the most marvellous tale is not untrue, bearing the name Kokalladeva, an illustrious name, eminently fit to give pleasure to the three worlds

(9) From him sprang the prince Gāṅgeyadeva who, by vanquishing hostile rulers

⁶¹ Viz., because the first lunar digit, by itself, is altogether invisible. The noun *kalyāṇitā* is not given by the dictionaries

⁶² *Valgu*, ordinarily 'handsome, beautiful', is here used in the sense of the participle *valgat*, opposed to *ringat*

⁶³ These eight bodies of Śiva are the ether, the sun, the moon, fire, the earth, the sacrificing priest, water, and air. It will be sufficient to refer the reader to the opening verse of Kālidasa's *Sākuntalā*

⁶⁴ The two compounds of the first half of the verse would be applicable also to the dancing peacock (*nīlakantha*) which causes great delight to him whose weapon is a spear (*i.e.*, to the god Karttikorā or Skanda, also called Śaktidhara 'the spear-bearer', to whom the peacock is sacred), and the tail of which is covered with spots similar to the moon. Compare the very similar verse No. 1737 of Vallabhadeva's *Subhāshitāvalī*, which will show that the translation of the word *chandrakā* by 'the young, (or small) moon' is correct

⁶⁵ Dr Hall quotes a verse found by him in an extract from the *Brahmāṇḍapūrāṇa*, which expresses the same idea

supporting huge mountains of pride, secured endless fame, a tree of paradise to suppliants, who made the earth, though resting below, rise beyond the heavens up to the abode of the gods, by raising (*on it*) a *Meru*⁶⁹ without equal.

(7 10) The creeping-plant of his fame, sprinkled with the nectar of his religious merit and made to grow by his stainless character, overspread the whole bower of the universe

(11) He who, seeking good renown, so behaved to the crowds of suppliants that the ocean of their desires became replenished with gold, begat the prince Karna

(12) While this king, of unprecedented lustre, gave full play to his heroism, the Pândya relinquished violence,⁷⁰ the Murala gave up his arrogant bearing,⁷¹ the Kunga entered the path of the good, the Vanga trembled with the Kalinga, the Kîra staid at home like a parrot in the cage, (*and*) the Hûna left off being merry.

(13) When the wives of hostile princes enlarged the seas with the tears streaming from their eyes, intending as it were to reduce the size of the earth, because he had it all subjected to his rule by the defeat of their husbands, those same seas again did homage to him with large waves of precious stones

(14) From him took his spotless birth the illustrious Yaśahkarna, a crest-jewel of rulers, with a heart free from guile, who illuminated the circle of the regions with the moon of his fame which had risen from the devastation of Champâranya, (*and*) who in his generosity enriched all the learned without exception, as soon as he set eyes on them

(15) From him, an unfathomable ocean of all excellencies, was born the favourite of the earth, Gayakarnadeva In his case even the sun,—the sun of his prowess,—took upon itself the function⁷² of causing the rising of the sea,—the sea of sorrow of the wives of his adversaries

(16) That prince surpassed by his lustre yellow orpiment,⁷³ was a tree of paradise for the creeping-plant fortune, wore a broad garland of noble qualities, was the one god of death to the host of the enemies, adorned the van of battle, abounded in pleasing renown, (*and*) wielded indeed a sharp sword —

(17) Well known on the earth is the family of the son of Gobhîla Therein was born forsooth the prince Hamsapâla, who with the host of his valorous irresistible troops humbled the circle of all his foes combined.

(18) He, whose feet were irradiated by the crest-jewels of the diadems of all the tributary chiefs prostrating themselves (*before him*), had a son, the lord of the earth, the illustrious Vairisimha, a treasure-house not merely of purified understanding, but also, eminently, (*one*) for suppliants.

(19) That Vairisimha, too, drove the clans of his foes to seek the shelter of deep caverns, while he himself, occupying their towns, made these far surpass the residence of Kuvera.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ See note 42 of the preceding inscription

⁷⁰ The abstract noun *chandimatâ* of the original is incorrect, the correct form of the word is *chandiman*

⁷¹ Properly 'his inclination to arrogance'

⁷² This function belongs properly to the moon

⁷³ This is described as the seed or seminal energy of Vishnu, *Harer-vîryam*, (see M Williams' *Dictionary*), and the poet, who immediately afterwards has the word *Srî*, undoubtedly was thinking of the god Hari or Vishnu A proper rendering of this verse in which everything depends on the sound of the words employed is impossible, at least, to myself

⁷⁴ Literally 'Alaka' (the residence of Kuvera, the god of riches)

(17. 20) From him was born the lord of the earth Vijayasimha, whose beauty was justly celebrated by all men, who by the vigour of his heroism made his adversaries' fortunes totter, (and) the moon of whose fame (accordingly) was always waxing in the world

(21.) His loving wife was the handsome daughter of Udayāditya, the ruler of the realm of Mālava,—Śyāmaladevī, a gem granting the desires of the nobly-conducted, (and herself) a votary of Fortune

(22) As Menā bore to the chief of mountains the beloved of Śamkara, (and) Vîṇinī to Dakṣha, the creator of beings, the wife of the Moon, so she bore to that prince, able to protect the world, Alhanadevī, in appearance the unsullied fluttering pennon of her long pedigree⁷⁵

(23) Having wedded her with due rites, the king Gayakarna bestowed on her the most ardent affection, as Śamkara did on Śivā.

(24) And she, a mansion of amorous passion, a beaker (brimful) of accomplishments, a garland of the graces, a store-house of excellent qualities, bore to king Gayakarna a son, the prince Narasimhadeva

(25) May the rising moon of the fame of this illustrious king Narasimhadeva richly saturate as it were the walls of the quarters with a pleasing whitewash, and may the earth, having secured in him a suitable lord, experience such delight as never to think, however little, of its former great rulers!

(26) May victory attend his younger brother Jayasimhadeva, who in marvellous ways serves the first-born as Sumitā's son⁷⁶ (did Rāma), who, behold!, when he lifts his hand, overpowers the enemies' most gigantic host, though it roars like thunderclouds⁷⁷ and practises many wiles!—

(27) That noble Alhanadevī, the mother of the illustrious Narasimhadeva, ordered this temple of the Moon-crested (god) to be built, together with that cloister with wonderful floors

(28) She too made her people construct that hall of study, (and) lay out that long line of gardens, in two ranges (adjoining) Śambhu's temple

(29) To make known her good report, the queen gave to this god, styled Vaidyanātha, the village named Nāmaundī together with every income (thereof), in the Jāulī pattalā

(30) And on the right bank of the Naimadā, in the land adjoining the hills, she gave to him another village, named Makarapātaka

(31) May the Pāsupata ascetic, the holy Rudraśiva of Lāta lineage, arrange conformably to rule for the management of this place, so long as Śiva pervades⁷⁸ the worlds!—

(32) In the Mauna lineage, possessed of the triple *prāvara* Bhāṅgava, Vatahavya, and Sāvetasa,⁷⁹ there was born from one named Maheśvara Dharmānidhara, (a mountain)⁸⁰ by name, by weight, by fame, and by fortune.

⁷⁵ Or, 'of a lofty flag staff (*vamśa*)'

⁷⁶ I.e., Lakshmana

⁷⁷ *Meghanāda* and *Atikāya* are also the names of two sons of the demon Ravana, and *Prahasta* was one of Ravana's generals

⁷⁸ Or rather, 'is coextensive with'

⁷⁹ Compare the *Āśvalayana Śrautasūtra*, Calcutta ed., p. 872

⁸⁰ The word *dharmādharā* has this meaning.

(7-33) Who, shedding a pleasing lustre, filled to overflowing with kindness, long enjoying a gratifying position, acted the part of a lamp¹ to the three worlds

(34) His son Prithvidhara, who has seen the further shores of all the deep oceans of learning, (and) by whose crowds of disciples the circle of the regions has been conquered, wrote this eulogy

(35) Of him the younger brother, the sage named Śaśidhara, well versed in logic and wondrously clever, composed this eulogy.

(36) The architect named Pathe, who knows the rules of Visvakarman,² planned all this, as Prithu did the earth

(37) Mahidhara, a son of the chief of artisans Bālasimha, so wrought this stone with letters that it is like the star-covered sky

The year 907, on Sunday the 11th of the bright half of Margaśīrṣa

III—TLWAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF JAYASIMHADEVA THE [CHIDI] YEAR 928

By PROFESSOR F. KUHNER, PH.D., C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN

The stone which bears this short inscription was procured by Dr. F. E. Hall at Tewar, a village about six miles to the west of Jabalpur, in the Central Provinces, and presented by him to the American Oriental Society in whose Cabinet, at New Haven, it is now deposited³. It is said to be of like character with that of Alhanadevi's inscription⁴. Dr. Hall also first edited the inscription, with a translation, in the *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. VI, pp. 512-13, and his text was subsequently reprinted in Roman characters, with a photomicrograph of the inscription, in Dr. Burgess' *Memoranda, Archaeol. Surv. of Western India*, No. 10, p. 110, and his translation in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeol. Survey of India*, vol. IX, pp. 95-96. I now re edit⁵ the inscription from an impression and a rubbing, kindly prepared for me by Mr. Herbert C. Tolwan, of Yale University, New Haven.

The inscription contains 9 lines of writing, the last of which is engraved along the proper left margin, and which together cover a space of 11" broad by 7" high. The writing is on the whole well preserved, but it is somewhat roughly and irregularly cut, and there are several *al charas* in line 5 and one at the end of line 8, the true reading of which cannot be made out with absolute certainty. The size of the letters is between $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. Excepting the symbol for *om* at the commencement of line 1, lines 1-6 are in verse, the rest of the inscription is in prose. As regards orthography, *ḷ* is denoted by the sign for *v* in *brahma* *Brahmādi*—(the only words in which *ḷ* would occur), in line 1, and the dental sibilant is

¹ The adjectives of this verse would of course be also applicable to a lamp, *sneha* also means 'oil', and *daśā* 'the work of a lamp'.

² The architect of the gods. The adjective would also mean 'who knows how to execute every kind of work'.

³ See *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. VI, pp. 409 and 636, and C. Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, 2nd ed., p. 437.

⁴ *Arte*, No. II.

⁵ I merely have had to verify Dr. Hall's text, which so far as one may speak with confidence, is substantially correct.

used instead of the palatal in *naravarah*, line 3, *Kesavah* and *aisvaram*, line 6, and *Kesavasya*, line 8, and *n* instead of *anusvāra* in *Jayasinha*-, line 4, (but not in *Narasimha*-, line 3) Besides, the text twice offends against the rules of *samdh*

The inscription, which opens with a verse in honour of Mahādeva (Śiva), records the erection of a Śiva temple by the *nāyaka* Keśava (the son of the Brāhman Āladeva, named Astaka (?)), a member of the Kātyāyana *gotra* and resident of the village Sīkhā in Mā[la]vaka, during the reign of the king Jayasimhadēva, a younger brother of the king Narasimhadēva whom he had succeeded, and son of the king Gayākarna. And it is dated in the year 928, on Sunday the 6th of the bright half of Śravana, while the moon was in the *nakshatra* Hasta. Referring this date, again, to the Kalachuri or Chedi era, the corresponding European date would be expected to fall in A D 1177. In that year, the month Śravana was intercalary, for the solar Śravana lasted from the 26th June, 12 h 32 m., to the 27th July, 23 h 20 m after mean sunrise, and there were new moons on the 27th June, 18 h 30 m, and on the 27th July, 2 h 8 m after mean sunrise. Now, the 6th of the bright half of the first lunar Śravana corresponded to Sunday the 3rd July, when the 6th *tithi* ended 7 h 35 m and the moon was in the *nakshatra* Hasta up to 16 h 25 m after mean sunrise, and the 6th of the bright half of the second Śravana corresponded to Monday the 1st August, when the 6th *tithi* ended 18 h 12 m. after mean sunrise and the moon entered the *nakshatra* Svātī about sunrise. And, accordingly, there can be no doubt that the true equivalent of the date is Sunday the 3rd July, A D. 1177, and that the bright half of Śravana, put down in the date, belonged to the first (or intercalated) Śravana.⁴

The village Sīkhā which, if the adopted reading is correct, was situated in Mālavaka or Mālava, I am unable to identify

TEXT⁵

- L 1 श्री⁶ [॥^{*}] ज्ञानानद⁷ पर ब्र(ब्र)ह्म ब्र(ब्र)ह्मादिसुरसेवित । वदेम-
 2. हि महादेव देवदेव जगद्गुरुम् ॥ श्रीमद्भयाक-
 3. र्णनृपस्य⁸ स्रुतर्नरेख(श्च)रः श्रीनरसिंहदेवो⁹ । जिह्वे धरि-
 4. त्रीमनुजोस्य सम्राट्¹⁰ जीयाच्चिर श्रीजयसिंहदेव¹¹ ॥
 5. ¹²वि[प्रो योस्त]¹³कना[माभू]दालदेवस्तदात्मजः ।
 6. केस(श)व कारयासास प्रासादममुमेख(श्च)रम् ॥
 7. सम्बत्¹⁴ ८२८ यावणसुदि ६ रवी चस्ते ॥
 8. नायककेस(श)वस्य गोत्र कात्यायन स्थान मा[ल?]-¹⁵
 9 वके सीखाग्राम ॥¹⁶

⁴ For two similar dates compare the *Indian Antiquary*, vol XVIII, p 212, and vol XIX, p 36, No 62

⁵ From the impressions

⁶ Expressed by a symbol

⁷ Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh)

⁸ Metre, Upajati

⁹ Read °देव

¹⁰ Read सम्राट्

¹¹ Read °सिंहदेव

¹² Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh)

¹³ The reading of the *aksharas* in these and the following brackets is not quite certain, because some of them look as if they had been partly erased and recut. The intended reading may possibly be विप्रस्यासकनामोमुदा¹⁰

¹⁴ Read सवत्

¹⁵ The *akshara* in these brackets is so peculiarly shaped that it is impossible to say what it is meant to represent. I adopt Dr Hill's reading of it, but am not certain of its being correct

¹⁶ This line is on the proper left margin

TRANSLATION.

Om!

(Line 1) Let us adore (*him¹⁷ who is*) knowledge and bliss, the supreme Brahma, waited upon by Brahmā and the other gods,—Mahādeva, the god of gods, the parent of the world!

The son of the illustrious king Gayākarna, the illustrious lord of men Narasimhadeva, conquered the earth may his younger brother, the sovereign lord, the illustrious Jayasimhadeva, long be victorious!

(5) Keśava, the son of the late Brahman Āladeva, named Astaka (?)¹⁸, caused that temple of Śvara to be built

The year 928, on Sunday the 6th of the bright half of Śrāvana, (*the moon being*) in (*the nakshatra*) Hastā

(8) The *nāyaka* Keśava's *gotra* is that of Kātyāyana, his place of residence the village of Sikkā in Mā[la?]vaka

IV.—THREE LAND-GRANTS FROM SANKHEDA

By H. H. DHPUVA, B.A., LL.B.

The Subj. of the Baroda or Central Division of the Gaikavād's State has sent me for decipherment three detached copper-plates, two of which belong to the Gurjaras of Bharoén, and one to an unknown line of kings. The two former are only second plates of the grants, and therefore do not contain genealogical and other personal details, while the last is a first plate and contains no information as to the date, donee, object of the grant, officers, &c.

No I.—A Gurjara grant of Samvat 316

This document is written on a plate, measuring about 8 inches by 3 $\frac{3}{8}$, and is well preserved. It contains ten lines giving the usual injunctions and quotations from the *Smṛiti* regarding the inviolability of grants. The plate does not contain the name of the king or of the donee, nor a description of the object granted. But we have sufficient materials to identify the donor. The writer is the *sāmdhvigrahika*—*ditya-Bhogika*. *Bhogika*, Dr. Bühler informs me, is “a small man not more than a Thākūr of one or a few villages, for *bhogika* occurs frequently in the list of the persons to whom commands are addressed, e.g. in the Kavi grant of Jayabhata (*Ind. Ant.*, vol V, p 110). In the *Deśikoshā* its Prakrit equivalent *bhoio* is explained by *grāma-pradhāna*.”

¹⁷ I.e., Mahadeva or Śiva to whom all these epithets are applied

¹⁸ Or possibly ‘The Brahman, named Astaka, had (a son) Āladeva, his son Keśava.’ See note 13, above

¹ Dr. Bühler's *Pāyālachchhānamālā*, v 101 (*gūmanī bhoio ya gamavā*, p 32). Dr. Bühler translates it in the glossary as “headman or lord of a village, and quotes *bhogika* from inscriptions. The Gujarati for *bhogika* or *bhoio* is *bhāyo*, and *grāmapati* or *gāmavā* is *gāmētā*. The word *bhoga*, from which *bhogika* is derived, means *pālana* or “protection, —see Amara, III, 23, and Mahēśvara's commentary on it, also *Pratishākhā*, v 268, *Medinikoshā*, v 15 of words ending in *ga*, and *Śāntideshikoshā*, III, 120 (पालनं स्ववर्तरे च निवेगे पश्योपिना । भोगं सुखे धने चाहं शरीरक्षणयोर्वापि । Thus भोगिक according to these authorities would be an equivalent of पालक or “protector,” as an official term it may have subsequently acquired a technical meaning.

Of course such a man cannot be a great ruler" If there were nothing else to connect this grant with the Gurjaras, the title *bhogika* of the minister for war and peace *Āditya* would be sufficient, for this appellation of an officer is not known to have been employed by any other line of kings. Again, the characters of this grant so closely resemble those of No II, an admitted Gurjara grant, and other published grants of the family, that there can be no doubt about it

The date is given in words as well as figures. It is "three hundred years exceeded by forty-six" and 346. The figures are not written in the usual manner, with the symbols for three hundred, forty, and six, but as they would be now, *i.e.* with the symbols for three, four and six. As the later Gurjara kings used the Chedi era, Samvat 346 probably corresponds with A D 595-96. This date exactly agrees with that of Dadda III, *circa* 580 A D, as given by Dr Bühler.² Hitherto we had no copper-plate grant or any other inscription of that monarch, which renders this plate an interesting find

TRANSCRIPT

- L 1 आचन्द्रार्काणवर्चितस्थितिसमकालीन पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्यमुदकातिसर्गेण
 2 प्रतिपादित मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च मुख्यशोभिहृदये अतोस्य ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या क्रियत × करि-
 3 पापयतो वा न कैचिद्वापेधे वर्तितव्यमागामिराजभिरस्मदङ्गैर्वा सामान्य भूमि-
 4 दानफलमवेत्यायमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्य पालयितव्यसेत्युक्त च भगवता व्या-
 5 सेन ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा भक्ता राजभिः सागरादिभि यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
 6 तदा फल ॥ पटिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिद. आच्छेता चानुमन्ता च तान्ये-
 7 व नरके वसे ॥ विन्ध्याटवीध्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन. कृष्णसर्पा भिजायन्ते
 8 ब्रह्मदेयापहारका[.] ॥ यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि निष्कर्मा-
 9 न्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु × पुनराददीत ॥ लिखित चात्र सान्धिविग्रहिकेना-
 10 दित्यभोगिकेन सवत्सरगतत्रय⁷ पट्चत्वारिंशोत्तरके¹⁰ ॥ ३४६

No II — A grant of Ranagraha, dated Sam 391

The plate measures 9½ inches by 4¼ and contains ten lines of well preserved Gurjara characters, resembling those of the Umata, Ilāo and Bagumrā grants. There are two holes at the top, showing where the rings originally were. The language of the grant is faulty Sanskrit

The donee of the grant (l 1) is the Brāhmana *Ādityaśarma* (*sic*), the *dātaka* (l 9) the *bhogika* *Pālakatujñāna*, and the writer (l 10) the *samdhivigrahādhiprita* *Mātribhata*. According to ll 9-10 the donor appears to be a son of *Vitarāga*, called *Ranagraha*, who is characterised as a worshipper of the sun (*Dinakarakīranābhya-
chanarata*) and as "the close relative of the illustrious Dadda" (*śrī-Dadda-pādāntar-
jñātā*), for it is his sign-manual which was attached to the grant. The date is (l. 8) *Sam 391, Vaiśākha bahula 15, i.e.* the new moon of Vaiśākha

² *Ind Ant* vol XVII, p 191

³ Read कृपय

⁴ Correctly कर्पयतो

⁵ Read औरनेर्वा

⁶ Read सगरादिभि

⁷ Read वसेत्

⁸ Read हि जायन्ते

⁹ Read ऋषे

¹⁰ Read ऋषिदुत्तरके.

[The page contains dense handwritten text in Devanagari script, which is heavily obscured by noise and artifacts from the scanning process. The text appears to be organized into several vertical columns.]

Though the details about the family of the donor have been lost, the last two statements permit us to recognise that the document was issued during the reign of Dadda IV —Prasāntarāga II¹¹ and that the donor was the brother of the latter, for, as the two Kheda grants of Dadda IV were issued in Sam 380 and 385,¹² it follows from the new date, Sam 391, that the same person must be meant here by the expression “the illustrious Dadda” Further, as Ranagraha is called both a son of Vitaraṅga and a relative of Dadda, and as the latter was a son of Jayabhata II —Vitarāga II, Ranagraha must have been Dadda’s brother or cousin Our grant shows, therefore, that the reign of Dadda IV lasted at least until Sam 391, or, as the Gujjaras used the Chedi era of A D 249, until A D 640

TRANSCRIPT

- L 1 ब्राह्मणादित्यशर्माया¹³ उदकातिसर्गेणाच्छिष्ट¹⁴ यतोस्यास्मदङ्गैरन्यैर्वागामिभोगपतिभि अय-¹⁵
 2 ¹⁶मस्मादायोनुमन्तव्य¹⁷ पालयितव्यश्च यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटला¹⁸ त्रितराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिन्द्यमान¹⁹ वा-
 3 नुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महापातकै[] सयुक्त[] स्या²⁰ इत्युक्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन षष्टिवरिष-
 4 सहस्राणि²¹ स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदा²² आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसे²³ विन्ध्याटवीध्व-
 तीयासु शुष्क-
 5. कीटरवासिन[] “क्रिष्णाद्वयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदानापहारका[] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा
 नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि
 6 धर्मात्ययशस्कराणि निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को णाम²⁵ साधु[] पुनरादधीति²⁶ स्वदत्ता²⁷
 परदत्ता वा
 7 यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर²⁸ मही²⁹ महिमता³⁰ श्रेष्ठ दातातुच्छ्रेयोनुपालनमिति³¹
 8 सवत्सरशतत्रये एकनवत्ये³² वैशाखवहुलपञ्चदश्या स ३९१ वैशाख व १५
 9 दूतकोत्र भोगिकपालकटञ्जान[*] दिनकरकिरणाभ्यर्चनरतस्य स्वहस्तोय श्रीवीतरागसूनो
 10 रणग्रहस्य श्रीदहपादान्तर्जाति³³ लिखितमिद सन्निविगहाधिक्रित³⁴मात्रिभटेन

No III —A grant of Śāntalla, general of Nirihullaka

The plate measures 8½ inches by 3½ inches, and contains 12 lines in characters closely resembling those of the early Chalukya plates and of the Mahākūta pillar inscription edited by Mr Fleet, *Indian Antiquary*, vol XIX, pp 7 ff The plate is slightly damaged at the top and on both sides at the bottom. Two holes on the lower side show where the rings were originally placed The language of the grant is slightly incorrect Sanskrit

¹¹ *Ind Ant* vol XVII, p 191
¹² *Jour Beng As Soc* vol VII, pp 908 ff, *Jour Roy As Soc* N S vol I pp 247 ff, *Ind Ant* vol XIII, pp 81 ff

¹³ Read °शर्मणे.
¹⁴ Read °शोक्तेष्ट
¹⁵ Read °पतिभिरय°
¹⁶ Read °मछद्वायी°
¹⁷ Read °मन्तव्य
¹⁸ Read °वृत्तमतिरा°
¹⁹ Read °दाच्छिन्द्यमान
²⁰ Read स्यादि°
²¹ Read षष्टि वर्ष°

²² Read भूमिद
²³ Read वसेत्
²⁴ Read कृष्णा°
²⁵ Read नाम
²⁶ Read °दधीत
²⁷ Read °दत्ता
²⁸ Read युधिष्ठिर
²⁹ Read मही
³⁰ Read महीमता
³¹ Read दानाच्छ्रेयो°
³² Read एकनवत्या
³³ Read °ज्ञाते
³⁴ Read °वियहाधिक्रित°

Its contents are as follows Writing from the victorious camp (*vijayakataka*), located at Nigundipadraka (l 1), Śāntilla, the general (*balādhikṛita*, l 5) of the *bhogikapāla* and *mahāpalapati* (*mahāpallapati*) Nīrīhullaka (l 4), who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Śamkarana (*Śamkaragana*, l 3), son of the illustrious Krishnarāja (whose feet were worshipped by the whole circle of the earth, ll 1-2), grants to Bhajikanantastvāmī (*Bhājika*³⁵ *Anantastvāmī*, l 7), an inhabitant of Pāśhanīhrada (l 6), a member of the Kantsa *gotra* and a student of the *Vāyasāneya* (*Samhitā*), a field requiring for seed-corn one *pitaka* of rice (l 10), and situated in the western *śim* of Śrī-Parnākā, which belonged to (the district of) Tandulapadraka (ll 8-9) The purpose for which the grant was made is the usual one, the provision for the expenses of the five *mahāyajñas* It is added that the donation was made on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun "for the increase of the spiritual merit and fame of the *Parāmahatā*śāka's feet, i.e. probably of Śamkara[ga]na

As regards the persons named in the document, Śāntilla's position is sufficiently clear His master Nīrīhullaka must have been a Bhīl chieftain, for the title *mahāpallapati* means "the great lord of a settlement or of settlements of an aboriginal tribe"³⁶ It agrees with this that his name is not Sanskrit, but a barbarous Deśī word The phrase "who meditates on the feet of the illustrious Śamkara[ga]na" means, therefore, here merely that he was a vassal or servant of the latter, not that he was his successor *Pādānudhyāta* is frequently used in the former sense.³⁷ With respect to the question to which dynasty the two kings Krishnarāja and Śamkara[ga]na belonged, it is possible only to offer a conjecture Dr Buhler has suggested to me that, assuming the correction *Śamkaragana* for *Śamkarana* to be certain, the two kings may be Haihayas or Kalachuris of Chedi I am inclined to accept this, as the Chedi era was used by the Gurjaras, which is a certain sign of their power having extended to the province Moreover, the Chalukya inscriptions³⁸ mention a Kalachuri king, Buddhārāja, the son of Śamkaragana, from whom Mangaliśa took his wealth And it is not at all improbable that the Śamkaragana of the Chalukya inscriptions is identical with that of our plate, for, as has been pointed out already, its characters closely agree with those of the earlier Chalukya inscriptions, and show also some affinity with those of Dadda's Khedā plates They may well belong to the period of Mangaliśa's reign, which, as the latest researches of Mr Fleet show, fell between Śaka Samvat 519 and 531, or A D 597-98 and 610-11 There is also another detail in our grant which, I think, may be adduced in favour of this view

Professor R G Bhāndāṅkar, in his *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency*, 1883-84, remarks (pp 31-32) that "it is a remarkable circumstance that the names of most of the famous writers on the sacrificial rites should have the title *Śvāmī* attached to them. No writer later than the thirteenth century seems to have it We have Bhattas, Achāryas, Yajvans, Dīkshitas and Yājñikas during the last six centuries, but no Svāmī. The title appears to have been in use at a

³⁵ *Bhājika* might be *bhājaka*, "a worshipper, votary, devotee," V S Apte's *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p 807 Compare a similar use of the word *bhājita* in Bhaṭṭa Kumarila, Bhaṭṭotpala, Bhaṭṭodbhaṭa, etc

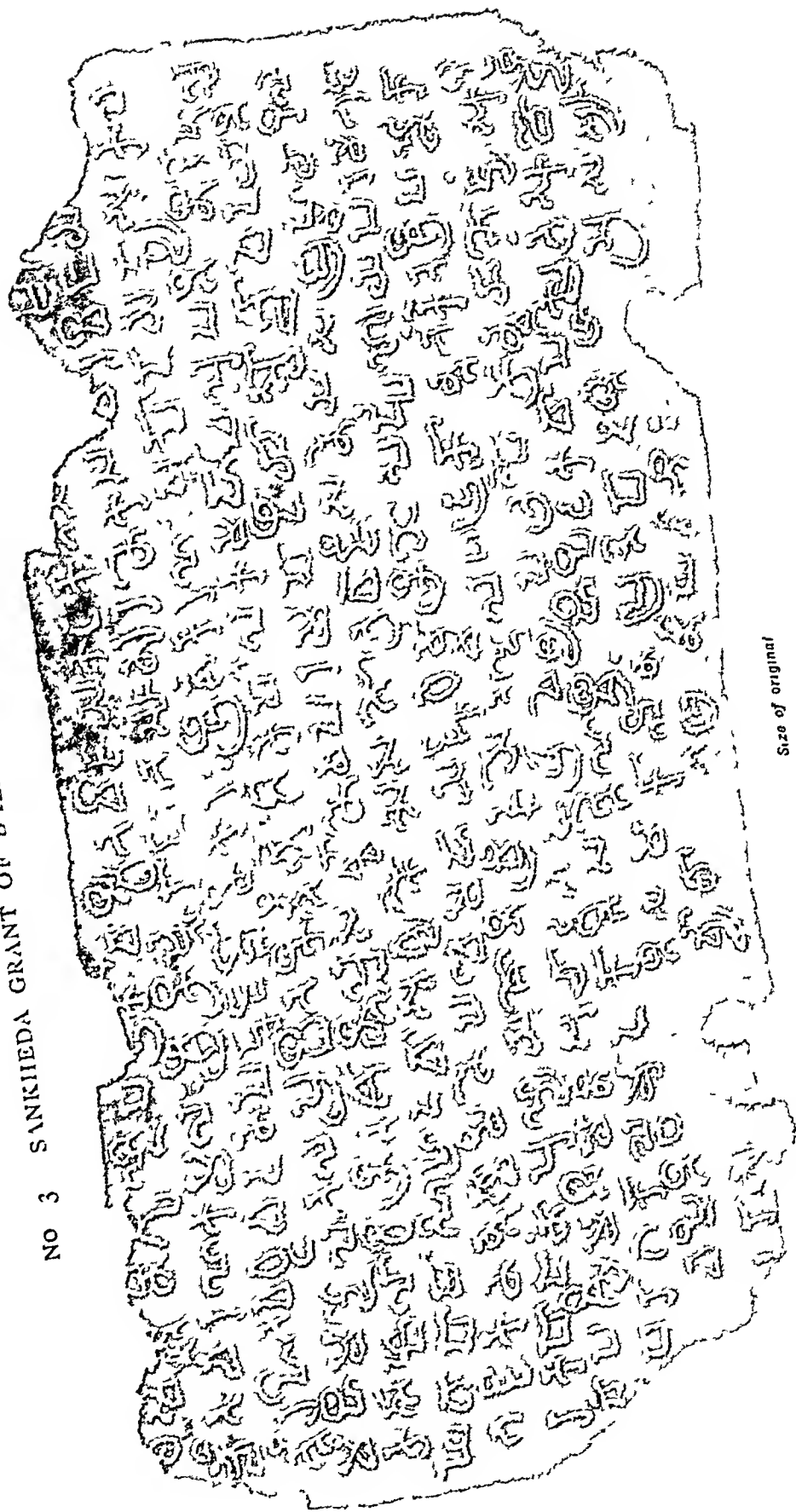
³⁶ See Dr Bohnling's *Abridged Sanskrit Dictionary*, s v *palla* Mr V S Apte (*Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p 687) assigns to the same word the meaning, "a large grant." On a local enquiry I find that the country about *un-kheda* goes by the name of *Palla* (Gujarātī *Pāla*) Thus, *mahāpallapati* would mean "the lord of the great Palla or Pāla"

³⁷ See e g l 33 of Mr Fleet's No 1, *Corp Inser Ind* vol III, pp 10 and 17, note 2

³⁸ See *Ind Ant* vol XIX, p 16

(plate 1)

NO 3 SANKHEDA GRANT OF BALÂDHIRITA SÂNTILĪ



Size of original

Dr. M. N. Srinivasan, Director

1. 5 उल्लापनाधिकृतगान्तिव" सर्वानेव परमपादीयास्वाद्यावेदयति"
- 6 यथा पापानिहृद"वाग्न्यव्यकोत्ससगोत्रवाजिसनेयसद्रक्षारिणो"
- 7 भजिन्नन्तस्वामिने पद्ममहायज्ञधर्माक्रियोत्पर्षणाय" परमभट्टा-
- 8 रजपादाना पुण्ययोगिभिर्विदये" तरुणपट्टकान्तर्भक्त श्रीपर्णाका-
- 9 या पयिमसीमनि प्रचाटभटप्रावेश्य"पतर्पौवाग्वयभोज्य आदि-⁵²
- 10 — परागजालमुदकातिसर्गेण व्रीहिपिटकवापचेत्त आञ्जादि-⁵³
- 11 — — वचिति[म्वि]तिसमकालीन प्रतिपादिह्य अतुष्या —⁵⁴
- 12 — — रगानुव्याया भवृनिपतिभि "

V—INSCRIPTIONS FROM NORTHERN GUJARAT

Dr J KIRSTE, Ph D, VIENNA

The subjoined inscriptions collected by Mr H Cousens, in Gujarât, were entrusted to me for decipherment by Professor Bühler, who assisted me with his advice. They were found in the following places —

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 Bhulri (Nos i—iii), | 6 Roho (xii—xvi), |
| 2 Dilmâl (iv—vii), | 7 Saiotra (xvii—xxvi), |
| 3 Mandâl (viii), | 8 Sonak (xxvii, xxviii), |
| 4 Munjpur (ix), | 9 Taranga (xxix) |
| 5 Palanpur (x, xi), | |

All are written in Devanâgarî characters, with the exception of No viii, where the first two lines are in Arabic and the last in Gujarâtî. They are mostly injured and defaced. The language is a crude mixture of Sanskrit and Gujarâtî. Hence the readings are not always certain, and I am not sure that I have succeeded in fully making out the sense of all.

The generally interesting information which they furnish may be arranged under the following heads —

1.—They yield some notice of the political history of Gujarât. No viii furnishes a date from the reign of Sultân Ahmad and the names of his father Sultân Muhammad, and of his grandfather Sultân Muzaffâr Shah. It also mentions a Mahk Kharachari, who seems to have been the Musalman governor or minister in charge of Mandâl (the modern Marval) in the Viramagâm Taluka, and that of a local chief called Râjâ (?). No xi records the death of a Rajput, possibly a local chief. No xii, of the Gedî family, in Samvat 1282. Nos xvii—xix speak of two local

1. 5 उल्लापनाधिकृतगान्तिव

2. 6 यथा पापानिहृद

3. 7 भजिन्नन्तस्वामिने

4. 8 रजपादाना पुण्ययोगिभिर्विदये

5. 9 या पयिमसीमनि

6. 10 — परागजालमुदकातिसर्गेण

7. 11 — — वचिति[म्वि]तिसमकालीन

1. 5 प्र 1 54

2. 6 प्र 1 55

3. 7 प्र 1 56

4. 8 प्र 1 57

5. 9 प्र 1 58

6. 10 प्र 1 59

7. 11 प्र 1 60

chiefs of Sarotra—(1) Arajunaji, who ruled in Samvat 1678, and (2) his son Haradâ-aji, who ruled in Samvat 1685 and 1689 No xxvii makes us acquainted with a Mahârâna Khetala (?) who held the village of Sûnaka, the modern Sonak, in Samvat 1356

2 —We obtain the following information regarding the spiritual heads of the Tapâga-chiebha —No xxix tells us that Hiravijaya was Bhattâraka in Samvat 1642 This inscription mentions also Vijayasena, who succeeded him (see Klatt, *Ind Ant*, vol XI, p 256) Vijayadeva, the successor of the latter, is alluded to six times in the inscriptions Nos xx—xxiii, xxv, and xxvi, which are all dated in the year Samvat 1689, while his appointed successor Vijayasimha is mentioned once (inscription xx) Inscription No. ii makes us acquainted with a Guru of the Mahideśvariya Matha called Jirâja, i.e. probably Jêrâja or Jayarâja

No I.¹

- L 1 स[व]त १[३]५ [८] वर्षे [आ]श्विन व[दि] १५ सोमे
 2 ॥ प्र[ग्व]टज्ञातीय श्रे[ष्ठ] — — [ए]सुत
 3 समयकेन मूर्ति कारापि[त]² . .

TRANSLATION

In the year Sam 1358, on the 15th (*day*) of the dark half of Âśvina, a Monday, a figure was caused to be made by the Śreshtin Samayaka, son of . . of the Pragvâta gotia

No II.³

- L 1 [श्री] महिदेखरीयमठाधिप-
 2 जिराजगुरु[श्रीध्यान]गणाचार्य-
 3 स्य ॥

TRANSLATION

(*The image*) of the venerable Dhyânaganâchârya, the guru Jirâja, the lord of the Mahideśvariya monastery

No III.⁴

- L 1 श्री ॥ आवण सुदि १५ चवण ज्येष्ठ वदि
 ८ जन्मा । फागुण [आ]
 2 सुदि १२ दिक्का । फागुण वदि १३ नाण ।
 ज्येष्ठ वदि ८ सुक्खी स्वामि

TRANSLATION

Hail ! The conception (*ahyavana*) on the 15th (*day*) of the bright half of Śrâvana, birth on the 8th (*day*) of the dark half of Jyeshtha, consecration (*dîkshâ*) on the 12th

¹ At Bhilri on the base of an image in the Jaina temple

² Read मूर्ति कारापिता

³ At Bhilri on the base of an image in Mahadeva's temple

⁴ At Bhilri in an old well outside the village

No VII¹⁰

- L 1 स्वस्ति सवत् १५३२ वर्षे वैसाख वदि ११
 2 रवौ के° रा[घ]ासुत मा° सादाभाटा
 3 [यए]तयी भार्या ठा° नरसिंग-
 4 तनया वाइ रूपाइ मा° सादास[ह]
 5 तथा ठा° गोपालतनया वाई माई
 6 मा° भाटासह अहर्निशि श्रीलक्ष्मी-
 7 नारायणाभ्या प्रणमत ॥ प्रति-
 8 मा पिडी [तत] कारापिता शिव-
 9 मस्तु ॥ कल्याणमस्तु शुभ भवतु ॥

TRANSLATION

Hail! In the year Sam 1532, on the 11th (*day*) of the dark half of Vaiśākha, a Sunday, Bâi Rûpâi, daughter of Thâ(kura) Narasing (Narasimha), wife of Mâ (nda-
 lîka) Sâdâjhamtâ, son of Ke Râghâ(?) (and) mother of Sâdâsaha (?)—likewise
 Bâi Mâmî, daughter of Thâ(kura) Gopâla and mother of Jhâmtasaha, bow day and
 night to Lakshmî and Nârâyana. An image (*and*) then a base (*for it*) was caused to
 be made

No VIII¹¹

- L. 1 تاریخ پانزدہ یم ماہ دی العده سنہ عشریں و ثمانئہ
 2 در عہد سلطان سلاطین احمد بن محمد بن مطہر شاہ
 3 السلطان بن سلطان بن سلطان . . . عمل کا محمد . . . این کتاب¹²
 4
 5
 6
 7 [स्व] स्ति सवत् १४७४ वर्षे पौष वदि
 8 — के¹³ अद्येह मडल्या मलिक श्री [का]-
 9 मचदप्रतिपत्तौ राण श्रीरण[क]-
 10 विजयराज्ये समस्तमाडलिनि[वा]-
 11 [सी]त्योक्विद्यमान माडवी [हद] खप
 12 [त]निश्चल कीधी ते पूर्वम[दनी]¹⁴ को
 13 ल[खद]निहरदिपू[छ]ीयाहिजेपा
 14. पवर्त्तदाननिलाविलाय [दप तप]

¹⁰ At Dilmâl on the base of the image of Lakshmî Narâyana in a small shrine

¹¹ At Mandâl on a stone in the Chaulî

¹ The transcription of the Persian text I owe to the kindness of Prof Karabucel at Vienna. Lines 4 to 6 are illegible

¹³ L 8 Probably शुक्ते is to be read

¹⁴ Corrected below the line to पूर्व[मद]—नो The third letter may be सु and the fifth seems to have been intentionally

TRANSLATION

Persian Text —At the date on the 15th day of the month Dhu-l-Qa'de, in the year eight hundred and twenty (of the Hījra, *i.e.* the 24th December of 1417 A D), during the reign of the Sultān of Sultāns Ahmad, son of the Sultān Muhammad, son of the Sultān Muzaffar Shāh business(?) of Kāmajand . . this writing

Sanskrit Text —Hail! In the year Sam 1474, in the dark half of Pausha, on a Friday (Friday, 24th December 1417 A D), to-day, here in Mamdālī, during the administration of Malik, the illustrious Kāmachanda, in the victorious reign of Rāna the illustrious Ranaka (?),—the business of the limits of the custom-house was settled in the presence of all the inhabitants of Mamdālī .

No. IX¹⁵

- L 1 । सवत् १२११ वर्षे वैशाखे शुदि ५ वर—
 2 हडा [यानम]सा — तथा माय — — [यरि]सी [क]स
 3 मताल सा — — धव — श्रीत्रि[पुर] सदेव कारापित .

Much defaced and probably mutilated on the right side Nothing can be made out except the date Samvat 1211, Vaisākha śudi 5

No X¹⁶

- L 1 सवत् १२१७ वर्षे कार्तिक शुदि १०
 2 क्रे¹⁷ खीवाणास्थाने श्रीमहावीर
 3 खे¹⁸ योसा पेदिकाया [स्र]गविका प
 4 [य]ी स्थजमेक कारापित ॥ [ये]चि

This inscription seems to refer to a donation in the temple of Mahāvīra at Khīm-vānā, made in Samvat 1217, on the tenth day of the bright half of Kārttika, a Friday. Hence this stone, too, must have been removed from its original site

No XI¹⁹

- L 1 । संवत् १२८२ वर्षे पौष शुदि ४ शुक्रे गेडीआ
 2 राउत्त [मे]घा [सुत्त] वणरा । [घा]रातीर्ये पत्ति ॥

ABSTRACT

In the year Sam. 1282, on the fourth (*day*) of the bright half of Pausha, a Friday, fell the Gedīā Rāutta (*Rājaputra*) Vanaiām (*Vanarāja*), the son of Meghām
 The stone must be a so-called Pāhā

No XII²⁰

- L 1. सवत् १२५८
 2. र्ये कार्तिक सुदि १
 3 शुक्रे । [ज]सदेवसुत

¹⁵ At Munjpur in the Jami Masjid, on a beam

¹⁶ At Palanpur on the side of a well

¹⁷ Read घुके

¹⁸ Read चेल्ले

¹⁹ At Palanpur on a loose stone lying near the railway

²⁰ At Roha on a pillar of the Chhatra of Parēvanātha, much defaced

- L 4 [तो]जो गा — — — अ
5 य — प — — — कुं
6 — — कारापिता ॥

TRANSLATION

. caused to be made by son of Jasadeva in Samvat 1259, Kārtti-
ka sudi 1, a Friday

No XIII ²¹

- L 1 सवत् १२६[९] — ती
2 — — — — वदि १४
3 — — — देव — अयं सि
4 रीहा — — व — ता
5 — — — प्रदत्ता ॥

No XIV ²²

L 1 सवत् १२८८ वर्षे वैशाख शुदि १३ सोमे ऋषभदेवीचैत्ये निर्वृतिगच्छे गौरदेविसुते[न वाला]
केन मातानिमित्त नेमिनाथविव कारा[पित] शुभ भवतु ॥

TRANSLATION

In the year Sam. 1299, on the 13th (day) of the bright half of Vaiśakha, a
Monday, an image of Neminātha was caused to be made, for his mother's sake, by Vālāka
(²³), son of Gauradevi of the Nirvriti-Gotia in the temple of Rishabhadevi (²⁴)

No XV ²⁵

- L 1 ॥ श्री ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः । सवत् १६[७४]
2 वर्षे । पोसमास । कृष्णपक्षे । पचम्या ति-
3 थौ । गुरुवासरे । [डाभी]वशे । भट्टेसरी [—]²⁴
4 शाय्या । रात श्रीमाडणजी । भार्या बाइ
5 श्रीचापा बापी करापिता । प्र[र]साद द्वी सहि-
6 ता प्रतिष्ठा करापिता । बाई पुत्री श्रीसज्ज-
7 बाई सहितेना पीरोजी ५१००० एकावन्न
8 सहस्रव्ययो कृता । आ चद्रार्क नद्यात्
9 मासं ११ कार्य वी प्रासाद इ सहिता कृता ।
10 वशो विस्तरवायातु । यातु पुण्य मङ्ग-²⁵
11. यश । आयुविपुलता यातु । यस्यपा वा-²⁶
12 पिका कृता ॥ ॥ — [धरनेना] ढाला कृत ॥
13 प^० — — — — श्रीरस्तु ॥ कल्याणमस्तु ॥

¹ At Roho on a pillar in the third storey of an old well,—much defaced

²² At Roho on the arch over the old well,—first storey

²³ At Roho on a pillar in the third storey of the old well

²⁴ L 3 Probably [जी]

²⁵ L 10 Read °तरमा° । °महदयम्

²⁶ L 11 Read °विपु° । यस्यैवा

TRANSLATION

In the year Sam 1674 (?), on the 5th lunar day of the dark half of Pausha, a Thursday, a well was caused to be made by Pām̐ta Mamdanajī, (*whose*) wife (*was*) Champā, and together with two temples it was consecrated. He, together with his daughter Sajja Bāī, spent 51,000 *Pīroji* (*Rupees*) (*for this purpose*). May it rejoice as long as sun and moon endure! In 11 months the work (*i.e. the well*), together with the two temples, was completed. May the race extend! May great merit and fame come (*to him*)! May the life of him be lengthened who built this well! The Dhālā was made by Pam(dita) . . .

No XVI²⁷

- L 1. श्री सवत १६७६ वर्षे पौष शुदि ४ दने [वारगरु आ]²⁷
 2 — मानचत्र रात श्रीमडणजी भारय श्रीचप वाड पूतो सज्जनजे — पू — [प]लि
 3 सूत्र ना[वा] स — — — — श्रीगणेश न — — — —
 4 स श्रीनराअ[न] — — — — —

The same persons seem to be mentioned as in the preceding inscription

No. XVII²⁸

- L 1 सवत १६७८ वर्षे फागणमासे शू पचे नवम्या तयो शनिवसरे रो [ह]²⁹
 2 ॥ श्रीनचत्रे । धन्या अयोध्यादसरथनृपा साय माताय धान्या
 3 ॥ धन्या वाणी कविवरमुखे रामनामप्रवृता । धन्या देसो ऋव-
 4 पतिभवान्³¹ चत्र रामाश्रवतारा धन्यो लोको नीश्रातमगुणा राम
 5 ॥ वाच्य शृणोति ॥ १ ॥ रात श्रीअरजुणजी । वाई श्रीपदमा वाई । वाई³²
 6 ॥ श्रीअमरी ॥ पुत्र श्रीहरदामजी वेजयरान्ये³³ । छत्री कारापिता

ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam 1678, on the 9th lunar day of the bright half of Phalguna, a Saturday, under the Rohinī Nakshatra, during the reign of Arajunajī, whose wives were Padamām and Amari, and whose son was Haradāsajī, a Chhati was caused to be erected

No XVIII³⁴

- L 1. स १६८५ वर्षे अश्वि शुदि ११ दने [हरदाम लपना]³⁵

²⁷ At Poho on the base of an image in a ruined shrine near the old well

²⁸ Perhaps वारगुरु

²⁹ At Sarotra in the Bhavan Dhvaj temple

³⁰ L 1 Read शु(क्र) । तिथी । रीहिणी

³¹ Bhavān is meant for bhagavān

³² The metre of the verse in ll 2—5 seems to be Maṇḍākranta. It may be restored as follows —

Dhanyoyodhyādāsarathantripah sūpi mātāpi dhanyā,

Dhanyā vānī kavivaramukhe rāmanāmapravṛtā,

Dhanyo deśo raghuvratibhavan yatra rāmuvalāro,

Dhanyo loko nijatamagunām rāmarācham śṛinoti

³³ L 6 Read निश्वरान्य

³⁴ At Sarotra in the Bhavan Dhvaj temple

³⁵ L 1 Read आदय

TRANSLATION

In the year Samvat 1685, Śrāvana Sudī 11, Haradāsa

No XIX ³⁶

- L 1 सवत १६[८६] वर्षे आषाढमा[सि] [व]हुलप[क्षे] एकादीसी ११ तथ[ै]³⁷ रविवारि — —
 2 ॥ धान्या अयोध्यादसरयनप सा माताप धान्या धान्या वाणी कविवरसुखे
 3 ॥ रामनामप्रवृत्ता । धन्या देसो [ऋषु]पतिभवान् जित् रोमाअवतारा धन्या
 4 ॥ [लो] का नीअतमगुणा रामवाच्य शृणोती ॥ १ ॥ रात श्रीहरदासजी । वा-
 5 ई श्रीजिवती ॥ बाई राजू ॥ सबक ॥ वषट्ठ नाम सवत्सरो । पूत श्रीतोग[वी] व-
 6 ॥ जयराजे ॥ छत्री करापित.³⁸ ॥ २ ॥

ABSTRACT

In the year Sam 1689, on the 11th lunar day of the dark half of Āshādhā, a Sunday, during the reign of Haradāsajī whose wives were Jivantī and Rājū and whose son was Togabī (?), a Chhatrī was caused to be erected (Regarding the verse see inscription No xvii)

No XX ³⁹

- L 1 ॥ श्री ॥ भट्टारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरीश्वरगुरुभ्यो नमः आचार्य श्रीविजयसिंह-
 2 सूरीश्वरगुरुभ्यो⁴⁰ नम ॥ स० १६८९ वर्षे आषण व० ११ दिने देहरीनीपजतइ स [घप]
 3 लाडण भार्या नाथी सुत स० हरदास । स० सापा । स० तेजा । स० देवकरणई रूपईय
 [— —]⁴¹ । आप्या छद्द [॥]

ABSTRACT

In the year Sam 1689, on the 11th day of the dark half of Śrāvana Sam Lādana, whose wife was Nāthī and his son Sam Haradāsa, Sam Sāmpā, Sam Tejā, Sam Devakaranaī, gave silver Thapas (?) on the completion of the temple, while Bhattaraka Vijayadevasūri and Vijayasimhasūri were [living]

No XXI ⁴²

- L 1 ॥ श्री ॥ भट्टारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरीश्वरगुरुभ्यो नमः⁴³ ॥ संवत १६८९ वर्षे [वदि]
 2 [ना] स० लाडण भार्या ना[य]सुत स० हरदास स० सापा स० तेजा स० [देवकरण]
 3 — — — — [सुत याव] — क — — — स्वपति[बुका] — दि[सर्वेषा] श्रेयो-
 4 र्थ । श्रीमहावीरप्रासाद — ॥ देवकुलिका — रूप्ये. [कारिता] ॥

ABSTRACT

In the year Sam 1689, in the dark half of . . . Sam Lādana, whose wife was Nātha (?), and his son Sam Haradāsa, Sam Sāmpā, Sam Tejā, Sam Devakarana, erected a chapel in connection with the temple of Mahāvīra

³⁶ At Sarotra in an old chhattin

³⁷ L 1 Read एकादशीतिथी

³⁸ L 6 Read विजयराज्ये । कारापिता

³⁹ At Sarotra in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple

⁴⁰ Read °गुरुभ्यो

⁴¹ Looks like घप

⁴² At Sarotra in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple Preserra-
tion bad and most letters indistinct

⁴³ Read गुरुभ्यो

No XXII ⁴⁶

- L 1 ॥ ओं ॥ ⁴⁶भटारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरीश्वरगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥
 2 सं० १६८८ व० स लाडण [भा० वा०] ⁴⁷नाथी [त्य पूग] स० हर-
 3. दास स० तेजादिकुटुंब श्रेपार्श्वदेहरी कारापिता ॥

ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam 1689, in the dark half of . a temple of Pārśva was caused to be made by Sam Lādana, whose wife was Nāthī, and his son (?) Sam Haradāsa, and by the family of Sam Tejā.

No XXIII ⁴⁷

- L 1 ॥ ओं ॥ तपागच्छाधिराजभटारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरिगुरुभ्यो न°
 2 सं० १६८८ वर्षे फागुं शुदि १३ दिने ए देहरीनीपजतद् बु हरदास—
 3. बु[प]नावु भाडण तथा भोज — देभइ रूपए [— —] ⁴⁸आप्या छ

ABSTRACT

In the year Sam. 1689, on the 13th day of the bright half of Phālguna, on the completion of this temple, silver Thapas (?) were given by Haradāsa, whose father (?) was Mādana (Lādana?)

No XXIV. ⁴⁹

- L 1 ॥ ओं ॥ सं० १६८८ वर्षे फागुण शुदि १० दिने बु[प] — करणइ ए देहरी [नीपजतद्]
 2. रूपइआ [— —] ⁵⁰आप्या छइ ॥ इति मंगलम् ॥ ओ ॥ ओ ॥ ओ ॥

ABSTRACT

In the year Sam. 1689, on the 10th day of the bright half of Phālguna, on the completion of this temple, silver . were given by Karana (?)

No. XXV ⁵¹

- L 1 ॥ ओं ॥ श्रीविजयदेवसूरिगुरु[र]भ्यो नमः ॥ सं० १६८८ वर्षे फागुण शु
 2 दि १० दिने बुहरा-वस्ता]कोकरे ए देहरीनीपजतद् रूपइआ — — आप्या छे — — —
 3.

ABSTRACT

In the year Sam 1689, on the 10th day of the bright half of Phālguna, on the completion of this temple, silver . were given by the son of

⁴⁶ At Sarotra in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple

⁴⁷ Read भटार, °गुरु°

⁴⁸ Possibly for भाया याद

⁴⁹ At Sarotra over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple

⁵⁰ Looks like घया

⁵¹ At Sarotra over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple

⁵² Looks like पप

⁵³ At Sarotra over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple

No XXVI.⁵²

- L 1 ॥ श्री ॥ भट्टारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरिगुरु-
 2 भ्यो नम स० १६८८ वर्षे फा० वदि ११ दिने ए
 3. देहरीनीपजतद्र वु मा[ता] ताना [रा]ज पालि रूप [य थव]
 4 आप्या कइ ॥

ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam 1689, on the 11th day of the dark half of Phā(ḷgūna), on the completion of this temple, silver Thapas (?) were given by

No XXVII.⁵³

- L 1 । सवत् १३५६ वर्षे चैत्र व ११
 2 गन । यथेह स्रणकग्रामे म-
 3 हाराण श्री[खे]तलप्रतिपत्ती
 4 लीप ० महिपाकेन देवीश्री-
 5 शिवलीयात्राया नाट [पूजाय]
 6. प्रदत्त पा[द्र] स दि[न] पूमि-
 7 [य]न — — ना माता [त्रियो]—
 8 पीलक [ब्रह्मपुरे] सहित [सक]
 9 लमपि ग्रा[म] ॥ श्रीः ॥

ABSTRACT.

The inscription refers to some gift made by one Līsha (?) Mahipāka in Sam. 1356, on the 11th day of the dark half of Chaitra, during the administration of the Mahārāna, the illustrious Khetala (?) in the village of Sūnaka, on the occasion of the Yātrā of Devi Śrīśivalī.

No XXVIII.⁵⁴

- L 1 । सवत् १५८६ वर्षे
 2. यावण वदि १३ सोमे — —

TRANSLATION.

In the year Sam 1596, Śrāvana vadi 13, a Monday

No XXIX.⁵⁵

- L 1 ॥ सवत् १६४२ वरषे आसाढ शुदि १०
 2. दने पातसा श्रीशकवर गहि
 3 गढीआ० महेस गढी सजा
 4 पगी श्री० गोवद पगी श्रीराम

⁵² At Sarotra over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhvaja Temple

⁵³ At Sonak on a pillar in an old temple

⁵⁴ At Sonak on the base of an image in the same temple

⁵⁵ At Taranga on the side of the great temple

- L 5 जईननु पातया जगमतीर-
 6 थ श्रीहीरविजयसूरिः ॥
 7 श्रीवजयसे । नसूरिः ॥
 8 तेहना धरम साचा जांणी
 9 श्रीवीसलनगरि सधिसूयि
 10 साहाँ गणापति आदर
 11 करी गुरथ ठामठामथक
 12 गरथ आणीनि प्रासादनु
 13 नवी आचार कीथो छिः ॥
 14 सोँ सवसी कूरीआ
 15 उपरि रही कवाडू करा छ
 16. सूत्रँ गोवाल वडनगर
 17 सूत्रँ भूपा वीसलनगर
 18 कवाडूकर. ॥ सूँ गो [पा]
 19 रातँ साहरूपासरठा

Seems to refer to the restoration of the temple in Samvat 1642

VI—THE JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM ŚĀTRUMJAYA.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH D, LL D, C I E

The subjoined editions and abstracts of 118 inscriptions, found in the Jaina temples on the hill of Śātrumjaya near Pālītānā, have been prepared according to the impressions, taken by Mr Cousens during the working season of 1888-89, and made over to me by the Editor. They consist of two great series, the first comprising Nos 1-xxxii which range between Samvat 1587 and 1710, and the second, Nos. xxxiii-cxv, which run from Samvat 1783 to 1943 or 1887 A D¹. As the latter series of course possesses in general little historical interest, I have thought it inadvisable to publish them *in extenso*, and I believe the abstracts given below will satisfy all requirements. I have, however, made an exception with No. cv, because it contains a tolerably complete account of the heads of the Añchala *gachchha*, regarding which hitherto very little has become known. Moreover, it furnishes a good sample of the Sanskrit, written by the Yatis of our days, and it may be useful for settling the controversy regarding the origin of the "mixed" dialects found in older books and inscriptions, as well as that regarding the advisability of bringing, by conjectural emendations, the language of somewhat older Jaina authors such as Merutunga, Rājasekhara and Jinamandana, into harmony with the rules of Sanskrit grammar. The transcript of this document as well as those of Nos 1-xxxiii and No. cxviii have been prepared by Dr J. Kiste, Privat-Dozent in the Vienna University, and to him belong also the footnotes appended to the same.

As regards the historical information contained in the 118 inscriptions, it falls under the following heads —(1) notes regarding the political history of Western India,

¹ The dates of Nos. cxvi-cxvii are not certain. No. cxviii ought properly to stand after No. xii.

(2) notes regarding the schools of the Jaina monks, (3) notes regarding the subdivisions of the Jaina laymen

As regards the first point, No I is the most important document, for it names (1 1) three Sultáns of Gujarát (1) Mahímúda, (2) Madáphara, and (3) Bâhadara, and states that the latter was alive in Vikrama Samvat 1587, and (1 2) that his minister was Shâna (Khân) Majhâdashâna or Majhâdaka (l. 26) It further enumerates (ll 8-10) four rulers of Chitrakûta—(1) Kumbharâja, (2) Râjamalla, (3) Samgrâmasimha, (4) Ratnasimha, which latter ruled in Samvat 1587, and adds (l 23) that Karmasimha or Karmarâja, who made (l 27) the seventh restoration (*saptama uddhâra*) and re-built the temple of Pundarîka, was his prime minister We are further told (l 26) that he did so with the express permission of Sultân Bâhadara, and obtained from him a *sphuranmâna*, *i e* a *fermân*, for this purpose The negotiations were conducted by a *mantri* Rava (*ravâkhyâ*) Narasimhaka, probably also a Jaina, who was in the employ of Sultân Bâhadara's prime minister

With respect to the list of the sovereigns of Gujarât, it deserves to be noticed that Sultáns Sikandar and Mahmûd. the two brothers of Sultân Bahâdur, who reigned each for a short period after Sultân Muzaffar II, have been left out I am unable to identify Khân Majhâd or Majhâdaka, who, according to our inscription, was Bahâdur's vazir in Samvat 1587 According to the *Mirât-i-Sikandari*,² that dignity was bestowed on Tâj Khân in A D 1526, nor is Karmarâja or Karmasimha mentioned in Tod's account of the history of Mevâd But there is no reason for doubting the veracity of the document The list of the four Rânâs agrees with Tod's The statements of the *Mirât-i-Sikandari* (*op cit*, p 350) prove that Ratnasimha really ruled in Samvat 1587, and that his relations with the Sultân of Gujarât were of a friendly nature

Next come the dates from the reigns of the third and fourth Mughal Emperors—

1 Jahângîr is mentioned as Nûradîna J Savâi in Nos xv, xvii—xx, xxiii, xxiv, which are all dated in Samvat 1675, as well as in No xxvii of Samvat 1683. Nos xvii—xx mention also prince Khosrû (*Shâhijâda Suratâna Shosadû*) and the governor (*sobat*) of Ahmadâbâd (*Bâjanagara*), Sultân Khurme (*Sahiyâna suratâna Shurame*)

2 Shâh Jihân (*Shâhijâhâm*) occurs once in No xxx, which is dated in Vikrama Samvat 1686 and Śaka Samvat 1551 The two dates agree perfectly with the facts And it is also correct that Suratâna Khurme, *i e* Sultân Khurram or Shâh Jihân, was viceroy of Gujarât in Samvat 1675 For the Muhammadan historians inform us that the latter province was added to the other governments held by him in A D 1617 Of interest, too, is the mention of Shâhijâda Suratâna Shosadû, *i e* prince Khosrû, (Nos xvii—xx), who no doubt was alive in Vikrama Samvat 1675, but had been a prisoner ever since the second year of his father's reign

Among the local chiefs of Kâthiavâd, the inscriptions mention—

(1) Jâm (*Yâma*) Śatruśalya and his son, Jasavanta, which latter, according to No xx1 (l 4) ruled at Navînapura, *i e* Navânagar, in Hallâra, *i e* the Halâr Prânt, in Vikrama Samvat 1675,

(2) Some of the Gohel chieftains of Pâlitânâ, *viz*,—

(a) Khâmdujî and his son, Śivâjî, in No xxvii, ll 38 9, of Vikrama Samvat 1683,

- (b) Unadâjî in No. li, of V S. 1861,
 (c) Khamdhâjî, his son, Noghanajî, and his grandson, Pratâpasimghajî, in Nos. lxxviii and lxxix, dated V S. 1891 and 1892,
 (d) Noghanajî and his son, Pratâpasimghajî, in No. xcvi, of V S. 1910, and
 (e) Pratâpasimghajî, V.S. 1916 (No. ciii).
 (f) Sûrasimghajî, in No. cxi, of V S. 1940.

The information of the inscriptions agrees perfectly with the notes on the history of Navânagar and Pâlitânâ, given in the *Bombay Gazetteer* (vol viii, p. 559). According to the latter work, Jâm Jasoji, the son of Jâm Satâjî, ruled from A.D. 1608 to 1624. It is not difficult to recognise Jasavanta in Jasoji. Satâjî is a very considerable abbreviation of Satrsâl, the more usual form for the Sanskrit Śatruśālya, "an arrow for his enemies." As regards the Gohels, we read (*op. cit.* pp. 604f) that Khândoji II was succeeded by Shavaji II. This is no doubt the pair of the inscription, as Shavaji is placed five generations before A.D. 1766. The other chiefs mentioned in the inscriptions are called in the *Gazetteer*, Unadji, A.D. 1766—1820, Khândoji IV., 1820—1840, Noghanaji IV., A.D. 1840—1860, Pratâpsinghji, 1860, Sûrsinghji, since 1860. It is amusing to note that in No. xcvi, Noghanaji receives the proud titles *râjarâjêśvara* and *mahârâjadhîrâja*, though the Pâlitânâ State pays tribute to several masters and ranks among the second class states of Kâthiâvâd. Besides, Thakur Noghanaji was, according to the *Bombay Gazetteer*, by no means as well off as his successors, who have a gross revenue of five lakhs of rupees, for his state was held under Government guarantee in farm by Vakhatchand, the Nagarsheth of Ahmadâbâd, from A.D. 1821—1831, when prince Pratâpsinghji managed to get it out of the hands of the banker. None of the numerous donors from Ahmadâbâd, Bombay, and other towns in the British territory, has thought it necessary to mention the British Government. But Harashachamda, *i.e.* Harakhchand of Damana-bandira or Daman, gratefully mentions, in No. xlv of V.S. 1860, that he was honoured by the *Phirangiyâti Puratakâla pâtasâhi*, *i.e.* by the king of Portugal. Compared with this, the forgetfulness of the family of the Nagarsheth of Ahmadâbâd is, to say the least, remarkable.

The next point which claims attention is the copious information which the inscriptions furnish regarding several schools of Jaina monks, the Kharatara, Tapâ, Añchala, and Sâgara gachchhas. Lists of the spiritual heads of the former two sects have been published by Dr. Klatt in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XI, p. 245 ff, and a Kharatara *pattâvali* from the *Praśasti* of the temple of Vâdîpura Parśvanâtha has been given, *ante*, vol. I, p. 319. The other two *pattâvalis* have not, as far as I know, been made known before.—

I—*Pattâvali of the Kharatara gachchha*

The following list is given in No. xvii—

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Ud(d)yotanasûri, | <i>Narângî vrutti</i> , and discoverer of the Parśvanâtha of Stambhana,
6 Jinavallabhasûri,
7. Jinadattasûri, to whom a <i>devatâ</i> gave the title <i>yugapradhâna</i> , ³
8 Jinachandrasûri II., |
| 2. Vardhamânasûri, <i>vasatimârgapra-</i> | |
| <i>kâśaka</i> , | |
| 3 Jineśvarasûri I, | |
| 4 Jinachandrasûri I, | |
| 5, Abhayadevasûri, composer of the | |

³ The first seven Sûris are mentioned also in No. xviii

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 9 Jinapattisûri, ⁴ | 16 Jinachandrasûri IV, |
| 10 Jineśvarasûri II, | 17 Jinodayasûri, |
| 11 Jinaprabodhasûri, | 18 Jinarâjasûri, |
| 12 Jinachandrasûri III, | 19. Jinabhadrasûri, ⁵ |
| 13 Jinakuśalasûri, | 20 Jinachandrasûri V, |
| 14 Jinapadmasûri, | 21 Jinasamudrasûri, |
| 15 Jinalabdhisûri, | 22 Jinahamsasûri, |
| 23 Jinamānikyasûri, | |

24 Jinachandrasûri VI,⁶ who awakened the Pâtisâhi of Delhi, Akabara, received from him the title *yugapradhāna*, and obtained an edict not to kill during 8 days in all countries, who appeased the angry Jahāmgīra and protected the Sādhus banished by him

25 Jinasimhasûri, who caused the *mantrin* Karamachandra to institute⁷ a *rūpa-nandi* festival at an expense of 12,500,000 (*sapāḍakoti*), wandered through Kathīna, Kāśmīr and other countries, pleased Akabara-Sâhi, stopped for a year the slaying of aquatic animals, caused an edict of not killing to be proclaimed in Śrīpura,⁸ Gola-kumdâ (Golkonda), Gajjanâ (Ghazni), and other countries, and received the title of *yugapradhāna* from Jahāmgīra-Nûradî-Mahammada

26 Jinarâja,⁹ whose parents were Sâ Dharmasî and Dhâralade, who belonged to the Bohittha race, received a boon from the goddess Ambikâ, and in consequence deciphered the *prasasti* on an ancient image at Ghamghânîpura In No xxvi there is a second date, Samvat 1682 for him

The later inscriptions mention —

Jinachandrasûri, Samvat 1794,¹⁰ (No xxxix), Jinaharshasûri,¹¹ Samvat 1887 (No lx), Samvat 1888, Samvat 1891 (No lxxviii), Samvat 1892 (No lxxix), Jinamahendrasûri, successor of the preceding, Samvat 1893 (No lxxx), stated to belong to the Pippalîya branch (Nos lxxxii-v),¹² Samvat 1903 (No lxxxviii)

Jinasaubhâgyasûri, successor of Jinaharsha, Samvat 1910 (No xvi).

Jinamuktisûri, Samvat 1922 (No cvi) The statements of the latest inscriptions show that there were several heads of the Kharatara *gachchha*, which fact is known to everybody personally acquainted with the sect I met Jinamuktisûri at Jesalmîr in 1874, and at Bîkânîr another head of the Kharataras called Hemasûri The pupils of a third Yugapradhāna of the same community visited me in 1876 at Surat, when he passed through the town

II — *Pattāvali of the Tapā gachchha*

No xii mentions first Vardhamāna (verse 2), Sudharma (verse 3), Susthita and Supratibuddha, the founders of the Kotikagana (verse 4), Vajra, the founder

⁴ This form, which is found also in the Patan *Prasasti*, ante, vol I, p 319, seems to be preferable to Dr Klatt's Jinapati, *Ind Ant*, vol XI, pp 245ff

⁵ Mentioned also in No xviii

⁶ Mentioned also in Nos xviii—xx, xxiii, xxxiv

⁷ Nos xviii—xx, xxiii—xxiv, add "before Akabarasahi"

⁸ According to No xviii Śrīkastipura, according to No xix Śrīkara Śrīpura, according to No xxiii Śrīpura

⁹ Mentioned in the same way in Nos xiv—xx, xxiii xxiv, xxvi

¹⁰ Klatt has a Jinachandra (No 69) in S 1834

¹¹ This is the last on Klatt's list, *Ind Ant*, vol xi, pp 245ff

¹² Nos lxxxii—lxxxv have a note speaking of a Jinachandrasûri, successor of Jinadeva, being alive Regarding the Pippalîya Kharatara gachchha see Klatt, *ut sup*, under No 56

(1) Ânandavimāla (Klatt No. 56), who reformed the conduct of the Yatis in Samvat 1582 (verses 10-11).

(3) Hīravijaya (Klatt No. 58), verses 14—21, who was called by Śāhi Akabbura to

(4) Vijayasena (Klatt No 59), (verses 25—31), who was called by Akabbara to Labhapura (Lahor), received from him great honours, and a *phuramāṇa*, forbidding the slaughter of cows, bulls and buffalo-cows, to confiscate the property of deceased persons and to make captives in war, who, honoured by the king, the son of Choli-begam (*Choli Vegama*), adorned Gujarāt. Latest date Samvat 1650.

(6) Vijayaprabha (Klatt No 61) is mentioned in No xxxiii, dated Samvat 1710. He receives the titles *āchārya* and *sūri*, and seems, therefore, not yet to have been the actual head. Vijayadeva, on the other hand, is there called *bhattāraka*. This goes against Klatt's *Pattāvali*, which places Vijayadeva's death in Samvat 1709.

Vijayakṣhamāsûri, No xxviii

Vijayajinendiasûri, No xlv, Samvat 1843, Nos xlv—xlv, Samvat 1860

Vijayadhaneśvarīasūri, No lxxvii, Samvat 1893

¹⁴ Possibly a tax on Jaina pilgrims, visiting their holy places, may be meant,—see also Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 336 (6th edition) The *Sūryya* tax is, of course, the *jizya* or capitation tax on infidels

16 Regarding the Lumpākās see Bhāṇḍārkar, *Report on Sanskrit MSS for 1893-94*, p. 153

Vijayadevendrasûri,¹⁶ No lxxxvi, Samvat 1897, No lxxxix, Samvat 1905, No xlii, Samvat 1908, No xcvi, Samvat 1911, No. civ, Samvat 1916, No. cvii, Samvat 1924

Vidyânandasûri, successor of Dhaneśvara, No ciii, Samvat 1916

A Samvijñayamargiya Tapâgachchha, belonging to the line of Vijayasîhasûri, is mentioned in No. lxxxvi of Samvat 1893 and in No. cxiii of Samvat 1940

III — *Pattāvali of the Añchala or Vidyapāksha gachchha*¹⁷

The first seventeen teachers are named in Nos xxi of Samvat 1675 and xxvii of Samvat 1683, the remainder mostly in No cv of Samvat 1921

- | | |
|---|---|
| (1) Āryarakṣita, ¹⁸ | (16) Dharmamūrti, |
| (2) Jayasimha, | (17) Kalyānasāgara or Kalyānasamudra, Samvat 1675 and 1683, |
| (3) Dharmaghosha, | (18) Amarodadhī, |
| (4) Mahendrasimha, | (19) Vidyāsûri (Vidyābdhi), ¹⁹ |
| (5) Simhaprabha, | (20) Udayārnava, or Udayasāgara, ²⁰ |
| (6) Devendra or Devendrasimha, | (21) Kīrtisindhu or Kīrtisāgara, No li, Samvat 1861, |
| (7) Dharmaprabha, | (22) Punyodadhī or Punyasāgara, (No li, of S 1861), |
| (8) Simhatilaka, | (23) Muktisāgara, Samvat 1905, ²¹ |
| (9) Mahendra, | (24) Ratnodadhī, Samvat 1921, |
| (10) Merutunga, | (25) Vivekasāgara, Samvat 1940, No cxi |
| (11) Jayakīrti, | |
| (12) Jayakeśari, | |
| (13) Siddhāntasamudra or Siddhāntasāgara, | |
| (14) Bhāvasāgara, | |
| (15) Gunanidhāna or Sugunaśevadhī, | |

IV — *Pattāvali of the Sāgara-gachchha*

This list is given chiefly in No xci, where the latest date is Samvat 1905

- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| (1) Rājasāgara, | (7) Anandasāgara, |
| (2) Vriddhisāgara, | (8) Śāntisāgara, Samvat 1886, No lv, No lx, Samvat 1889, No lxii, No lxv, Samvat 1893, No lxx, No lxxi, No lxxii, No lxxix |
| (3) Lakshmisāgara, | |
| (4) Kalyānasāgara, | |
| (5) Punyasāgara, | |
| (6) Udayasāgara, | |

Teachers of two other *gachchhas* are named —

- (1) Rājasāmasûri of the Laghuposāla *gachchha* in No xlii, dated Samvat 1815
- (2) Pandit Anandakuśala of the Pāyachanda *gachchha* in No xcvi, dated Samvat 1908 One is tempted to conjecture that *Pāyachanda* is a

¹⁶ Spelt also Vijayadevindra and Vijayadeviara

¹⁷ The name Vidyapāksha *gachchha* occurs in No xxvii, verse 6, and in No cv

¹⁸ Regarding this Āryarakṣita, see Bhandarkar, *Report on Sanskrit MSS* of 1883-84, p 152 The *Pattāvali* described by Dr Bhandarkar (op cit, pp 14, and 318ff) is that of the

Āñchala-*gachchha*, and in the main agrees with the earlier part of the above text

¹⁹ This form is required according to the metre.

²⁰ No li

²¹ No xc Before him appears Rajendrasāgara, Samvat 1886, in No li

mistake for *Pāsachanda* or *Pākachanda*, regarding which see Bhandarkar's "Report on Sanskrit MSS. for 1883-84, p 135"

P.—Digumbara Pallāvali.

No. xxx, dated Samvat 1686, gives (ll. 2 *et seq*) the list of the spiritual heads in the line of Kumdakunda (read *Kundakunda*) Ācharya in the Balātīkāngana, the Sarasvati *gachohha* and the Mūlasamgha, i.e. the community of the Digambaras, as follows

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (1) Sakalakīrti, | (7) Gunakīrti, |
| (2) Bhuvanakīrti, | (8) Vādibhūṣana, |
| (3) Jñānabhūṣana, | (9) Ramakīrti, |
| (4) Vijayakīrti, | (10) Padmanandi, the actual head of |
| (5) Śubhachandra, | the sect in Samvat 1686 |
| (6) Sumatikīrti, | |

The list is, of course, a mere fragment of the *Pallāvali* of the Kundakundānaya, which dates from much earlier times.

Next to the subdivisions of the Jaina monks, those of the laymen deserve notice, and it is interesting that our inscriptions furnish a good deal of valuable information on this point, regarding which hitherto little has become known. Among the various tribal names of the laymen which are mentioned in the great majority of the documents, that of the Ośvāls occurs most frequently, as might be expected from the fact that this section of the Jaina community is not only generally considered the most noble, but possesses also the greatest wealth. The name appears in various forms, (1) *Upakeśa jñāti*, No. xxi, *vamsa*, No. xxvi, (2) *Ūkeśa* or *Ukeśa*, Nos. xxxiii and lv, (3) *Ośa vamsa*, No. xxxix, (4) *Ośa* or *Osa*, mostly with the addition of the termination *cala* in a great many inscriptions; and (5) *Uśa*, Nos. i—iii, or *Ūsa*, No. cii

It is not in the least doubtful that *Upakeśa* is the original Sanskrit word from which the other forms have been derived.²² The processes by which the forms *Ūkeśa*, *Ukeśa*, *Uśa* and *Ūsa* were obtained, will be clear to everybody. With respect to *Ośa*, *Ośa* and *Osa*, it may be noted that, according to the rules of the Jaina and Mahārāṣṭri Prakrits, the preposition *upa* may be represented by *o* (see Hemachandra, *Prakṛita vyākaraṇa*, i, 173)

In addition to the correct form of the name of this famous tribe, the Palitāna inscriptions furnish also a traditional account of its origin. We read in No. i—

(Verse 8) "Further—on the hill called Gopa, there was born a most worshipful (*rulei*) called the illustrious Āmarāja, whom glorious Bappabhatti awakened. His wife was some daughter of a trader "

(Verse 9) "In her womb were born the following men belonging to the Rājā-koshthāgāra family, the sole vessel of piety, and the pure illustrious Uśa race "

The meaning seems to be that both the Uśa tribe and the Rājākoshthāgāra family, which latter is evidently a subdivision of the former, owe their origin to the king Āma and his consort of the Vaiśya caste. According to the *Pallāvalis* and the *Prabandhas*, Āma, whose existence is not proved by really historical documents, is said to have lived about Vikrama Samvat 800.²³ I may add that the genealogy of Kaimarāja, which is

²² See *Ind Ant*, vol XIX, pp 233ff

²³ See S P Pandit, *Gauḍaraho*, pp cxxxviii

given in verses 10—20, cannot be complete. It names only ten ancestors who cannot possibly fill the seven centuries and a half which intervene between the traditional date of king Âma and that of the inscription, Vikrama Samvat 1587

The inscriptions mention also a good many other subdivisions of the Osvâl tribe, viz —

I —A Vriddhasâkhâ, which is subdivided into the following *gotras* or families, —(1) Ūhâda, No xxxiii, (2) Châjedâ, No cvi, (3) Nâdûla, Nos xxxviii, xxxix; (4) Nâhatâ, No lxxx, (5) Mummyâ, No. xcvi, (6) Râjakoshthâgâra, Nos i, ii, iii, (7) Yadugada, No. lxxviii, (8) Lâlana, No. xxi, (9) Lunîyâ, No. lx, (10) Lodhâ, No xvi

II —A Laghusâkhâ, to which belongs (1) the Nâgadâ *gotra*, No xc, (2) the Shota *gotra*, No xi

III —An Addaisâkhâ, to which belongs the Kumkumalola *gotra*, Nos xci, xcvi, xcix. The members of this *sâkhâ* and *gotra*, as represented by the family of the Nagarsheth of Ahmadâbâd, besides claim kinship with the Sîsodîâ Rajputs of Mevâd, —see No xci. Visâ Osavâlas are mentioned in No cxv.

The tribe next in importance is that of the Śrîmâlîs, called after the town of Śrîmâla or Bhîllamâla, the modern Bhînmâl in the extreme south of Marvâd. It includes—

I —A Vriddhasâkhâ, Nos xxxvii, cxii, of which no subdivisions are given,

II —A Laghusâkhâ, Nos xxix, xxxiv, lxxvi, to which belongs, according to No xlii, the Kâśyapa *gotra*, the members of which claim kinship with the Paṇamâra Râjputs

A Visâ Śrîmâlî occurs in No xcv

About the same importance belongs to the Prâgvâta tribe, called also Prâgavamsa, Nos iv, vi and viii, or by its modern name Poravâda or Poravâla, (pronounce Porvâd and Porvâl). It seems, too, to have an elder and a junior branch, as Nos xv, xvii, xxv, and xli mention its Laghusâkhâ. Visâ Poravâdas or Poravâlas are named in Nos i and xcvi, Dasâ-Porvâdas in cvii. A few other tribes occur each in single inscriptions, viz Gûrjara *jñâtî*, No x, Dîśavâla *jñâtî*, No vii, Dûgada *gotra*, No. liv, Nîmma *jñâtî*, No cii, Mohotâ *gotra*, No cv, Samghavâla *gotra*, and Kâchhara *samtâna*, No xiv.

The native places of the donors are —

- (1) Ajamera, i.e. Ajmîr in Râjputânâ,
- (2) Anahîllapura, also called Pattana,
- (3) Antarapura in Vâgvaradesa or Dungarpur,
- (4) Ahmadâbâd, called eleven times by its Sanskrit name, Râjanagara, 'the capital,'
- (5) Ugrasenapura,
- (6) Kapadavanaja in the Khedâ Collectorate,
- (7) Kâśî, or Benares,
- (8) Kothârâ in Kachh,
- (9) Khambanayara, i.e. probably Cambay,
- (10) Ghandhâra in the Bharoch Collectorate,
- (11) Chitrakûta, or Chitor in Mevâd,

- (12) Cheula, probably Chaul, near Bombay,
- (13) Jesalamera, i.e. Jesalmîr in Marvâd,
- (14) Damana bandira, i.e. Daman in Gujarâ
- (15) Dîvabamdîra or Diu in Kâthiâvâd,
- (16) Devagiri or Daulatâbâd in the Dekhan,
- (17) Dhanapura,
- (18) Nabhînpura, in Kachh,
- (19) Nalinapura, in Kachh,
- (20) Navânagara, in Kâthiâvâd,
- (21) Pâlanapura, in Northern Gujarât,
- (22) Bâluchara,
- (23) Bhâvanagara, in Kâthiâvâd,
- (24) Makasudâvâda—Bâluchara or Makâsudâvâda,
- (25) Mumbâi, or Bombay,
- (26) Mesâna, in Gujarât,
- (27) Râdhanapura, in Northern Gujarât,
- (28) Vîkanera, or Bikâner, in Northern Râjputânâ,
- (29) Vîsalanagara, in Northern Gujarât,
- (30) Sirohi, in Southern Râjputânâ,
- (31) Surata bandira, in Gujarât

The name of Ahmadâbâd or Râjanagara occurs most frequently

For those who care to verify Hindu dates the Pâhtânâ inscriptions will be a perfect mine, for every single date can be calculated, as the weekdays are invariably mentioned

No I²⁴

- L 1. ॥ श्री ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीगूर्जरधरित्रां पातसाहय्रीमहिमूदपट्टभाकरपातसाहय्रीमदाफरसाह-
पट्टोद्योतकारक ॥
- 2 पातसाहय्रीय्रीय्रीय्रीवाहदरसाहविजयराज्ये ॥ सवत् १५८७ वर्षे राज्यव्यापारधुरधरपान-
य्रीमभादपानव्या-
- 3 पारे श्रीशत्रुजयगिरौ श्रीचित्रकूटवास्तव्य । दो० करमाकृतसप्तमोद्वारसत्ता प्रयस्तिर्लिख्यते ॥
स्वस्ति श्रीसौख्य-
- 4 दो जीयात युगादिजिननायक ।
केवलज्ञानविमलो विमलाचलमंडनः ॥ १²⁵
श्रीमेदपाटे प्रगटप्रभावे [I]
भावेन भ-
- 5 व्ये भुवनप्रसिद्धे ।
श्रीचित्रकूटो मुकुटोपमानो [I]
विराजमानोस्ति समस्तलक्ष्मणः ॥ २²⁶

²⁴ In the porch of the east or main entrance of the great temple of Âdiâvara Bhagavan, —see *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, &c (Bombay, 1885) p 188 —J B

²⁵ Metre of verse 1, Anushtubh Read °जीयात्. A good many of my corrections have been given between brackets in the text —J K.

²⁶ Metre of verses 2—4, Upajâti Read °ज्या.

सन्नदनो दातृसुरद्रुमश्च [1]

तु-

L 6 ग सुवर्णोपि विहारसार ।

जिनेश्वरस्नात्रपवित्रभूमि [1]

त्रीचित्रकूट सुरशैलतुल्य ॥ ३

विशालसालक्षिति-

7 लोचनाभो [1]

रम्यो नृणा लोचनचित्रकारी [1]

विचित्रकूटो गिरिचित्रकूटो [1]

लोकस्तु यत्राखिलकूटमुक्त ॥ ४

तत्र श्रीकु-

8 भराजो ऽभूत् कुभोजवनिभो नृपः ।

वैरिवर्गं समुद्रो हि येन पीत क्षणात् क्षितौ ॥ ५²⁷

[त] त्पुत्रो राजमल्लोभृद्राज्ञा म-

9 न्न इवोत्कट ।

सुत सग्रामसिंहो ऽस्य सग्रामविजयी नृप ॥ ६

तत्पट्टभूषणमणि, सिंहैर्द्रवत्पराक्रमी ।

रत्नसिंहा ऽ²⁸

10 धुना राजा राजलक्ष्म्या विराजते ॥ ७

इतच्च गोपाह्वगिरौ गरिष्ठ [1]

त्रीवप्पभट्टिप्रतिबोधितश्च ।

त्रीश्रामराजो ऽजनि तस्य

11 पत्नी [1]

कार्चिदभूव व्यवहारिपुत्री ॥ ८²⁹

तत्कुञ्जिता[]किल राजकोष्ठा [1]

गाराह्वगोत्रे सुकृतैकपात्रे ।

त्रीउश्वशे विशदे

12 विशाले [1]

तस्यान्वये ऽमी पुरुषा प्रसिद्धा ॥ ९³⁰

त्रीमरणदेवनामा तत्पुत्रो रामदेवनामाभूत् ।

लक्ष्मीसिंह पुत्रो[³¹वस्तु³²]तत्पु-

13 त्रो भुवनपालाख्य ॥ १०³¹

त्रीभोजराजपुत्रो — —³²रमिहाख्य एव तत्पुत्र ।

प्रेताकस्तत्पुत्रो नरसिंह, तत्पु-

²⁷ Metre of verses 5—7, Anushtubh

²⁸ Read °हीऽ

²⁹ Metre Upajāti Read गरिष्ठ

³⁰ Metre Indravajra Read कोष्ठा । श्रीको पुरुषा

³¹ Metre of verses 10—19, Arya

³² Looks like वस्तु

L. 14.

[— — —]³³ ॥ ११

तत्पुत्रस्तोलाय. पत्नी तस्याः[स्य]प्रभृतकुलजाता ।

तारादे परनाम्नी लीलू पुण्यप्रभापूर्णा ॥ १२

तत्कुचिसमुद्भवाः प[ट]

15. पुत्रा³⁴ कल्पपादपाकागः [i]

[धर्मा]नुष्ठानपराः श्रियत. श्रीकृतो ऽन्येषा ॥ १३

प्रथमो र[त्ना]ख्यसुत. सम्यक्प्रदीप्तकारकः काम ।

16. श्रीचित्रकूटनगरे प्रासाद. [कारितो]येन ॥ १४

तस्या ऽस्ति कोमला पाण्डवमीव³⁵ विगदाम्बदा ।³⁶

भार्या रजमलदेवी पुत्र[]श्रीरगना-

17. मासो ॥ १५

भ्राता ऽन्यः योमाह. पतिभक्ता दानशीलगुणयुक्ता ।

पद्मापाटमदेव्यो पुत्रो माणिक्यहीराह्वी ॥ १६

वधुर्गणस्तु-

18. तीर्थभार्या³⁷गुणरत्नराशिविख्याता [i]

गडरागारतदेव्यो पुत्रो देवाभिधो ज्ञेयः ॥ १७

तुर्यो दशरथनामा । भार्या तस्यास्ति देवगु-

19. रमिता ।

देवल[ट्ट]रमदेव्यो पुत्रः कौल्हाभिधो ज्ञेयः ॥ १८

भ्राता ऽन्यो भोजाख्यः भार्या तस्यास्ति सकलगुणयुक्ता ।

20. भावलक्ष्मणमदेव्यो पुत्रः श्रीमङ्गलो जीयात् ॥ १९

सदा सदाचारविचारचारुचातुर्यधैर्याद्विगुणैः प्रयुक्त

श्रीकर्मराजो

21. भगिनी च तेषा जीयात्सदा सहविनामधे[या] ॥ २०³⁸

कर्माख्यभार्या प्रथमा कपूर [i]-

देवी पुनः कामलदे द्वितीया ।

श्रीभीषजी-

22. कस्तुलीदयाद्रि-³⁹

सूर्यप्रभः कामलदेविपुत्रः ॥ २१

श्रीतीर्थयात्राजिनविंवपूजा-

पदप्रतिष्ठादिकवर्मधुर्याः ।

सुपात्रदामेन प-

23. विजयमात्राः

सर्वेदृशाः सत्यरुपाः प्रसिद्धाः ॥ २२⁴⁰

श्रीरत्नसिंहराज्ये राज्यव्यापारभारधीरेय ।

श्रीकर्मसिंहदत्तो मुख्यो

³³ Read 'तो जाव'³⁴ Read पुत्रा'.³⁵ Read कल्पवल्लीव Above पा there is a mark.³⁶ Read विगदा सदा³⁷ Read 'तीर्थी³⁸ Metre Upajāti³⁹ Metre Indravajrā. Read 'जीक'.⁴⁰ Metre Upajāti Read 'सिंह'। सर्वे⁴⁰ stands for सर्वे दृ०.

- L 24 व्यवहारिणां मध्ये ॥ २३^{४१}
 श्रीशत्रुजयमाहात्म्यं शु[त्वा]सङ्गुरुसनिधौ ।
 तस्योद्धारकते भावः कर्मराजस्य — द्यभूत् ॥ २४^{४२}
 आग-
25. त्व गौर्जर देशे विवेकेन नरायणे ।
 वसति विवुधा लोका. पुण्यश्लोका इवाऽऽकृताः ॥ २५
 तच्चास्ति श्रीधराधीशश्रीमत् ॥ ५ ५ ५
- 26 बाहदरो नृप. ।
 तस्य प्राप्य स्फुरन्मान पुंडरीके समाययौ ॥ २६
 राज्यव्यापारधीरेय. धानः श्रीमान् मभादकः ।
 तस्य गेहे म-
27. हामन्त्री रवाख्यो नरसिंहकः ॥ २७
 तस्य सन्मानमुप्राप्य बहुवित्तव्ययेन च ।
 उद्धारः सप्तमस्तेन चक्रे शत्रुजये गिरौ
- 28 ॥ २८
 श्रीपादलिप्तललनासरशुद्धदेशे
 सद्वाद्यमगलमनोहरगीतना[दैः] ।
 श्रीकर्मराजसुधिया जलया[त्रि]कायां
 चक्रे भहोत्स-
- 29 ववरः सुगुरुपदेशात् ॥ २९^{४३}
 चचर्चंगमृदगरगरचनाभेरीनफेरीरवा-
 वीणा[वश]विशुद्धनालविभवासाधर्मि[वात्सल्य]
- 30 कं ।
 वस्त्रालंकृति[हिम]तुगतुरगादीना च स[ह]र्षण-
 मेव विस्तरपूर्वक गिरवरे विवप्रतिष्ठापन ॥ ३०^{४४}
 विक्रमसमयातीते ति-
- 31 धिमितसंवत्सरेऽश्वसुवर्षे । १५८७ ।
 शाके जगन्निवाणे ५३ वैशाखे कृष्णपक्ष्या च ॥ ३१^{४५}
 मिलिताः सूरय. सघा मार्गणसु-
32. निपुंगवाः ।
 वहमाने धनुर्लङ्गे प्रतिष्ठा कारिता वराः ॥ ३२^{४६}
 क्षावस्थसमयाख्येन पडितेन महात्मना ।
 स[प्त]मोद्धारसक्ता
- 33 च प्रशस्ति प्रकटीकृता ॥ ३३
 श्रीमद्वा[हदर]क्षितीशवचनादागत्य शत्रुजये [I]
 प्रासाद विदधाप्य येन ह — १ — द्विमा-

^{४१} Metre Ārya^{४२} Metre of verses 24—28, Anushtubh.^{४३} Metre Vasantatilakā.^{४४} Metre Śārdulavikrīḍita Tead गिरि०, •४१० The con-
text is not clear^{४५} Metre Āryā. Read •४११^{४६} Metre of verses 32, 33, Anushtubh. Read •४११ वरा

L. 34

रोष्य च ।

उदारः किल सप्तमः कलियुगे चक्रेय ना — — —
जीयादेय सदोशवशसुकुटः श्रीकर्मराजशिर ॥ ३४⁴⁷

य-

35. कर्मराजेन कृत सुकार्य-
मन्त्रेण वेनापि कृत हि तयो ।
यन्मेहराज्ये[पि नृपा]जयैवो-
दारः कृतः सप्तम एष येन ॥ ३५⁴⁸

36. स — — —⁴⁹याणि वह्नि सधे
कुर्वति भव्याः परम[त्र] काले ।
कर्माभिधानव्यवहारिणीवो-
दारः कृतः श्रीवि-

37. मलाद्रिशृंगे । ३६⁵⁰
श्रीचित्रकूटोदयशैलशृंगे ।
कर्माख्यभानोरुदयान्वितस्य ।
शत्रुंजये विंविहारकृत्य-
[कर्मा-

38 व]लीय स्फुरतीति चित्र ॥ ३७⁵¹
श्रीमेदपाटे विषये निवासिनः
श्रीकर्मराजस्य च कीर्तिरु[ज्ज्वला] ।
देशेन्द्रनेकेष्वपि [सचरत्य]-

39 ह्यो
श्रीोत्स्रेव चन्द्रस्य नभोविहारिणः ॥ ३८⁵²
दक्ष येन पुरा धनं बहु सुरत्राणाय तन्मानतो
यात्रा येन [नृ]-

40. णा च सधपतिना शत्रुंजये कारिता ।
साधूनां सुगमैव सा च विहिता चक्रे प्रतिष्ठा ऽर्हता-
मित्य वर्यनमुच्यते किय-

41. दह्यो श्रीकर्मराजस्य तु ॥ ३९⁵³
येनोदारः श्रुभवति नगे कारितः पुडरीके ।
स्वात्मोदारो विशदमतिना दुर्ग-

42. तस्तेन चक्रे ।
येनाकारि प्रवरविधिना तीर्थनाथप्रतिष्ठा प्राप्ता
स्तेन त्रिभुवनतले सर्वदैवप्रतिष्ठा ॥ ४०⁵⁴
सौम्यत्वे-

⁴⁷ Metro Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁴⁸ Metro Indravajrā.⁴⁹ Perhaps सपुष्पकायाणि⁵⁰ Metro Indravajrā.⁵¹ Metro Indravajrā⁵² Metro Indravamśā.⁵³ Metro Śārdūlavikrīḍita. Read °ष्टा⁵⁴ Metro Mandākrantā Read °ष्टा, तेन, °ष्टा.

- L 43 न निशामणिर्दिनमणिस्तीव्रप्रतापेन च
वशोद्दीपनकारणात् गृहमणिश्चितामणिदानतः ।
धर्मात् आहशिरोम-
- 44 णिर्मदविषध्वस्तमणिर्भोगिनः
एकानेकमयो गुणैर्नवनवै. श्रीकर्मराजः सुधी. ॥ ४१⁵⁶
तोलासुत सुतन[यो]
- 45 विनयोज्ज्वलद्य
लीलसुकुत्तिनलिनीशुचिराजहस ।
सन्मानदानविदुरो मुनिपुगवानां
सहृदवाधवयुतो
- 46 — — कमराज' ॥ ४२⁵⁶
कर्मी श्रीकर्मराजोय कर्मणा केन निर्ममे ।
तेपा शुभानि कर्माणि यैर्दृष्ट. पुण्यवानसौ ॥ ४३⁵⁷
47. अयोधेश पुडरीकस्तु मरुदेवा[व]कपदिंराट् ।⁵⁸
आहश्रीकर्मराजस्य सुप्रसन्ना भवत्वमी ॥ ४४ ॥
श्रीशत्रुजयतीर्थोद्धारि ।
- 48 कमठा[य] सनिध्वकारक सा° जइता भा° वाड् चायू पुत्र नाथा भ्रातृ कीता ॥ अहम्मदा-
वादवास्तव्य सूत्रधार कोला
- 49 पुत्र सूत्रधार विरु[पा]सू° भीमा ठ° वेला ठ° वळा ॥ श्रीचित्रकूटादागत सू° टीला सू
पोमा सू° गागा सू° गोरा सू° ढाला
- 50 सूत्र° देवा ॥ सूत्र° नाकर सू° नाईआ सू° गोविद सू° विणायग सू° टीला सू° वळा सू
भाणा सू° का[ङ्गा] सूत्र°
- 51 देवदास सू° टीका सू° ठाकर — — प° काला वा° विणायग ठा° काम ठा° हीरा सू°
दमोदर वा° हरराज सू° थान
- 52 ॥ मगल आदिदेवस्य मगल विमलाचले । मगल ⁵⁹सर्कलसधस्य मगलं लिखकस्य च । प°
विवेकधीरगणिना लिखि
- 53 [ता प्र]शस्ति ॥⁶⁰पूज्य प° समयरत्नशिष्य प° लावण्यसमयस्त्रिसध्य श्रीआदिदेवस्य प्रणमतीति
भद्र ॥ श्री
- 54 — °हरपति । ठा° हासा ठ° मूला ठा° कण्ठा ठा° का[ङ्गा] ठा° हया सू° माधव सू° बाद्र ॥ लो
सहज

No II⁶¹

- L 1. श्री ॥⁶² सवत[त्] १५८७ वर्षे शके १४५३ प्रवर्त्तमाने [वेशा]ख वदि ६ । रवी ॥ श्रीचित्र [कूट]
2. वास्तव्यश्रीउशवा[स]ज्ञातीय⁶³ वृद्धशापाया⁶⁴ दो° नरसिंह सुत दो° [सि]ला भार्या वाई लील
पुत्र ६ दो

⁵⁶ Metre Śardūlavikrīḍita Read °साय°.

⁵⁷ Metre Vasantatīlaka

⁵⁸ Metre of verses 43-44, Anushtubh

⁵⁹ Read °राट्

⁶⁰ Read सयस°

⁶¹ Read °सि.

⁶¹ On the base of the image of Ādinātha in the great temple — J B

⁶² Looks like एट°

⁶³ Read °वाल°

⁶⁴ Read शापायां

- L 3. रत्ना भार्या रजमलदे पुत्र श्रीरंग दो° पोमा भा° पयादे द्वि° पटमादे पुत्र माणिकहीर दो° गणा
भा° गुराद [द्वि]° गारवदे पु° दवा
4. दो° दशरथ भा° देवलदे द्वि° टूरमदे पुत्र केहला दो° सोसा भा° भावलदे द्वि° [सु] पम[दे पु]
— — — भगिनी [सुह] विदे [— व] धव श्रीमद्राजसभाशृंगारहारश्रीशत्रुजयसप्तमोहार-
5 कारक दो° करमा भा° कपूरादे द्वि° कामलदे पुत्र भीपजी पुत्री वाई सोभां वा° सोना वा°
मन वा° प्रता प्रमुपसमस्तकुटवयेयोर्थ°⁶⁶ शत्रुजयमुख्यप्रासादो [द्वा] रे श्रीआदिनाथविव प्रति-
ष्ठापित°⁶⁸ । म° रवी म° नरसिगसानिध्यात् । प्रतिष्ठित°⁶⁷ श्रीसूरिभिः ॥ श्रीः ॥

No. III ⁶³

- L 1 श्री ॥ संवत् [त] १५८७ वर्षे वैशाख दि
2 श्रीउशवशे वृद्धशापायां दो° तोला भा° वाई लीलू सुत दो° रत्ना दो° पोमा
3. दो° गणा दो° दशरथ दो° भोजा दो° करमा भा° कपूरादे । कामलदे पु° भीपजी सहि
तेन श्रीपुडरीकविव कारित श्रीः ॥

No IV ⁶⁹

- L. 1 70 श्री ॥ श्री नमः ॥ संवत् [१६] २० वर्षे आपाठ शुदि २ रवी ।
2 गंधारवास्तव्य । प्राग[वश]दोसी । श्रीगोईआ सुत दो ।
3 नेजपाल भार्या बोई⁷¹ [भोड]की सुत दो । पचारण ।
4. भ्रातृ दो । भीम दो । नने दो । देवराजप्रमुख ।
5 [स्व]कुटवेन युतः । श्रीमहावीरदेवकुलिका ।
6 कारापिता हर्षेण । तपागळेविवुशिमणि 7 श्री-
7 विजयदानसूरि श्रीहीरविजयसूरिप्रसादा[त्]
8 शुभ भवतु ॥ :श्रीः ॥ श्रीः ॥ श्रीः ॥

No V ⁷³

- L 1 ॥ 74 श्री ॥ संवत् १६२० वरर्षे कार्तिक शुदि २ दने
2 गंधारवास्तव श्रीश्रीमालज्ञातीय सा । श्री [पा]स[वीर] ।
3 भार्या वाई [पू]तल शुत सा । श्रीवर्धमान भार्या वाई
4 वमलादे अमरादे शुत सा । श्रीरामजी भाई सा⁷⁵ । श्री-
5. लहुजी सा । हस[रा]ज सा । मनजी प्रमुपसस्तकुट-
6 वेन युत. श्रीसेत्रजयोपरि श्रीशान्तिनाथप्रासा-
7 द चौमष कारापित । श्रीतपागळेविवुधशरो [शिरो-]
8 मणिश्रीहीरविजयसूरिप्रसादात् शुभ भ-
9 वतु[॥]

⁶⁶ Read °सुष°⁶⁶ Read °हा°⁶⁷ Read °हि°⁶⁸ On the base of the image of Pundarika in the temple facing Âdîśvara Bhagvân's temple *Lists, u s p 196, No 88—J B*⁶⁹ In a temple on the south of the enclosure round the temple of Âdîśvara conf *Lists, p 194, Nos 38—43—J B*⁷⁰ At the beginning of each line stands a symbol looking like °⁷¹ Read वाई⁷² Read °बुधशिरोमणि⁷³ In the Gandharia Chaumukh temple, in the north east of the enclosure of the great Âdîśvara temple *Lists, p 195, No 73—J B*⁷⁴ Looks like एई⁷⁵ The middle bar of the च is wanting

No VI ⁷⁶

- L. 1 ॥ ओं ॥ उँ नम ॥ सवत् १६२० वर्षे वैशाख शुदि ५
 2 ॥ गुरौ । श्रीगधारवास्तव्यप्रागवशज्ञातीय । सघ-
 3 ॥ वी श्रीजावडा सुत स^० श्री[सीपा] भार्या वार्द ॥
 4 ॥ गिर [सुनाम्ना सुत । स ।] जिवत भ्रातृ । स । काड-
 5 ॥ जी । स । अ[ढू]जी । प्रमुख[स्व]कुटवेन युत ॥
 6 ॥ श्रीपार्श्वनाथदेवकुलिका । कारापिता ॥
 7 ॥ श्रीतपागच्छे । श्रीविजयदानसूरि[.] श्री-
 8 ॥ हीरविसूरिप्रसादात् [त्] ॥ शुभ भवतु ॥

No VII ⁷⁷

- L. 1 ॥ ओं ॥ सवत् १६२० वर्षे वैशाख शुदि ५ गुरु
 2. ॥ श्रीअह्मदावादवास्तव्यदीसावालज्ञा-
 3 ॥ तीय मष्ट श्रीवणाद्रग सुत मह । श्रीगला
 4 ॥ भार्या वार्द^० मगार्द सुत । मह । वीरदास
 5 ॥ स्वकुटवेन युतः । श्रीसेत्रजयोपरि श्री-
 6 ॥ आदिनाथदेवकुलिका कारापिता । श्री-
 7 ॥ तपागच्छेश्रीविजयदानसूरिश्रीहीरवि-
 8 ॥ जयसूरिप्रसादात् ॥ शुभ भवतु ॥

No VIII ⁷⁸

- L. 1 ॥ ओं ॥ सवत् १६२० वर्षे वैशाख शुदि
 2 ॥ २दिने गधारवास्तव्यप्रागवाश[वाश]व्यो । श्री
 3 ॥ परवत सुत व्यो^० फोका सु^० व्यो । व[—]
 4. ॥ आ स्वकुटवेन युत. श्रीसेत्रजयो-
 5 ॥ परि देवकुलिका कारापिता । श्रीत-
 6. ॥ पागच्छेविवुधशिरोमणिश्रीविजय-
 7. ॥ दानसूरिप्रसादात् ॥ ॥ श्री. ॥

No IX ⁷⁹

- L. 1 ॥ ओं ॥ उँ नम. ॥ सवत् १६२० वर्षे वैशाख-
 2 ॥ दि ५ दिने गधारवास्तव्यप्रागवाशज्ञातीय ।
 3 ॥ व्यो^० समरीआ भार्या वार्द । भोलु पुत्री वा-
 4 ॥ ई वेरथार्द । वार्द । कोवार्द स्वकुटवेन यु-
 5 ॥ त । श्रीशतिनाथदेवकुलिका कारा-
 6 ॥ पिता । श्रीतपागच्छेविवुधसरोमणि⁸⁰

⁷⁶ In a cell against the wall of the Âdisvara temple, at the north east corner

⁷⁷ In a cell to the right of that containing the preceding —J B

⁷⁸ In a small shrine, or cell, to the left of the north entrance to, and against the wall of, the Âdisvara temple. —J B

⁷⁹ In the cell to the right, or west, of the north door of the Âdisvara temple —J B

⁸⁰ Read °शिरोमणि

L. 7 ॥ श्रीविजयदानसूरि । श्रीहीरविजय ।

8 ॥ सूरिप्रसादात् ॥ शुभ भवतु ॥ श्री

No X⁸¹

L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ उँ नमः ॥ सवत् १६२० वर्षे वेशा-

2 ॥ प शुदि ५ गुरुदिने श्रीगधारवास्तव्य-

3 ॥ श्रीश्रीमालीयज्ञातीय परी । देवा भा-

4. ॥ र्या वार्ड⁸² कमलाई सुत परी । मूयी । तथा

5 ॥ गूजरज्ञातीय दोसी । श्रीकर्ण भा⁸³ वा

6 ॥ अमरी सुत । दोसी । हसराज उभर्यो ।

7 ॥ मीलने श्रीसेवजयोपरि श्रीआदिना-

8 ॥ यदेवकुलिका कारापिता श्रीतपागळे-

9 ॥ श्रीविजयदानसूरिप्रसादात् [तु]॥

No XI⁸²

L. 1 सवत् १६४० वर्षे फागुण⁸³ शुदि १३ दने⁸⁴

2 ठाकर करमसी भार्जा वार्ड मली ठाकर

3 दामा भार्जा वार्ड चडी ठाकर साहव ठा-

4 कर जसू ठाकर पोस ठाकर जसूजी भा-

5 र्जा वार्ड जीवादे ठाकर साहव सूत ते-

6 जपाल भार्जा वार्ड तेजलटे सघवी

7 जसू सूत तेजपाल प्रसाद⁸⁵ करा-

8. पित सुभ भवतू⁸⁶ ॥ दो⁸⁷ नाकर सेठ नावाणे

9 ७४ ॥ चडी सावाल ।

No XII⁸⁷

L. 1 ॥ श्री ॥ उँ नमः ॥

श्रेयस्वी प्रथमः प्रभुः प्रथिमभाग् नैपुण्यपुण्यात्मना ।-

मस्तु स्वस्तिकरः सुखाब्धिमकर श्री -- --

2

देवः स व.

पद्मोक्तासकर करेरिव रविर्व्योनि क्रमाभोरुह ।-

न्यासैर्यस्तिलकीवभूव भगवाञ् शत्रुजयेनेक-

3

शः ॥१॥⁸⁸

श्रीसिद्धार्थनरेशवशसरसीजन्माजिनीवल्लभः ॥

⁸¹ In the left end of the verandah to some small chapels or cells on the west of the preceding, and against the north wall of the great temple.—J B

⁸² On the Simhāsana of the image in a temple to the south-east of the great Ādiśvara temple.—J B,

⁸³ Read फागुण

⁸⁴ Read दिने

⁸⁵ Read प्रासाद

⁸⁶ Read शुभ भवतु

⁸⁷ In the porch of the east, or front, entrance of the Ādiśvara temple, on the south or left hand, facing No 1 A transcript is given in the *Lists*, pp 188 After this inscription No cxvii should follow.—J B

⁸⁸ Metre of verse 1—3 Śardulavikṛitita Read श्री चादिदेवः

पायादः परमप्रभावभवन श्रीवर्द्धमानः प्रभु' ।

उत्पत्तिस्थिति[स-]

L 4 हतिप्रकृतिवाग् यद् गौर्जगत्यावनी ।

स्वर्वापीव महाव्रतिप्रणयभूरासीद् रसोत्सासिनो ॥ २

आसीद्वासवद्वद्वदितपदद्वद्व-

5 पद सपदा ।

तत्पट्टावुधिचद्रमा गणधर, श्रीमान् सुधर्माभिधः ।

यस्थौदार्ययुता प्रहृष्टसुमना अद्यापि विद्यावती ॥

धत्ते

6 संततिरुन्नति भगवतो वीरप्रभोगौरिव ॥ ३⁶⁹

श्रीसुस्थित सुप्रतिबुद्ध एतौ ।

सूरी अभूता तदनुक्रमेण ।

याम्या गणो ऽ भू-

7 दिह कोटिकाच्च ।-

चद्रायमभ्यामिव सुप्रकाश ॥ ४⁷⁰

तत्राभूच्चिण्ण वय्य । श्रीवज्रपिङ्गणाधिप' ।

मूल श्रीवज्रशाखाया । ग-

8. गाया हिमवानिव । ५⁷¹

तत्पट्टावरदिनमणि । रुदित श्रीवज्रसेनगुरुरासीत् ।

नागेंद्रचद्रनिर्वृति । विद्याधरसज्जकाच्च तच्छिष्या'

9 । ६ ।⁷²

स्वस्वनामसमानानि । येभ्यश्चत्वारि जजिरे ।

कुलानि काममेतेषु कुल चाद्र तु दिद्युते ॥ ७ [॥]⁷³

भास्करा इव तिमिर । हरत ख्याति-

10 भाजन ।

भूरय सूरयस्तत्र । जज्ञिरे जगता मता । ८ ।

वभूवु क्रमतस्तत्र श्रीजगच्चद्रसूरय' ।

यैस्तपाविरुद लेभे । वाणसिद्ध ५ कं

11 १२८५ वत्सरे ॥ ९

क्रमेणास्मिन् गणे हिंस । विमला' सूरयोभवन् ।

तत्पट्टे सूरयोभूव । नानदविमलाभिधा. ॥ १० [॥]

साध्याचारविधि प-

12 य शिथिलत सम्यक् श्रिया धाम वै ।-

रुद्धे स्तनसिद्धिसायकसुधारोचिर्निभे १५८२ नेहसि ।

जोमूतैरिव यैर्जगत्पुनरिद ताप

⁶⁹ Read दृढ पदं सपदा

⁷⁰ Metre Indravajja — Read चभूता याम्या

⁷¹ Metre Anushtubh

⁷² Metre Giti

⁷³ Metre of verses 7—10 Anushtubh — Read जज्ञिरे

L 13

हरद्विभृगं ।

सयीकं विदधे गवां श्रुचितमैः स्तोमै रसोप्लासिभिः ॥ ११ ¹⁸⁴

पद्माययैरलमलंक्रियते स्म तेषा ।

प्रीणयन्ना-

14

सि जगता कमलोदयेन ।

पट्टः प्रवाह इव निर्जरनिकरिण्याः ।

शुद्धात्मभिर्विजयदानसुनीशहंसैः ॥ १२ ¹⁸⁵

सौभाग्यहरिसर्व[प]-

15

र्वहरण¹⁸⁶ रूप च रभापति ।-

श्रीजैत्र शतपत्रमित्रमहसा चौरं प्रताप पुनः ।

येषां वीच्य सनातन मधुरिपुस्तःस्वामिघर्माश्रयो ।

जाता-

16

काममपत्रपाभरभृतो गोपत्वमासाख्यः ॥ १३ ¹⁸⁷

तत्पट्टः प्रकटः प्रकामकसितोद्योतस्तथा सौधव[त्] ।

सस्त्रैर्यै[त]राज-

17.

हीरविजयस्त्रैहप्रियैर्निर्ममे ।

सौभाग्यं महसां भरेण महतामत्यर्थसुभासिना ।

विभ्राणः स यथाजनिष्ट सदृशा कामप्र-

18.

मोदास्पद ॥ १४

देशाद् गूर्जरतोय सूरिहृषभा आकारिताः सादर[र] ।

श्रीमत्साहिअकव्वरेण विषय¹⁸⁸ मेवातसज्जं शुभम् ।

या-

19.

— — — जपाणयोवतमसं सर्वं हरतो गवा ।

स्तोमैः सूत्रितविश्वविश्वकमलोत्तामैर्नभोका इव ॥ १५ ।

चक्रुः फतेपुरस-

20

— — — — [नं]भीम ।

दृग् युग्मकोककुलमाससृष्ट सृजंतः ।

अद्वैकपावकनृपप्रमिते १६३८ स्वगोभिः ।

सोदा-

21.

— — — — — दुजकाननम् ये ॥ १६ ¹⁸⁹

दामेवाखिलभूपमूर्धसु निजामाज्ञां सदा धारयन् ।

श्रीमान् शाहिअकव्वरो नरवरो[दिशेव]

22

शेषेष्वपि ।

यण्मासामयदानपुष्टपटहोदवोपानचच्चसिनः ।

काम कारयति स्म हृष्टहृदयो यद्वाक्कलारजितः ¹⁹⁰¹⁸⁴ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—Read °हृमं¹⁸⁵ Metre. Vasantatilakā.—Read °निकरिण्या¹⁸⁶ Read सौभाग्यं¹⁸⁷ Metre of verses 13—16 Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹⁸⁸ Read विषय¹⁸⁹ Metre Vasantatilakā¹⁹⁰ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—Read °अचिंतः । °रजित

L 23

॥ १७ [II]

यपुपदेशवयेन सुद दधन्निखिलमण्डलवासिजने निजे ।
मृतधन च कर च सुजीजिआभिधमकव्वरभूपतिरत्यजत्

24

॥ १८ [II]

यहाचा कतकाभया विमलितस्वातावुपूरः कृपा ।-
पूर्णं शाहिरनिन्दनीतिवनिताक्रो [डीकृतात्मा]त्यजत् ।
शुक्ल त्व [क्तु]

25

[म] शक्यमन्यधरणीराजा जनप्रीतये ।

तहान्नीडजपुजपूरुपपशून्धामूसुचङ्गरिश ॥ १९ ॥
यहाचा^१ निचयैर्मुधाकृतसुधास्वा [दे]

26

[र] मदैः कृता ।-

ल्लाद श्रीमदकव्वर, चित्तिपति, सत्तुष्टिपुष्टाशय ।
त्यक्त्वा तत्करमर्थसार्धमतुल येपा मन प्रीतये ।
र्जनेभ्य-

27

प्रददी च तीर्थतिलक शत्रुजयोर्विधर ॥ २० [II]

यहाभिर्मुदितचकार करुणास्फूर्ज्जनाः पौस्तक ।
भाडागारमपारवाङ्मय-

28

मय वेश्मेव वारदैवत ।

यत्त्ववेगभरेण भावितमति शाहि. पुन प्रत्यहं ।
पूतात्मा बहु मन्यते भगवता सहर्षनी दर्शनम् ॥ २१ [II]

29

यहाचा तरणित्वियेव कलितोत्सास मन पकज ।
विभ्रच्छाह्निभकव्वरो व्यसनधीपाथोजिनी चद्रमाः ।
जन्ने आइजनीचिर्तय सुकृते-

30.

सर्वेषु देशेष्वपि ।

रयातोर्हतभक्तिभावितमतिः^४ श्रीश्रेणिकक्ष्मायवत् ॥ २२ ॥
लुपाकाधिपमेघजीकृपिसुखा हित्वा कुमत्याग्रह ।^५
मेजुर्यच्च-

31

रणहयीमनुदिन भृगा इवाभोजिनी ।

उत्सास ममिता यदीयवचनेर्वैराग्यरगोन्मुखै ।-
र्जाता. स्वस्वमत विहाय बहवो लोकास्तपासज्जका-

32

॥ २३ [II]

आसीच्चैत्यविधापनादिसुसुतचेत्रेषु वित्तव्ययो ।
भूयान् यद्वचनेन गूर्जरधरासुख्येषु देशेष्व ऽल ।
यात्रा गूर्जरमालवादिकमहादेशी-

33

इवेर्भूरिभि. ।

सधै. सार्धमृषीश्वरा विदधिर शत्रुजये ये गिरौ ॥ २४ [II]

^१ Read यदुपदे^२ Metre Drutavilambita.^२ Metre of vv 19-24 Śārdulavāṣṭhīdita.^३ Read यहाचा^४ Read विख्या^५^५ Read यद्व.

तत्पट्टमविविधं रम्यतमं सृजत ।
स्तोमेर्गवा सकलसतसं हरत. [1]
[क]-

- L 31 तमोत्सवकुवलयप्रणया जयति [1]
स्फूर्जत्लाला विजयसेनमुनीन्द्रचन्द्रा । २५[11]⁶
यत्प्रतापस्य साहात्म्यं वर्ण्यते किमत पर ।
अस्वप्नाद्यक्रिरे येन जीव[तो]-
- 35 पि हि वादिनः । २६[11]⁷
मौभाग्यं विषमायुधात्मलिनीकाताच्च तेजस्विना ।-
मैश्वर्यं गिरिजापते. कुमुदिनीवातात्कलामालिना ।
साहात्म्यं ध-
- 36 रणीधरान्मखभुजा गामोर्ध्वमभोनिधे ।-
रादायावुजभृ' प्रभु प्रविद्धे यन्मूर्तिमेतन्मयी । २७[11]⁸
ये च श्रीमदकवरेण विनयादाकारिता.
- 37 सादर ।
श्रीमन्नाभपुर पुरदरपुर व्यक्तं सुपूर्वात्कारै. ।
भूयोभिर्भक्तिभिर्विदुषो परिहृतो [१]वेगादलंचक्रिरे ।
मासीद सरसं सरोरुहवनं लीलामराला
- 38 इव । २८[11]
अर्जुन परमेश्वरत्वकालित सस्याय विखीत्तम ।
साक्षात्साहिअकव्वरस्य सदमि स्तोमेर्गवासुद्यतः ।
वै ममीलिवलोचना' विदधिर
- 39 इत्यक्षग्रूरे¹⁰ त्रिया ।
वादीन्नादभृतो द्विजातिपतयो भट्टा निशाटा इव ॥ २९[11]
श्रीमत्साहिअकव्वरस्य सदमि प्रोत्कर्षिभिर्भृरिभि- [1]
वाटेवाटि-
- 10 वरान् विजित्य समदाम्निहेर्दिपेन्द्रानिव ।
सर्वज्ञागयतुष्टिर्हेतुगन्धो दिग्युत्तरस्या स्फुरन् ।
ये केनाम इवोच्चतो निजयशस्तुभी
- 11 निचखु महान् । ३०¹⁰[11]
दत्तमाहमधीरहीरविजयश्रीमृगिगजा पुरा ।
यच्छ्रीशक्तिअकव्वरस्य धरणीशक्रेण तत्प्रीतये ।
तच्चक्रेखिलमप्यवालम-
- 12 तिना यत्साजगत्साक्षिक [1]
तत्पत्रं पुरमाणसन्नमनधमर्वा¹¹ दिगो व्यानगे ॥ ३१[11]

⁶ Varaha 124.

⁷ Perhaps 11

⁸ 10 of 11 27-01, Suralayalalilila.

⁹ Read 'विलली'

¹⁰ Perhaps meant for प्रत्यक्ष

¹¹ Read दत्त, 'नक्षत्रं'

कि च गोहृषभकासरकाता ।-
कामरा यमगृह न हि नेया ।
मोच्य-

- L 43 मेव मृतवित्तमशेषे [I]
वदिनोपि हि न च ग्रहणीयाः ॥ ३२ ॥¹²
यत्कलामलिलवाहविलासप्रीतचित्तरुणाजनतुष्ट्यै ।
स्वीकृत स्वयमकव्वरधात्रीस्वामि-
- 44 ना सकलमेतदपीह ॥ ३३ ॥
चोलीवेगमनदनेन वसुधाधीशेन सन्मानिता ।
गुर्वी, गुर्लरमेदिनीमनुदिन स्वर्लोकविव्योकिनी ।
- 45 मधुत्ता मन्मथा भरेण सुभगा गाढ गुणोद्भासिनी ।
ये हारा इव कठमवुजदृशा कुर्वन्ति शोभास्पद ॥ ३४ ॥³
इतश्च ॥
आभूगान्वय[प]-
- 46 द्वपद्ममवया उकेशवशेभव ।-
च्छेष्टी¹⁴ श्रीशिवराज इत्यभिधया मौवर्णिक पुण्यधीः ।
तत्पुत्रोत्तमनि सीधरश्च तनयस्तस्याभवत्पर्वतः ।
[क]-
- 47 त्नाहोत्तमनि तत्पुत्रश्च तनुजस्तस्यापि वाचाभिधः । ३५[II]
तस्याभूद्वह्निर्वाभिधश्च तनुजः स्यातो रजार्द्धभव ।-
स्तस्याभूच्च सुहासिणी [ति]
- 48 गृहिणी पद्मेव पद्मापते ।
इन्द्राणीसुरराजयोरिव जयः पुत्रस्तयोश्चाभव ।-
तेजःपाल इति प्रच्छेष्टसुमना पित्रोर्मन प्रीतिस्तत् । ३६[II]
[का]-
- 49 मस्यैव रतिर्हरेरिव रमा गौरीव गौरीपते ।-
रासीत्तेजलटे इति प्रियतमा तस्याकृति [— — —] ।
भोग्यीसुभगो गुरौ प्रणयिनौ शश्वत्सुपर्वाटरी ।
पौलो-
- 50 मीत्रिदशेश्वराविव सुखं तौ दपती भेजतुः ॥ ३७ ।
वैराग्यवारिनिधिपृष्णनिशाकराणा ।
तेषां च ह्रीरविजयव्रतिसिधुराणा ।
सौभाग्य [भा]-
- 51 अथरभागविभासुराणा ।
तेषां पुनर्विजयमेनमुनीश्वराणा ॥ ३८ ॥¹⁵
वाग्भिर्मुधाकृतसुधाभिरुदचिचेता ।
आह' स शोभनमना भज-

¹² Metre of vv 32 and 33, Svayānta

¹³ Metre of vv 34—36, Śardūlavatī rīdita

¹⁴ Read 'च्छेष्टी

¹⁵ Metre of vv 38, 39 Vasantatilaka

L 52.

ति स्म भाव [I]

श्रीस[धम]क्तिघनदानजिनद्रचैत्यो-[I]
 द्वारादिकर्मसु भृश सुकृतिप्रियेषु ॥३९॥¹⁶
 विशेषक ।

ग्रहैः प्रशस्तेहि सुपार्श्वभर्तु-

53 [र]नतभर्तुश्च शुभां प्रतिष्ठां ।

सो ऽ चीकरत्पड्युगभूप १६४६ वर्षे ।
 हर्षेण सौवर्षिकतेजपालः । ४० [II]¹⁷
 आदावार्धभिरत्र तीर्थतिलके शत्रुं[ज]-

54.

ये ऽ चीकर ।

सैत्य¹⁸ शैत्यकर दृशोर्मणिगणस्वर्णादिभिर्भासुर ।
 अत्रान्येपि भुजार्जिता फलवतीसुखैः स्रजतः श्रिय ।
 [प्रा]-

55.

सादतदनुक्रमेण बह्वश्वाकारयन् भूभुज ॥ ४२[II]¹⁹

तीर्थे च साधुकरमाभिधो धनो सिद्धिसिद्धितियि १५८८ संख्ये ।
 चैत्यम[ची]-

56.

करदुक्तेरानदविमलसुनिराजा ॥४३॥²⁰

त वीक्ष्य जीर्ण भगवद्विहार ।
 स तेजपालः स्वहृदीति दधौ ।
 भावी कदा सो ऽवस-

57.

रो वरीयान् ।

यत्रा ऽत्र चैत्य भविता नवीन ॥ ४४ ॥²¹
 अन्येद्युः स्वगुरुपदेशशरदा काम वलक्षीकृत ।-
 स्वातांभाः स वणिग् व[र] पु-

58.

रवरे श्रीस्तभतीर्थे वसन् ।

तीर्थे श्रीमति तुगतीर्थतिलके शत्रुजयेहृद्गो [I]-
 द्वार कर्तुमना अजायततमां साफल्यमिच्छज् श्रिय । ४५[II]²²

59

अत्र स्यात् सुकृत कृत तनुमतां श्रेय श्रिया कारण ।

मत्त्व निजपूर्वजव्रजमहानदप्रमोदासये ।
 तीर्थे श्रीविमलाचलेतिविमले [I]

60

मीलेर्हतो मदरे ।

जीर्णोद्धारमकारयत् सुकृतो कुतीतनूजन्मवत् ॥ ४६ ॥
 शृगेण भिन्नगगनागणमेतदुच्चै ।-
 सैत्य चकास्ति शि-

¹⁶ Read 'निर्देश', भृश¹⁷ Metre Upajāti¹⁸ Read 'सौवर्षिके'¹⁹ Śārdūlavikrīḍita The figure 89 is missing Read प्रासाद²⁰ Metre Āryā—Read 'नद'²¹ Metre Upajāti²² Metre of vv 45, 46 Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

- L 61 खरस्थितहेमकुंभ ।
हस्तेषु ५२ हस्तमितसुखमुपैति नाक ।-
लक्ष्मी विजेतुमिव काममखर्वगर्वा । ४७[11]²³
यत्रार्हदोक्तसि जितागरकुम्भ-
- 62 भिकुंभाः ।
कुंभा विभांति शरवेदकरेन्दु १२४५ सख्याः ।
किं सेवितु प्रभुमयु²⁴ प्रचुरप्रताप ।-
पूरैर्जिता दिनकरा कृतनैकरूपाः । ४८[11]
63. उन्मूलितप्रमदभूमिरुहानशेषान् ।
विश्वेषु विघ्नकरिणी युगपन्निहतु ।
सज्जा. स इत्यमभिधातुमिवेदुनेत्राः २१ ।
सिद्धा विभात्युप-
- 64 गता जिनधान्नि यत्र ॥ ४९ ॥
योगिन्यो यत्र शोभते चतस्रो जिनवेश्मनि ।
निपेवितुमिवाक्राताः प्रतापैरागता दिशः । ५०[11]²⁵
राजते च दि-
- 65 शा पाला [— १] यत्रा ऽ हंदालये ।
मूर्त्तिमत × किमायाता धर्मासयमिनाममी । ५१[11]
दासमति. श्रियमयति जिनेन्द्रचद्र ।-
विवानि देवकुलि-
- 66 कासु च तावतीषु ।
दासमतेः श्रितजनालिकलालतानां ।
किं कुटुम्बलापरिमलैर्भुवन भरतः । ५२ ॥²⁶
राजते यत्र चत्वारो गवाक्षा जिनवे-
- 67 श्मनि ।
विरचेरिव वक्त्राणि विश्वाकारणहेतवे ॥ ५३ ॥²⁷
यत्र चैत्वे विराजते । चत्वारश्च तपोधना ।
भमी धर्मा. किमाया-
- 68 ताः । प्रभूपाख्यै वयुर्मृतः ॥ ५४ ॥
पचालिकाः श्रियमयति जिनेन्द्रधात्रि ।
दात्रिशदिद्रमणीभरजैत्ररूपाः ।
ज्ञात्वा पतीनि-
- 69 ह जिने किमु लक्षणस्मा ।-
राजां प्रिया निजनिजेशनिभालनोक्ता. ॥ ५५ ॥²⁸
दात्रिशदुत्तमतमानि च तोरणानि ॥
राजति य-

²³ Metre of vs 47—49 Vasantatilakā²⁴ युः visible on the reverse²⁵ Metre of vs 60 51 Anushtubh.²⁶ Metre Vasantatilakā²⁷ Metre of vs 53, 54 Anushtubh²⁸ Metre of vs 55, 56 Vasantatilakā

L. 70. त्र जिनधानि मनोहराणि ।

किं तोर्यकदुदशनलक्ष्मिचरणाना ।-
मदोलनानि सरलानि सुखासनानि ॥ ५६ ॥
गजाद्यतु-

71. विंशतिर ऽ द्वितुगा ।
विभांति शस्ता जिनधानि यत्र ।
देवाद्यतुविंशतिरोभक्त्यै ।
किमागताः कुञ्जररूपभाजः ॥ ५७ ॥²⁹
स्त-

72 भाद्यतुस्ततिर ऽ द्विराजो ।-
तुगा विभातीह जिनेद्रचैत्ये ।
दिशाम ऽ धीशैः सह सर्व इद्रा ।-
× किमाप्तभक्त्यै समुपेयिवासः ॥ छ

73. ॥ ५८ ॥
रम्य नदपयोधिभूपति १६४८ मिते वर्षे सुखीत्कर्षकत् ।
साहाय्याद् जसुठक्कुरस्य सुकतारामैकपायोमुच ॥
प्राप्ता (।)-

74 दं वक्षिआसुतेन सुधिया शत्रंजये कारित ॥
दृष्ट्वा ऽ द्वापदतीर्थचैत्यतुलित केपा न चित्ते रति ॥ ५९ ॥³
चैत्य चतुर्णामिव धर्म-

75. मेदिनी ॥-
भुजां गृहं प्रीणितविश्वविष्टपम् ॥
शत्रुजयोर्वीर्यमिति नदि वर्धना ।-
ऽ भिधं सदा यच्छतु वाछितानि व. ॥ ६० ॥³¹
[—]

76 यः प्रभाभरविनिर्मितनेत्रशैत्ये ।
चैत्ये ऽ त्र भूरिर ऽ भवद् विभवव्ययो यः ।
ज्ञात्वा वदति मनुजा इति तेजपाल ॥
क-

77 ल्पद्रुमत्ययमनेन धनव्ययेन । ६१ ॥²²
शत्रुजये गगनवाणकला १६५० मिते ऽ व्दे ।
यात्रा चकार सुकताय स तेजपा ।-

78 लः ॥
चैत्यस्य तस्य सुदिने गुरुभिः प्रतिष्ठा ॥
चक्रो च हीरविजया ऽभिधसूरिसिंहैः ॥ ६२ ॥
मार्तण्डमडलमिवावुरुहां

¹ Metre of vs 57, 58 Upajâti

² Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita

²¹ Metre Upajâti of Indravamśā and Vamśastha
²² Metre of vs 61, 63 Vasantatilaka

L 79

समूहः ॥

पीयूषरश्मिमिव नीरनिधिः प्रवाहः ।

दीकिव्रजः सलिलवाहमिवाऽसितुग ।

चैत्य निरीच्य सुदमेति जनः ।

80.

समस्तः ॥ ६३ ॥ छ

चैत्य चारु चतुर्मुख हतसुख श्रीरामजीकारित ।

प्रोत्तुग जसुठङ्कुरेण विहित चैत्य द्वितीय शुभ ।

रम्य कुञ्ज-

81.

रजीविनिर्मितम् ॥ भूचैत्य तृतीय पुन ।-

मूलत्रयेष्टिकत निरामसुभग चैत्य चतुर्थ तथा ॥ ६४ ॥³⁵

एभिर्विश्वविसारिभिर्युतिभरै-

82

त्यर्थससूत्रितोद् ।-

द्योतो दिक्ष् ॥ खिलासु निर्जरपतिः स्वर्लोकपालैरिव ।

श्रीशत्रुजयशैलमौलिमुकुट चैत्यैश्चतुर्भिर्यु-

83

तः ॥

प्रासादोऽगिमनोवि ॥ नोदकमलाचैत्य चिर नदतु ॥ ६५ ॥

वस्ताभिधस्य वरसूत्रधरस्य शिल्प ॥

चैत्य चिरादिदमुदीच्य

84

निरीक्षणीय ।

शिथिलमिच्छति ॥ कलाकलितोपि विश्व ।-

कर्मास्य शिल्पिपटले भवितु प्रसिद्धः ॥ ६६ ॥³⁶

सदाचाराब्धिना कमलविज-

85

याह्वानसुधिया ।

पदद्वद्वाभोजभ्रमरसदृशो हिमविजय ।

अलकारैराद्या स्त्रियमिव शुभा या विहितवान् ।

प्रशस्तिः श[स्ते-]

86

पा जगति चिरकाल विजयता ॥ ६७ ॥⁶

इति सौवर्णिकसाहस्रीतेजःपालोद्भूतविमलाचल-

[पट्ट] नञ्जीआदीशमूलप्रासादप्रशस्तिः [अ]य-³⁶

87

बुधसहजसागराणा । विनयजयसागरोऽलिखद्दणैः ।

शिल्पिभ्यामुत्कीर्णा । माधवनानाभिधानाभ्या ॥ ६८ ॥³⁷No XIII³⁸

L 1 ॥ ओ ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीसवत् १६५२ वर्षे मार्गे वदि २ सोमवासरे पुष्यनक्षत्रे निष्प्रतिमसं-
वेगवैरा-

2 निःस्पृहतादिगुणरजितेन सहित्रीअकवरनरेन्द्रेण प्रतिवर्षं पाणसासिकसकलजतुजाता-

Metre of vs 64, 65 Śāradulavikrīḍita Read ॐ

³⁵ Metre Vasantatilaka³⁶ Metre Śikharini³⁷ Read अय-³⁷ Metre Āryā beginning with बुध°³⁸ Round a pair of Pādukas in a small temple to the west of Ādīśvara Bhagavāna temple —*Lists of Ant Rem*, p 198, No 119 —J. B

3. भयदानप्रवर्त्तनसर्वकालीनगवादिवधनिवर्त्तनजीजिआदिकरमोचनमुंडका-
4. भिधानकरमोचनपूर्वकश्रीशत्रुजयतीर्थसमर्पणादिपुरस्सर प्रदत्तबहु २ मानानां नानादे-
5. श्रीयसघसमुदायेन सह श्रीशत्रुजये कृतयात्राणां जगद्विख्यातमहिमपात्राणां सं० १६५२ व-
6. पे भाद्र सितैकादश्या उन्नतदुर्गे अनशनपूर्वक महोत्सवेन साधितोत्तमार्यानां तपागच्छा-
धिराजभट्टा
7. श्रीहीरविजयसूरीणां पादुकाः कारि^० स्तभतीर्थीय सं^० उदयकरणेन प्र^०भ^०
8. श्रीविजयसेनसूरिभिः ॥ महोपाध्याय श्रीकल्याणविजयगणयः पं^० धनविजय-
9. — णिभ्यां स[ढ]प्रणमति ॥ एताश्च भ[वा]
10. [— — रा] राध्यमानाश्चिर
11. [नंदं] तु ॥ ॥ श्रीः ॥

No XIV.³³

- L. 1. १६७५ वैशाख सुदि १३ शुक्ले सघवालगी-
2. चो^० काचरसंताने सां केल्हा पुत्र सां यन्ना
3. पुं नरसिघ पुं कुअरा पुं नच्छा भार्या नव-
4. रगदे पुं सुरताण भार्या सेंदूरदे पुत्र श्रीशत्रुं-
5. यतीर्थयात्राविधानसंप्राप्तसघपतितिलक^१-
6. सप्तचेत्रोत्सववित्त सां पेतसी भां सोभागदे
7. पुं पदमसी भार्या प्रेमलदे पुं इद्रजी भार्या [आ]
8. ° वीरमदे द्वितीयपुत्र सोमसी खलघुपुत्र सां
9. विमलसी भार्या लाडिमदे पुत्र पोमसी द्वितीय-
10. भार्या विमलदे पुत्र दूजणसी पोमसी भार्या
11. केसरदे पुत्र विं डूगरसी प्रमुखपुत्रपौत्रप्र-
12. पौत्रपरिवारसहितेन चतुर्मुखविहारपूर्वा-
13. भिसुखस्थाने — — — देवगृहिका कुटुब-
14. येयोर्थ^२ कारिता श्रीहृत्खरतरगच्छाधिराज-
15. युगप्रधानश्रीजिनसिंहसूरिपट्टालकारक[°]
16. शत्रुंजयाष्टमोक्षारप्रतिष्ठाकारकश्रीजिनराज-
17. सूरिसूरि[समाजराजायि]राजैः ^३[॥]

No. XV⁴⁴

- L. 1 ॥ सं^० १६७५ वैशाख सुदि १३ तिथौ शुक्लवारि सुरताणनूरदीनजहांगीरसवाईविजयिरान्ये ॥ श्रीः
2. अहमदावास्तव्यप्राग्य टाझातीयलघुशाखाप्रदीपक सं^० माईआ भार्या नाकू पुत्र सं^० जोगी भार्या
जसमादे
3. पुत्ररत्न सकलसुखवककर्त्तव्यताकरणविहितयत्र सं^० सोमजी भार्या राजलदे पुत्र सघपति
रूपजीकेन भाया

³³ On the shrine door of the temple of Pundarika in front of the Chaumukha temple in the Kharataravasi Tunk, *Lists*, p. 206, No. 312 —J B.

¹ Read °कोचे

² Read °शत्रुजय°

³ Read इद्रं°

⁴⁴ Read °राजाधि°

⁴⁴ Round *plādukas* in a small temple in the north-west of the Kharataravasi Tunk, Lines 1, 2 and 3, are on the south, west and north sides respectively, and 4—6 on the east. *Lists*, p. 206, No. 320.—J B

- L 4 जेठी पुत्र चि° उदयवत वाई कोडिकुअरिप्रमुखसारपरिवारसहितेन स्वयकारितसप्राकारथी-
 5 विमलाचलोपरि मूलोदारसारचतुर्मुखविहारगृगारकथीयुगादिदेवप्रतिष्ठायां श्रीआदिनाथ-
 पादुके परमप्रमोदाय
 6 कारिते प्रतिष्ठिते च श्रीवृहत्खरतरगळाधिराजश्रीजिनराजसूरिसूरिशिरस्तिलकै ॥ प्रणमति
 भुवनकीर्तिगणिः ॥

No XVI⁴⁵

- L 1. सवत् १६७५ वैशाख सुदि १३ शुक्ले ॥ श्रीसवालज्ञातीयलोढागोत्रीय सा° रायमल्ल भार्या
 2. रगादे पुत्र सा° जयवत भार्या जयवतदे पुत्र विविधपुण्यकर्मकारकश्रीशत्रुजययात्रा
 3 विधानमप्राप्तसघपतितिलक स° राजसीकेन' भार्या कसुभदेव तुरगदे पु° अपयराज भार्या अह-
 4. कारदे
 5 पु° अजयराज स्वभ्रातृ स° अमीपाल भार्या गूलरदे पु° वीरधवल भा° [जु]गतादे स्वलघुभ्रा-
 6 तृ स° वीरपाल भार्या लीलादे प्रमुखपरिवारसहितेन श्रीआदिनाथपादुके कारिते प्रतिष्ठिते
 युगप्रधानश्रीजि[न]
 7 मिहसृग्निपटोद्योतकश्रीजिनराजसूरिभिः श्रीशत्रुजयोद्वारप्रतिष्ठाया[र] श्रीवृहत्खरतरगळाधि-
 राजै [° ॥]

No XVII⁴⁶

- L 1 स° १६७५ मिते सुरताणनूरदीजहागीरसवाईविजयिराज्ये साहिजादासुरताणपोस[डू] प्रवरे
 श्रीराजी
 2. नगरे मोवडसाहियानसुरताणपुरमे वैशाख सित १३ शुक्ले श्रीअहम्मदावास्तव्यलघुशाखाप्रकट-
 प्राग्वाटज्ञातीय से° देवराज भार्या
 3 [डू]डी पुत्र से° गोपाल भार्या राजपुत्र से° राजा पुत्र स° साईआ भार्या नाक पुत्र स° जोग
 भार्या जममादे पुत्ररत्न श्रीशत्रुजयतीर्थयात्राविधानसप्राप्तश्रीसघपतितिलकनवीनजिनभ-
 वनविवप्रतिष्ठामाधर्मिकवात्सल्यादिधर्मज्ञेचो-
 4 सखवित्त स° मोमजी भार्या राजलदे कुचिरत्न राजसभागृगार स° [डू]यजीकेन पितृव्य स° शिवा
 स्ववृद्धभ्रातृ रत्नजी पुत्र सुदर[दाम] सपर लघुभ्रातृ पोमजी पुत्र रविजी स्वभार्या जेठी पु° उदय-
 यत पितामह भ्रातृ स° नाथा पुत्र स° सूरजी प्रमुखसारपरिवारसहितेन
 5 स्वयमसुधारितसप्राकारश्रीविमलाचलोपरि मूलोदारसारचतुर्मुखविहारगृगारहारश्रीआदिना-
 थविव कारित प्रतिष्ठित च श्रीसहावीरदेवपट्टानुपट्टाविच्छिन्नपरपरायातश्रीउद्योतनसूरि-
 श्रीवर्द्धमानसूरि वसतिमार्गप्रकाशकश्रीजिनेश्वरसूरि श्रीजिनचंद्र-
 6 [सू] रि नवागहृत्तिकारकश्रीस्तभनकपार्श्वनाथप्रकटकश्रीअभयदेवसूरि श्रीजिनवल्लभसूरि देव-
 ताप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानपदश्रीजिनदत्तसूरि श्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि श्रीजिनपत्तिसूरि श्रीजिनेश्वरसूरि
 श्रीजिनप्रबोधसूरि श्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि श्रीजिनकुशलसूरि श्रीजिनपद्मसूरि श्री-
 7 जिनलविसूरि श्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि श्रीजिनोदयसूरि श्रीजिनराजसूरि श्रीजिनभद्रसूरि श्रीजिन-
 चंद्रसूरि श्रीजिनसमुद्रसूरि श्रीजिनहमसूरि श्रीजिनमाणिक्यसूरि दिल्लीपतिपातसाहि-
 श्रीअकबरप्रतिबोधकतत्तयुगप्रधानविरुद्धारकसकलदेशाष्टाङ्गिका-

⁴⁵ Round a second pair of feet in the same temple, Line 1 on the south, 2 on the west, 3 and 4 on the south, and 5-7 on the east

⁴⁶ In the Gaumukha shrine, at the entrance of the great temple in the Kharataravasi Tunk, — *Lists*, p 205, No 310

L. 8 मारिप्रवर्त्तावककुंयित⁴⁷ जहांगीरसाहिर्जकातल्लुमडेलवहि, कृतसाधुरचकयुगप्रधानश्रीजिनचद्र-
सूरि मन्त्रिकर्मचद्रकारितसपादकोटिवित्तव्ययरूपनदिमहोत्सवप्रकारकठिनकाश्रीरादिदेशविहारकारकश्रीअ-
कवरसाहिमनःकमलभ्रमरानुकारकवर्षावधिजल-⁴⁸

9 जलजतुजातघातनिर्वर्त्तक⁴⁹ श्रीपुरगोलकुडागळणाप्रमुखदेशामारिप्रवर्त्तकसकलविद्याप्रधानजहागी-
रनूरदीमहम्मदपातिसाहिप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानपदश्रीजिनसिहसूरि पट्टालंकारकश्रीअविकावरधारकतल्लवाचित-
घघाणिपुरप्रकटितचिरतनप्रतिमाप्रशस्ति [व —]-

10 तरबोहिल्यवशोय सा° धर्मसीधारलदेदारकचतुःशाखपारीणधुरीणशृंगारकभट्टारकहदारकश्रीजिन-
राजसूरिसूरिशिरो[मुकुटैः] ॥ आचार्य श्रीजिनसागरसूरि श्रीजयसोम महोपाध्याय श्रीगुणविनयोपाध्याय
श्रीधर्मनिधानोपाध्याय प° आनदकीर्त्ति खलघुसहोदर वा° [भद्र]

11 [सेनादिसत्परिकरैः ॥]

No XVIII ⁵⁰

L 1 ॥ सवत् १६७५ प्रमिते सुरताणनूरदीजहागीरसवाईविजयिराज्ये

2 साहिजादासुरताणपोस[रू]प्रवरे राजनगरे सोबदसाहियानसुरताणपुरमे ॥ वैशाख सित १३ शुक्ले । श्री

3 अहम्मदावादावास्तव्यप्राग्वाटत्रातीय से° देवराज भार्या [रू]डी पुत्र से° गोपाल भा° राजू पु° से°
राजा पु° सार्द्धा भा° नाकू पु° सं जीगी भार्या जसमादे पुत्ररत्न श्रीशत्रुजयतीर्थयात्राविधानसंप्राप्तसघप-
तितिल-

4. कनवीनजिनभवनबिंबप्रतिष्ठासाधर्मिकवात्सल्यादिधर्मचेत्तोसखवित्त स° सोमजी भार्या राजलदे
कुच्चिरत्न सघपति [रू]पजीकेन पितृव्य स° शिवा स्वहृदभ्रातृ रत्नजी सुत सुदरदास सपर लघुभ्रातृ पीमजी
पुत्र रविजी पितामहभ्रातृ स° नाथा पुत्र स-

5 रजी स्वपुत्र उदयवंत प्रमुखपरिव्रतेन स्वयसमुद्धृतसप्राकारश्रीविमलाचलोपरि मूलोद्धारसार-
चतुर्मुखविहारशृंगारश्रीआदिनाथविव कारितं प्रतिष्ठित च श्रीमहावीरदेवाविच्छिन्नपरपरायातश्रीउद्यो-
तनसूरि श्रीवर्द्धमानसूरि वसतिमार्गप्रकाशकश्रीजिनेश्वर-

6 सूरि श्रीजिनचद्रसूरि नवागहत्तिकारकश्रीस्तभनकपार्श्वप्रकटकश्रीअभयदेवसूरि श्रीजिनवल्लभसूरि
युगप्रधानश्रीजिनदत्तसूरिया[पा]द श्रीजिनभद्रसूरिया[पा]द श्रीअकवरप्रतिबोधकतत्प्रदत्तयुगप्रधानपदधार-
कसकलदेशाष्टाङ्गिकामारिपालकपाण्मासिकाभय-

7 दानदायकयुगप्रधानश्रीजिनचद्रसूरि मन्त्रिकर्मचद्रकारितश्रीअकवरसाहिसमक्षसपादशतलक्षवित्तव्यय-
रूपनदिमहोत्सववि [स्तार] विहितकठिनकाश्रीरादिदेशविहारमधुरतरातिशायिस्ववचनचातुरीरजिनाने⁵¹
कहिदूकतुरष्काधिपतिश्रीअकवरसाहिश्रीका-

8 स्तोपुरगोलकुडागळणाप्रमुखदेशामारिप्रवर्त्तावकवर्षावधिजलधिजलजतुजातघातनिर्वर्त्तावकसुरता-
णनूरदीजहांगीरसाहिप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानविरुद्धप्रधानश्रीजिनसिहसूरि पट्टप्रभाकरसमुपलब्धश्रीअविकावरबोहि-
त्यथश्रीय⁵² सा° धर्मसीधारलदेनदनभट्टारकचक्र-⁵³

9 चक्रवर्त्तिभट्टारकशिरस्त्रिलोकश्रीजिनराजसूरिसूरिराजै. श्रीहृदत्स्वरतरगङ्गाधिराजै. ॥ आचार्य
श्रीजिनसागरसूरि प° आनदकीर्त्ति खलघुभ्रातृ वा° भद्रसेनादिसत्परिकरैः [॥]

⁴⁷ Probably °कुंयित

⁴⁸ Read °जलधि°

⁴⁹ Read °निष°

⁵⁰ In the shrine of the great Chaumukha temple (No 310)
on the south image —J B

⁵¹ Read रजिता°

⁵² Read वशीय°

⁵³ Dele चक्र°

No. XIX ⁵⁶

L 1. संवत् १६७५ मिते सुरताण्णूरदीजहागीरसवाईविजयिराज्ये साहियादासुरताण्णोस[डू]प्र-

2 वरे राजनगरे सोवइसाहियानसुरताण्णुरमे वैशाख सित १३ शुके श्रीअहम्मादावादवास्त्वयप्राग्वा-
टज्ञातीय से° देवराज सा°

3 [डू]डी पुत्र से° गोपाल भार्या राजू पुत्र से° राजा पुत्र स° सार्इआ भार्या नाजू पुत्र स° जीकी
भार्या जसमादे पु° श्रीशत्रुजयतीर्थयात्राविधानसंप्राप्तसघपतितिलकनवीनजिनभवनविबसाधामिकवात्स-
ल्यादिधर्मजेत्रो-

4 मस्त्रवित्त स° सोमजी भार्या राजलदे पुत्ररत्न संघपति [डू]पजीतेन [°केन] पितृव्य शिवालालजी
खहइभ्रातृरत्न रत्नजी सु [दरदास] खलधुभ्रातृ पीमजी सुत रविजी पितामहभ्रातृ स° नाथा पुत्र सूरज
स्वपुत्र उदयवत प्रमुखपरिवारसहितेन स्वयसमुधारित-

5 संप्राकारश्रीविमलाचलोपरि मूलोद्धारसारचतुर्मुखविहारशृंगारहारश्रीआदिनाथविब कारित प्रति-
ष्ठित च श्रीमहावीरदेवाविच्छिन्नपरपरायातश्रीहृत्खरतरगच्छाधिराजश्रीअकवरसाह्मिप्रतिबोधकतद्वदत्त-
युगप्रधानविरुद्धधारकपाण्मासिकाभय-

6 दानदायकसकलदेशाष्टाङ्गिकामारिप्रवर्त्तावकयुगप्रधानश्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि मंत्रिमुख्यकर्मचंद्रकारितश्री-
अकवरसाह्मिसमक्षपाटशतलजवित्तव्ययरूपनदिपदमहोत्सवविस्तारविहितकठिनकाश्मीरादिदेशविहारमधु-
रतरातिशायिस्ववचनचातुरीरजिताने-

7 कहिदूकतुरष्कराधिपश्रीअकवरसाह्मिश्रीकारश्रीपुरगोलकुडागज्जणाप्रमुखदेशामारिप्रवर्त्तावकवप्राव-
धिजलधिजलजतुजातघातनिर्वर्त्तावकसुरताण्णूरदीजहागीरसवाईप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानपदधारकसकलविद्याप्रधा-
नयुगप्रधानश्रीजिनसिंहसूरि पट्टप्रभाक⁵⁶

8. श्रीअविकावरप्रवाचितघघाणीपुरप्रकटितचिरतनप्रतिमाप्रशस्तिवर्षांतरबोहिय[व]शीय सा° धर्म-
सोधारलदेनदनमट्टारकशिरोमणिश्रीजिनराजसूरिसूरिपुरदरैः ॥ आचार्य श्रीजिनसागरसूरि श्रीजयसोममहो-
पाध्याय श्रीगुणविनयोपाध्याय श्रीधर्मनिधानोपाध्याय प° आनद-

9 कीर्त्ति खलधुभ्रातृ वा° भद्रसेन प° राजधीर प° भुवनराजादिसत्परिकरैः ॥

No XX ⁵⁷

L 1 सवत् १६७५ प्रमिते ॥ सुरताण्णूरदीजहागीरसवाईविजयिराज्ये साहियादा-

2 सुरताण्णोस[रू] प्रवरे श्रीराजनगरे सोवइसाहियानसुरताण्णुरमे वैशाख सित १३ शुके श्रीअह-

3 म्मादावादवास्त्वयप्राग्वाटज्ञातीय से° देवराज भार्या [डू]डी पुत्र से° गोपाल भार्या राजू पुत्र से-
राजा पु° स° सार्इआ भार्या नाजू

4 पुत्र स° जोगी भार्या जसमादे पुत्र श्रीशत्रुजयतीर्थयात्राविधानसंप्राप्तसघपतिपदवीकनवीन-
जिनभवनविबप्रतिष्ठासाधमिवात्सल्यादिसत्कर्मधर्मकारक स° सोमजी भार्या राजलदे पुत्ररत्न सघपति
[डू]पजीकेन भार्या जेठी पुत्र

5 उदयवत पितृव्य स° शिवा खहइभ्रातृ रत्नजी पुत्र सुदरदास सपर खलधुभ्रातृ पीमजी सुत
रविजी पितामहभ्रातृ स° नाथा पुत्र [स]° सूरजी प्रमुखपरिवारसहितेन स्वयकारितसंप्राकारश्रीविम-
लाचलोपरि मूलोद्धारसारचतुर्मुखविहारशृंगारकश्रीआदि-

⁵⁶ In the same on the west image —J B

⁵⁷ Read निर°

⁵⁶ Read भायर.

⁵⁷ In the same, on the north image —J B.

6. नाथविंव कारितं प्रतिष्ठित च श्रीवीरतीर्थकराविच्छिन्नपरपरायातश्रीहृत्खरतरगच्छाधिप-
श्रीशकवरसाहिप्रतिबोधकतद्वदत्तयुगप्रधानविरुद्धारकसकलदेशाष्टाङ्गिकामारिप्रवर्त्तावकयुगप्रधानश्रीजिन-
चद्रसूरि श्रीशकवर-

7 साहिरंजकविधिविधिवदयालाभग्राहकसुरताणनूरदीजहांगीरसवाईप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानविरुद्धारकयुग-
प्रधानश्रीजिनसिंहसूरि पट्टविभूषणबोहित्यवसीय^{३३}सा^{३०} धर्मसीधारलदेनदनभट्टारकचक्रचूडामणिश्रीजिनराज-
सूरिसूरिदिनमणिभिः ॥ आ-

8 चार्यं श्रीजिनसागरसूरि प^० आनदकीर्त्तिं खलघुसहोदर वा^० भद्रसेनादिसत्यारिकरैः ॥

No. XXI⁶⁰

I. 1. श्रीं ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीवत्सभक्त्यापि न विष्णुश्चतुराननः ।

न ब्रह्मा यो हृषांकोपि न रुद्रः स जिनः श्रिये ॥ १ ॥⁶⁰

संवत्

2 १६७५ वर्षे शके १५४१ प्रवर्त्तमाने ।

समग्रदेशशृंगार । हाह्वारतिलकोपमम् ।

अनेकेभ्यगृहाकीर्त्ति । नवीनपुरसु-

3. त्तमं ॥ २ ।

अभ्रंलिहविहाराग्र । ध्वजांशुकहृतातपम् ।

रूप्यस्वर्णमणिव्यास । चतुष्पथविराजितम् । ३ । युग्मम्

तत्र राजा

4. [प्र] शास्ति श्रीजसवंताभिधो नृपः ।

यामश्रीशत्रुशल्याहकुलांबरनभोमणिः । ४ ।

यप्रतापाग्निसंतापसतप्त इव ताप-

5. नः ।

निर्भाति जलधौ नित्यसुभ्रज्जननिमज्जने । ५ । युग्मं ।

बभूवुः श्रीमहावीरपट्टानुक्रमभूषणाः ।

श्रीशचलगणा-

6 तीशा आर्यरचितसूरयः । ६ ।

तत्पट्टपंकजादित्या. सूरिश्रीजयसिंहकाः ।

श्रीधर्मघोषसूरीद्रा महेंद्रास्त्रिहंसूरयः⁶¹

7. । ७ ।

श्रीसिंहप्रभसूरीयाः सूरयो ऽजितसिंहकाः ।

श्रीमहेंद्रसूरीयाः श्रीधर्मप्रभसूरयः । ८ ।

श्रीसिंहतिलकाह्वय श्रीम-

8 [हें]द्रप्रभाभिधाः ।

श्रीमंती मेरुतुंगाख्या बभूवुः सूरयस्ततः ॥ ९ ॥

³³ Read "दीय"

⁶⁰ On the north wall of a temple near the Hāhīpola, in the Vimalavastī Tūkh. *Lists*, p. 201, No 234.—J. B.

⁶¹ Metre Anuṣṭubh

⁶² Probably महेंद्रसिं^०.

- समग्रगुणसंपूर्णाः सूरित्रीजयकीर्तयः ।
तत्पदेय सुसाधुत्री-
- L 9. जयकेशरिसूरयः । १० ।
श्रीसिद्धांतसमुद्राख्यसूरयो भूरिकीर्तयः ।
भावसागरसूरीद्रास्ततो ऽभूवन् गणाधिपाः ॥ ११ ॥
श्री-
- 10 मङ्गुणनिधानाख्यसूरयस्तत्पदेभवन् ।
युगप्रधानाः श्रीमत सूरित्रीधर्ममूर्तयः । १२ ।
तत्पट्टोदयशैलाग्रप्रोद्यत्तरणिमं-
- 11 निभा ।
जयति सूरिराजः श्री । युजः कल्याणसागराः । १३ ।
श्रीनव्यनगरे वास्यु । पकेशन्नातिभूषणः ।
इभ्य' श्रीह-
- 12 रपालाङ्ग आसीन्नालणगोत्रक' । १४ ।
हरीयाख्यो ऽथ तत्पुत्रः सिंहनामा तदगज ।
उदेसीत्यथ तत्पुत्र पर्वताङ्गस्त-
- 13 तो ऽभवत् । १५ ।
वच्छ्रुनामा ऽथ तत्पत्नी चाम्भूदाकुलदेविका ।
तत्कुक्षिमानसे हसतुल्यो ऽथा ऽमरसन्नक. । १६ ।
लिग-
- 14 देवीति तत्पत्नी तदीरस्यास्त्रयो वराः ।
जयति श्रीवर्द्धमानचापसीपद्मसिहकाः । १७ ।
अत' पर विशेषत, साहिवर्द्धमान-
- 15 साहिपद्मसिहयोर्वर्णनम् ।
गाभीर्येण समुद्राभौ दानेन धनदोपसी ।
अञ्जालुगुणसंपूर्णौ बोधिना श्रेणिकी-
- 16 पसी । १८ ।
प्राप्तश्रीयामभूपालसमाजवहुलादरौ ।
मन्त्रित्रीवर्द्धमानश्रीपद्मसिहौ सहोदरौ । १९ ।
महेला वर्द्ध-
- 17 मानस्य । वन्नादेवीति विश्रुता ।
तदगजावुभौ ख्यातौ । वीराख्यविजपालकौ । २० ।
वर्णिनी पद्मसिहस्य । रत्नगर्भा
- 18 सुजाणदे ।
श्रीपालकुरपालाङ्गरणमत्तास्तदगजाः । २१ ।
एव स्वतन्त्रयुक्ताभ्या । मनल्योत्सवपूर्वकम् ।
साहिश्रीवमाङ्गनश्री-

L 19

पद्मसीम्या प्रयादरात् । २२

प्रागुक्तवत्सरे रम्ये । साधवार्जुनपक्षके ।
रोहिणीभृतृतीयाया बुधवासरमयुजि

20

। २३ ।

श्रीशान्तिनाथमुख्याना । जिनाना चतुरत्तरा ।
द्विशती प्रतिमा ह्यद्या । भारिताश्च प्रतिष्ठिताः । २४ ।
युग्मम् ।

21

पुनर्निजवहुद्रव्य । सफलीकरणकृते ।
श्रीनव्यनगरे ऽकारि । प्रासाद शैलसंनिभ । २५ ।
द्वासप्ततिजिनौ-

22

कोभि । स्मृष्टितश्च चतुर्मुखैः ।
कैलाशपर्वतोत्तुंगैर । द्याभिः शोभितो ऽभितः । २६ ।
युग्मम् ॥
साहिश्री-

23

पद्ममिहना ऽकारि शत्रुंजयोपरि ।
उत्तुंगतोरण श्रीमान् । प्रासादः शिखरोन्नतः । २७ ।
य दृष्ट्वा भविकाः स-

24

र्वे । चितयन्ति स्वचेतसि ।
उच्चैर्भूतः किमेषोद्वि । दृश्यते ऽभ्रलिहो यतः । २८ ।
येन श्रीतीर्थराजोय राजते सा-

25

वतसक ।
प्रतिमाः स्थापितास्तत्र श्रीश्रेयांससुखा ऽर्हताम् । २९ ॥
तथा च । सवत् १६७६ वर्षे फाल्गुन सित द्वि-

26. तीयायां तिथौ दैत्यगुरुवासरे रेवतीनक्षत्रे श्रीमतो नव्यनगरात् साहिश्रीपद्मसीकेन श्रीभरतचक्र-

27. वर्त्तिनिर्म्मितसप्तदृश महासघ कृत्वा श्रीअचलगणाधीश्वरभट्टारकपुरदरयुगप्रधानपूज्यराज-

28. श्री ५ श्रीकल्याणसागरसूरीश्वरैः सार्द्धं श्रीविमलगिरितोर्थवरे समेत्य स्वयकारितश्रीशत्रुजय-
गिरिशि-29. र'प्रासादे समहोत्सव श्रीश्रेयासप्रमुखजिनेश्वराणा सति विवानि स्थापितानि ॥
सङ्गिः पूज्यमानानि

30. चिर नदतु ।

यावद्दिभाकरनिशाकरभूधरार्थरत्नाकरध्रुवधराः किल जाग्रतोह ।
श्रेयासनाथजिनमन्दिरमत्र ता-

31

वन्नन्दत्वेनेकभधिकौघनिषेव्यमानम् [म] । १ ।
वाचकश्रीविनयचद्रगणीना शिष्यसुदेव सागरेण विहिता प्रशस्तिः [॥]

No XXII⁶³

- L 1 ॥ सवत् १६७५ वर्षे वैशाख सुदि
 2 १३ तिथौ शुक्रवारे श्रीमदचलग-
 3 च्छाधिराजपूज्यश्रीधर्ममूर्तिसूरि-
 4 तप्यटालकारसूरिप्रधाने युगप्र-
 5 धानपूज्यश्रीकल्याणसागरसू-
 6 रिविजयिराज्ये श्रीश्रीमालोज्ञा ।-
 7 तीयश्रमदावादवास्तव्य साह
 8 भवान भार्या राजलदे पुत्र साह ।
 9 पीमजी सूपजी द्वाभ्यामेका देह ।-
 10 री कारापिता विमलाचले चतुर्मुखे [॥]

No XXIII.⁶⁴

- L 1 [स]^o १६७५ वैशाख सित १३ शुके सुरताणनूरदीजहागीरसवाईविजयिराज्ये ॥ श्रीराजनगर
 वास्तव्यप्राग्वाटज्ञा-
 2 तीय स^o देवराज भार्या [रू]डी पुत्र स^o गोपाल भार्या राजू सुत राजा पुत्र स^o साईआ भार्या नाकू
 पुत्र स^o नाथा भार्या ना-
 3 रिगदे पुत्ररत्न स^o सूरजीकेन भार्या सुपमादे पुत्रायित इद्रजी सहितेन श्रीशान्तिनाथविव कारित
 प्रतिष्ठित च श्रीवृहत्खरतर[ग]-
 4 च्छाधिराजश्रीअकबरपातसाहिभूपालप्रदत्तपाणसासिकाभयदानतप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानविरुद्धारकसक-
 लदेशाष्टाङ्गिकामा⁶⁵ — — — — —
 5 युगप्रधानश्रीजिनचद्रसूरि पट्टोद्दीपककठिनकाश्मीरादिदेशविहारकारकश्रीअकबरसाहिचित्तरज-
 नप्रपालितश्रीपुरी — — — — —
 6 प्रमुखदेशामारिजहागीरसाहिप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानपदधारिश्रीजिनसिहसूरि पट्टोदयकारकभट्टारकशि-
 रोरत्नश्रीजिनरा[जसूरि] — — —

No XXIV⁶⁶

- L 1. सवत् १६७५ वैशाख सित १३ शुके सुरताणनूरदीजहागीरसवाईविजयिराज्ये श्रीराजनगरवास्तव्य
 2 प्राग्वाटज्ञातीय स^o साईआ भार्या नाकू पुत्र स^o जोगी भार्या जसमादे पुत्र विविधपुण्यकर्मोपा-
 र्जक स^o सोमजी ।
 3 भार्या राजलदे पुं स^o रतनजी भार्या सृजाणदे पुत्र २ सुदरदाससपराम्भा पितृनाम्ना श्रीशान्ति-
 नाथविव कारित प्रतिष्ठित च श्री-
 4 वृहत्खरतरगळे युगप्रधानश्रीजिनचद्रसूरि जहागीरसाहिप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानविरुद्धारकश्रीअकबर-
 साहिचित्तरजककठिनक[र]-
 5 [श]मीरादिदेशविहारकारकयुगप्रधानश्रीजिनसिहसूरि पट्टालकारकबोहित्यवशशृंगारकभट्टारक-
 वृद्धारकश्रीजिनराजसूरिसूरिसृगराजै [॥]

⁶³ In a cell or chapel attached to the north east corner of the great Ādiśvara temple, close to that in which are Nos vi and vii —J B

⁶⁴ In the Khartaravasi Tunk, immediately to the north east of the great Chaumukha temple, on the base of the image, *Lists*, p 206, No 333 —J B

⁶⁵ Probably °मार्ति°

⁶⁶ In the Khartaravasi Tunk in a temple fronting that containing No xxiii, to the south east of the great Chaumukha on the base of the image, *Lists*, p 205, No 316 —J B

No. XXV⁶⁷

- L 1 ॥ श्री ॥ सवत् १६७६ वर्षे वैशाखासित ६ शुक्ले लघुशाखीयश्री ।-
 2. श्रीमालिङ्गातीय मन्त्रिजीवा भार्या वार्डे रगार्डे सुत मन्त्रिख[व]र-
 3 [स]वाळाकेन भार्या वार्डे गगार्डे प्रमुखकुटुंबयुतेन ये[ष्ट] ।
 4 [भ]णसालोशिवजीप्रसादात् स्वयंप्रतिष्ठापितश्रीविमलना-
 5 थदेवकुल कारित ॥ श्रीमत्तपागणगगनांगणगगनमणि[स]-
 6 [मा] नमद्वारकश्रीविजयसेनसूरीश्वरपट्टालकारभट्टारक ।
 7 [श्री] विजयदेवसूरीश्वरविजयिराज्ये ॥
 यावद्देवगिरिर्भाति
 8 ॥ यावत् शत्रुजयाचलः ॥
 तावद्देवकुल जीयात् । श्रीवाळाकेन
 9 कारित ॥ १ ॥ श्री : ॥

No XXVI⁶⁸

- L 1 ॥ श्री ॥ नमः श्रीमारुदेवादिवर्द्धमानांततीर्थकराणा श्रीपुडरीकाद्यगौतम-
 2 स्वामिपथ्येतिभ्यो गणधरेभ्यः सभ्यजनैः पूज्यमानेभ्यः सेव्यमानेभ्यश्च सवत् ।
 3 १६८२ ज्येष्ठ वदि १० शुक्ले श्रीजिसलमेरुवास्तव्योपकेशवश्रीयभाडशालिके
 4. सुश्रावककर्तव्यताप्रवीणधुरीण सा श्रीमल्ल भार्या चापलदे पुत्र पवित्र चरित्र ।
 5 लोद्वापत्तनकारितजीर्णोद्धारविहारमडनश्रीचितामणिनामपार्श्वनाथाभिराम-
 6. प्रतिष्ठाविधायकप्रतिष्ठासमयार्हमुवर्णलभनिकाप्रदायकसंधनयककरणीय-
 7 देवगुरुसाधनिकवात्सल्यविधानप्रभासितसितसम्यक्गुहप्रसिद्धस[डृधि] व्ययविहि-
 8 तश्रीशत्रुजयसंधलव्यसवाधिपतिलक स धाद [डूनामको]हिपचाशदुत्तरचतुर्दश-
 9 शत १४५२ सितगणधराणां श्रीपुडरीकादिगौतमानाना पादुकास्थानमजातपूर्वम-
 10. चीकरत् स्वपुत्रहरराजमेवराजसहित समेधमानपुण्योदयाय प्रतिष्ठित च श्रीवृह-
 11 त्खरतरगच्छाधिराजश्रीजिनराजसूरिसूरिराजैः पूज्यमान चिर नदनात् ॥

No XXVII⁶⁹

- L. 1. सवत् १६८३ वर्षे ॥ पातिसाहजिहागीरश्रीसलेमसाहभूमंडलाखडलविजयरा[ज्ये] ॥
 2 ॥ श्रीचक्रेश्वरी नमः ॥ श्री ॥ महोपाध्यायश्री ५ श्रीहेममूर्तिगणिसद्गुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्री ॥
 3 ॥ श्री ॥ उ नमः ॥
 स्वस्ति श्री शिवशकरोपि गणमान् सर्वज्ञशत्रुजय. [।]
 शर्व शमुरधीश्वरश्च भग[वा]-
 4 न् गौरी वृपाको मृड. ।
 गगोमापतिरस्तकामविक्रतिः सिद्धै कृता ऽतिस्तुती [।]
 रद्रे यो न पर त्रियै स

⁶⁷ In a temple in the Vimalavasi Tūṭik, near Ādiśvara's —J B

⁶⁸ Round the margin of *paddukas* or foot-prints, No 3, north side, in a temple in the west of the Khartaravasi Tūṭik. *Lists*, p 205, No 317 —J B

⁶⁹ In a niche in a temple in the Vimalavasi Tūṭik, on the left hand between the Vāghana poṭa and Hāthi poṭa, *Lists*, p 204, No 138 —J. B

- L 5 जिनप. श्रीनामिभूरस्तु मे ॥ १ ॥⁷⁰
 उद्यद्भीरजडः कलकरहित सतापदोपा ऽपहः [।]
 सौम्य प्राप्तस[७]-
- 6 या ऽमितकलः सुश्रीर्मृगाकोऽव्यय ।
 गौरानोमृतसूरपास्तकलुषो जैवातृकः प्राणिना ।
 चंद्र. [कर्म]
7. जयत्यहो जिनपति. श्रीवैश्वसेनिर्महान् । २ ॥
 त्यक्त्वा राजीमती य स्वनिहितहृदयानेकपत्नी ७ -
- 8 पां ।
 सिद्धिस्त्री भूरिरक्तामपि बहु चकमेऽनेकपत्नीमपीशः ।
 लोके ख्यातस्तथापि स्फुरदतिशय[वान्]
- 9 ब्रह्मचारीति नाम्ना [।]
 स श्रीनेमिजिनेन्द्रो दिशतु शिवसुख सात्वता योगिनाथ ॥ ३ ॥⁷¹
 चचच्छार चद्रचा [६ ७]⁷²
- 10 दनत्रेयोविनिर्यह्वच [।]-
 पैयूषीवनिपेकतो विपधरेणापि प्रपदे द्रुत ।
 देवत्व सुकृतैकलभ्य[म]-
- 11 तुल यस्यानुकपानिधे ।
 स श्रीपार्श्वजिनेशितास्तु सतत विघ्नच्छिदे सात्वता । ४ ॥⁷³
 यस्य श्रीवरगास[न]
- 12 चितितले मार्तण्डविवायते [।]
 यद्वाक्य भवसिधुतारणविधौ पोतायते देहिना ।
 यद्धान [भ-]
- 13 विपापकदलने गगावुधारायते ।⁷⁴
 श्रीसिद्धार्थनरेन्द्रनदनजिन सोऽस्तु त्रिये सर्वदा ॥ ५ ॥ [॥]
- 14 अथ पट्टावली ॥
 श्रीवर्द्धमानजिनराजपदक्रमेण ।
 श्रीभार्य्यरचितमुनीश्वरसूरिराजाः ।
 वि-
15. व्यापगाजलधयो विधिपक्षगच्छ ।-
 सस्यापका यतिवरा गुरुवो बभूवुः । ६ ॥⁷⁵
 तश्चारुपट्टकमला[ज]-
- 16 लराजहसा ।-
 शारित्रमलुकमलायवणावतसा [।]
 गच्छाधिपा बुधवरा जयसिहसूरि ।-
 नामा[न]

⁷⁰ Metre of verses 1-2 Śārdūlavikrīḍita

⁷¹ Metre Śragdharā

⁷² Read °क्षारदक्षद्रचारव°

⁷³ Metre of verses 4-5 Śārdūlavikrīḍita

⁷⁴ Read गंगावु°

⁷⁵ Metre of verses 6-7 Vasantatilaka Read गुरुवो

L. 17. ⁷⁰[७]द्यदमलीरुगुणावदाताः । ७ ॥

श्रीधर्मघोषगुरुवो वरकीर्त्तिभाजः [1]

सूरीश्वरास्तदनु पूज्यमहे

18. द्रसिंहाः ।

आसस्ततः सकलसूरिशिरोवतसाः [1]

सिंहप्रभाभिधसुसाधुगुणप्रसिद्धाः ॥ ८ ॥⁷⁷

तेभ्यः क्र-

19 मेण गुरुवो जिनसिंहसूरि ।⁷⁸

गोत्रा बभूवुरथ पूज्यतमा गणेशाः [1]

देवेन्द्रसिंहगुरुवोऽखिललो-

20 कमन्था [1]

धर्मप्रभा सुनिवरा विधिपक्षनाथाः ॥ ९ ॥

पूज्याश्च सिंहतिलकास्तदनु प्रभूत [1]-

भाग्या

21 महेंद्रविभवो गुरुवो⁷⁹ बभूवुः [1]

वक्रेश्वरीभगवतीविहितप्रसादाः [1]⁸⁰

श्रीमेरुगसूरवो नरदेवव[द्य]-

22 तः ॥ १० ॥⁸¹

तेभ्योऽभवन् गणधरा जयकीर्त्तिसूरि [1]-

सुख्यास्ततश्च जयकेसरिसूराजः ।⁸²

सिद्धांतसाग-

23. रगणाधिभुवस्ततोऽनु [1]

श्रीभावसागरगुरुगुणा⁸³ अभूवन् ॥ ११ ॥

तद्वशपुष्करविभासन्⁸⁴ भा-

24. नुरुपाः⁸⁵

सूरीश्वरा. सुगुण[शे]वधयो बभूवुः । यदपदो ॥

तत्पट्टोदयशैलशृङ्गकिरणाः

25 शास्त्राबुधेः पारगा [1]

भव्यस्नातचकोरलासनसलत्पूष्पाभचद्राननाः [1]⁸⁶

श्रीमतो विधिपक्षगच्छ[च्छ]-

26 तिलका वादीद्रपचानना ।

आसन् श्रीगुरुधर्ममूर्त्तिगुरुवः. सूरीद्रवद्याह्वयः ॥ १२ ॥⁸⁷

त-

⁷⁰ द stands above the line

⁷⁷ Metre of verses 8—11 Vasantatilakā

⁷⁸ Read गुरुवो । °सिंह°

⁷⁹ Read गुरुवो

⁸⁰ Read वक्रेश्वरी

⁸¹ Read तः ।

⁸² Read °सूरिराज . सू stands above the line

⁸³ Read °गुरु°

⁸⁴ Read °भासन्°.

⁸⁵ Read °रूपा

⁸⁶ Read °सनलसत्पू-

⁸⁷ Metre of verses 12 13 Śardulavikrūṭī Read °गुरुवः

- L 27 त्पट्टेऽथ जयति मन्मथभटाहकारशर्वोपमाः ।
 श्रीकल्याणसमुद्रसूरिगुरव, कल्याण —
- 28 कदाबुदाः ।
 भव्याभोजविवोधनैककिरणा सदज्ञानपायोधिष्य^{६३} ।
 श्रीमतोत्र जयनि सूरिवि-
- 29 भुमि ।^{६०} सेव्याः प्रभावोद्यता । १३ ॥
 श्रीश्रीमालज्ञातीयमन्त्रीश्वरश्रीभडारी तत्पुत्र मह श्रीश्र-
- 30 मरसी सुत मह श्रीकरण तत्पुत्र सा
 श्रीधन्वा तत्पुत्र साह श्रीसीपा तत्पुत्र सा^० श्रीवत त-
- 31 झार्या उभयकुलानददायिनी वाई श्रीसीभागदे तत्कुचिसरोराजहस साह श्रीरूप—
 32 तद्गगिनी उभयकुलानददायिनी परमश्राविका हीरवाई पुत्र पारीच श्रीसीमच^{६०}
 33 प्रभृतिपरिकरयुतया । सवत् १६८३ वर्षे । माघ सुदि त्रयोदशी तिथौ सीमवासरे [श्री]-
 34 चद्रप्रभस्वामिजिनमदिरजीर्णोद्धार कारित । श्रीराजनगरवास्वव्य^{६१} मह भडारी प्र-
 35 साद कराविड हुत तेहनइ वटी पेढी [इ] वाई श्रीहीर वाई हुई तेणीइ प — — — उद्धार
 कराविड ॥
 सघसहित ११ वा-
- 36 रयात्रा कीधी ॥ श्वसुरपत्ते पारिप श्रीगगदास भार्या वाई गुरदे पुत्र पारिप श्रीकुयरजी भार्या
 वाई कमलदे-
- 37 कुचिसरोराजहसोपमौ पारिपश्रीवीरजीपारिपश्रीरहीयाभिधानौ । पारिप वीरजी भार्या वाई
 हीरादे पुत्र प^०
- 38 सीमचद्रस्तन्नाम्ना श्रीचद्रप्रभस्वामिजिनविव कारित प्रतिष्ठत^{६२}च ॥ देशाधीश्वरस्वभापतपनप्रभो-
 ज्ञासिताखि-^{६३}
39. लभूमडल — — — — — श्रीकाधुजी तत्पुत्र रान्य श्रीसिवाजी — — — — श्राविका
 श्रीहीर वाई पुत्री वाई कीई वा-
- 40 ई कल्याणी भ्राता पारिप रूपजी तत्पुत्र पारिप गुडीदासयुतेन ॥ सवत् १६८२ वर्षे माह शुदि
 त्रयोदसी [श्री] सीमव-
- 41 तसरे श्रीचद्रप्रभस्वामिप्रतिष्ठा^{६४}कारिता ॥ भट्टारकश्रीकल्याणसागरसूरिभिः प्रतिष्ठत^{६५} ॥ वाचक-
 श्रीदेवसागरग[र] -
- 42 [श्री]नां कृतिरिय ॥ पंडितश्रीविजयमूर्तिगणीनालेखि ॥ प^० श्रीविनयशेपरगणीना शिष्य सु^०
 श्रीरविशेपरगणीना लि-
- 43 खितिरिय ॥ श्रीशेनुजय नमः यावत् चद्रार्कं चिर नदतात् श्रीकवडयचप्रसादात् ॥ गजधररामजी
 लघुभार्ता कुश्र-
- 44 — — — श्वेजरतनकल्याणकृताया अत्र भद्र ॥

^{६३} Read °पायोधिष्य^{६०} Read °भुमि^{६१} Read °चद्र^{६२} Read °कामव्य^{६३} Read प्रतिष्ठित^{६०} Probably for प्रतिपन्न^{६१} Read °प्रतिष्ठा^{६२} Read °प्रतिष्ठित

No. XXVIII.⁶⁶

- L 1. श्री ॥ सं १ [६] ८४ माघ वदि ५ शुक्ले श्रीमत्पत्तनवास्तव्यश्रीमालज्ञातीय ठ° जसपालपीत्रेण पि-
 2 तृ ठ° राजा मातृ ठ° सी [बुधियो इर्थ] ठ° धाधाकेन श्रीआदिनाथविवं खत्तकसहित कारित ॥

No XXIX.⁶⁷

- L 1 ॥ श्री ॥ संवत् १६८६ वर्षे चैत्रे शुदि १५ दिने दक्षणदेशे देवगीरोनगर-
 2 वास्तव्यश्रीमालीज्ञातीयलघुशापीय साहा तुकजी भार्या वा° तेजलदे
 3. सुत सा° हासुजी भार्या वाइ हासलदे लघुभ्राता सा° वकुजी सा° देवजी
 4 भार्या वाइ चक्रादे देराणी वाइ देवलदे पू [पु] व सा° धर्मदास भगी[गि]नो वा°
 5 कुञ्जरि प्रमुखसमस्तकुटव श्रीविमलाचलनी यात्रा करीनि
 6. श्रीअदबुद आ — — — [या] सादनो मडमनो की ३ सहित फे-
 7 रो उद्धार कराव्यु — — — — — द्वारक [ओ] — — — — — [रा] ज्ये
 8. तत्पट्टालकारे [श्री] — — — — — [श्री] — — — — — [भ्य] ॥
 9. पडितोत्तम श्रीद — — — — सुपदेशात् शुभ भवतु ॥

No XXX.⁶⁸

- L. 1. संवत् १६८६ वर्षे वैशाख शुदि ५ बुधे शाके १५५१ प्रवर्त्तमाने श्रीमूलसवे सरस्वतीगच्छे
 2. वला[त्का]रणे श्रीकुंडकुंदाचार्यान्वये भट्टारक श्रीसकलकीर्त्तिदेवास्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीभुवनकीर्त्तिदेवा-
 स्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीज्ञानभूषणदेवा-
 3 स्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीविजयकीर्त्तिदेवास्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीशुभचद्रदेवास्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीसुमतिकीर्त्तिदेवास्तत्पट्टे
 भ° श्रीगुणकीर्त्तिदेवास्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीवादिभूषणदेवास्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीरामकीर्त्तिदेवास्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीपद्मनदिगुरु-
 पदेशात् पातसाहाश्रीशाहा-
 4 ज्याहांविजयराज्ये श्रीगूर्जरदेशे श्रीअह्मदावादवास्तव्यहुंवडज्ञातीयवृहच्छाखीयवाग्वरदेशस्थातरी-
 यनगरनौतनभद्रप्रासादोद्धारणधार जाडा स° भोजा भा° स° लकु सु° सवस्ता भा° स° रत्नादे तयोः
 5. सुत ब्रह्मचर्यव्रतप्रतिपालनेन पवित्रीकृतनिजांगसप्तचेन्नारोपितस्वकीयवित्त स° लटकण भा° स°
 ललतादे तयोः सुत निजकुलकमलविकाशनैकसूर्यावतारः दानगुणेन नृपतियेयाससमः श्रीजिनविवप्रति-
 6 ङ्गातीर्थयात्रादिधर्मकर्मकरणोत्पुक्चित्तसघपति श्रीरत्नसी भा° स° रूपादे द्वितीयभा° स°
 मोहणदे तृतीयभा° स° न[थ]रगदे द्वितीयसुत सघवी श्रीरामजी भा° स° केशरदे तयोः सुत सघवी
 7 डुगरसी भार्या स° डाडमदे द्वितीयसुत सघवी [रायव]जी भा° स° गमतादे [एते सर्वे] महासि-
 ष्योश्च श्रीश[त्रुजयनाम्नि] गिरौ श्रीजिनप्रासादे श्रीशान्तिनाथविव कारयित्वा नित्य प्रणमति । शुभ भवतु [॥]

No XXXI.⁶⁹

- L 1. । श्री ॥ भट्टारकपुरदरभट्टारकश्रीहोर-
 2 । विजयसूरीश्वरगुरुभ्यो तमो नमः तत्-
 3 । पट्टप्रभाकरभट्टारकश्रीविजयसेन-

⁶⁶ On the base of a Chaumukha image in a small temple, west of the great Âdiśvara Bhagavan, *Lists*, p 198, No 114.—J B

⁶⁷ In the shrine of "Bhīmaḍeva,"—the great rock-cut image,—on the wall beside the doorway.—J B

⁶⁸ In the Digambara temple, in a small court to the north east of the great Âdiśvara temple, *Lists*, p 202, No 237.—J B

⁶⁹ Beside the doorway of the Śeṣhaśaṅka temple, facing the south door of the great Âdiśvara temple, *Lists*, p 137, No 97.—J, B

- L 4. । सूरिगुरुभ्यो नम संवत् [त्] १६९६ वर्षे वै-
 5. । शाय स्रदि ५ रवौ श्रीदीवदिरवास्तव्य स-
 6 । घवी सचा भार्या वाइ तेज वाइ तयो¹⁰⁰ सुपुत्र
 7 ॥ सघवी गोविदजी भार्या वाइ वयज वाइ
 8. । प्रमुखकुटवयुतेन¹ स्वयेयसे श्रीशत्रुज-²
 9. । ये उत्तम³ प्रासाद [.] कारापित [.] श्रीपार्श्वनाथ-
 10 । विव स्थापित प्रतिष्ठितं⁴ च श्रीतपागहनाय-
 11. । कभटारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरिभिः तत्प-
 12. । शालकारयुवराजश्रीविजयसिंहसूरि चिर जीय⁵

No. XXXII—(610) ⁶

- L 1. ॥ श्री ॥ उं नमः
 2 प्रत्यतिष्ठिपदि-द खलु तीर्थं ।
 4. रायसिंह इह वर्द्धमानभूः [।]
 6 शासनाद्विज-यदेवगुरो, स-
 8 द्वाचकेन वि-नयाद्विजये-न ॥ १ ॥⁷
 श्री-वजयसिंहसूरि । स जयतु तपगच्छमौ-लमाणिक्यं ।
 15. अजनिष्ट यदु । पदेशात् । स-हस्रकूटाभि-ध तीर्थम् ॥ २ ॥⁸
 19 दिक्शशिज-लधिमितेन्द्रे १७१० सित प-ष्ट्या ज्येष्ठमासि⁹ तीर्थेस्मिन् ।
 24. अर्हद्विंसह-स । स्थापितम-ष्टोत्तरं वदे ॥ ३
 27 यावज्जयति सुमेरु । स्ताव-जीयात्प्रकट-सौभाग्यं¹⁰ ।
 श्री शत्रुजयमूर्ध-नि । सहस्र-कूट किरी-टीयम् ॥ ४ ॥

No. XXXIII ¹¹

- | | |
|---|---------------------------|
| L 1. अर्हम् | 9 न भा । वाल्हादे पु । स |
| 2 ॥ श्री ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीस- | 10 मानसिहध्यानसिंह- |
| 3. वत् १७१० वर्षे ज्येष्ठ ¹² | 11. रायसिंहकनकसिंह- |
| 4 शुक्ल पटो ¹³ तियौ गु- | 12 उग्रसेनकटपभदासै- |
| 5. रुवारि श्रीउग्रसेनपु- | 13 सा । जगत्सिंहजीवण- |
| 6 रवास्तव्यजकेशज्ञा- | 14 दासप्रमुखपरिवार- |
| 7 तीयहृदशाखीयकु- | 15. युतै स्वपितृवचनात्त- |
| 8 द्वाडगोत्र सा । वर्द्धमा- | 16 त्पुण्याय श्रीसहस्रकू- |

¹⁰⁰ Read तयो
 Read ०कुटुम्ब

¹ Read ०वृज-

² Read ०सग

³ Read ०ष्ठित

⁴ Read जीयात्

⁶ In the temple of Śeṣhakota, on the left hand column

— *Index*, p 147, No 97 —J B

⁷ Metre Svāgatā The penultima of the second pada ought to be long

⁸ Metre of verses 2—4 Ārya

⁹ Read ज्येष्ठमासि

¹⁰ Read स्तावजी

¹¹ On a column in the Śeṣhakota temple, in the Vimalakirti Tunk —J B

¹² Read ज्येष्ठ

¹³ Read पटो

- L 17 टतीयं कारितं स्वप्रति-
 18 छायां प्रतिष्ठापितं¹⁴ । त-
 19. पागच्छे भ । श्रीहीरवि-
 20. जयसूरिपद्मभाकर
 21. भ । श्रीविजयसेनसूरि-
 22 पट्टालंकारपातिशा-
 23. हिश्रीजिहागीरप्रदत्त-
 24. महातपाविरुद्धारि-
 25. अनेकराजाधिराजप्र-
 26 तिबोधकारिभट्टारक
 27 श्री ७ श्रीविजयदेवसू-
 28. रीश्वरआचार्यश्रीविज-
 29. यप्रभसूरिनिर्देशात्

- 30 श्रीहीरविजयसूरि-
 31. शिष्यरत्नमहोपाध्या-
 32. य श्री ५ कीर्त्तिविज-
 33 य ग । शिष्योपाध्या-
 34 यश्रीविनयविज-
 35. यगणिभिः प्रतिष्ठि-
 36 त श्रीरस्तु ॥ श्रीशत्रुंज-
 37. यमहातीर्थकार्यक-
 38. रपडित श्री ५ शाति-
 39 विजय ग । देवविजय
 40 ग । मेघविजय ग । सा-
 41. हाय्यतः सिद्धमिदम्
 42. सूत्रधार मनजीः ॥

No. CV.¹⁵

L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥

2. ॥ श्री नमः ॥

बभूवुः श्रीमहावीरः पद्मानुक्रमभूषणाः [I]

श्रीअचलगणाधीशाः आयरिचितसूरयः¹⁶ [II] १ [II]

3 तत्पट्टपंकजादित्या सूरिश्रीजयसिंहकाः [I]

श्रीधर्मगोपसूरीद्रा । महिद्रसिंहसूरयः¹⁷ [II] २ [II]
 श्री ।

4 सिंहप्रभसूरीशः¹⁸ सूरयो जिनसिंहका [I]

श्रीमद्देवेंद्रसूरीशः श्रीधर्मप्रभसूरयः [II] ३ [II]

श्रीसिंहतिलकाङ्गाय

5 श्रीमहेंद्रप्रभाभिधाः [I]

श्रीमतो मेरुगुग्याख्याः¹⁹ बभूवुः सूरयस्ततः [II] ४ [II]

समग्रगुणसंपूर्णाः सूरिश्रीजयकी-

6. त्तयः [I]

तत्पदेय सुसाधुश्रीजयकेशरसूरयः [II] ५ [II]

श्रीसिद्धातसमुद्राख्यः सूरया²⁰ भूरिकीर्त्तयः [I]

भावसागरसू-

7 रीद्रा ततोभूवन् गणाधिपाः [II] ६ [II]

श्रीमद्गुणनिधानाख्यः सूरयस्तत्पदेभवन् [I]

युगप्रधाना²¹ श्रीमतः सूरिश्री-

¹⁴ Read प्रतिष्ठापित

¹⁵ In the Khartaravasi Tunk, on the south wall in the hall outside the shrine door of Nara Kesavji's temple — *Liste*, p 208, No 342 — J B,

¹⁶ Read °वीराः । शायरिचि°

¹⁷ Read L 3 °दित्याः । °वीर° । महेंद्र°

¹⁸ Read °रीशः

¹⁹ Read L 5 °तुगा° । बभूवुः

²⁰ Read L 6 °देय । °ख्याः सूरयो

²¹ Read L 7, °रीद्रास्त° । °दृष° °ख्याः । °भावाः,

- L 8. धर्ममूर्त्तय [II] ७ [II]
तत्पट्टोदयशीलाग्रः प्रोद्यत्तरणिसन्निभा²² [I]
अभवन्सूरिराजश्रीयुजः कल्याणसागराः
- 9 [II] ८ [II]
श्रीअमरोदधिसूरीद्रा ततो विद्यासूरयः [I]
उदयार्णवसूरिय कीर्त्तिसिंधुमुनिपतिः [II] ९ [II]²³
ततो पु-
10. न्योदधिसूरिराजेन्द्रार्णवसूरयः [I]
मुक्तिसागरसूरीद्रा वभूवुः गुणशालिनः [II] १० [II]
तत²⁴ रत्नो-
11. दधिसूरिर्जयति विचरद्भुवि [I]
शातदातचयायुक्त भव्यान्²⁵ धर्मोपदेशकः [II] ११ [II]
इति प-
- 12 द्वावलि ॥
अथ कच्छसुराद्रे च कोठारानगरे वरे [I]
वभूवु लघूशाखायामर्णसी-²⁶
- 13 ति गुणोच्चल [II] १२ [II]
तत्पुत्रो नायकी जज्ञे हीरवाइ च तप्रिया [I]
पुत्रो²⁷ केसवली तस्य
- 14 रूपवान्पुन्यमूर्त्तय[II] १३ [II]
मातुलिन समं मूर्वैवदरे तिलकोपमे²⁸ [I]
अगात्पुन्यप्रभावेन
- 15 बहु स्व समुपार्जित [II] १४ [II]
देवभक्तिगुरुरागी²⁹ धर्मश्रद्धाविवेकिनः [I]
दाता भीक्ता यश
16. कीर्त्तिं स्वर्गे विस्रूतो बहु [II] १५ [II]
पावेति तस्य पत्नी च नरसिहसुतोजनि³⁰ [I]
रत्नवाइ त-
- 17 स्य भार्या पतिभक्तिसुशीलवान् [II] १६ [II]
केशवजीकस्य भार्या द्वितीया³¹ माकवाइ चः [I]
- 18 नाम्ना त्रीकमजी तस्य पुत्रोभुत्³² स्वल्पजीवोनः [II] १७ [II]
नरसिहस्य पुत्रोभुत् रूपवान्

² Read L 8 °र्त्तय । °पाःप्रो°

²² Read द्राम° । तत

²⁴ Read L 10 °णी° । °शीद्रा । ततो

²⁵ Read L 11 °जयति विचरन्भुवि शातदात° । युक्ती भवान्

²⁶ Read °लि । °लंघु°

²⁷ Read °व्यय° । पुत्र

²⁸ Read L 14 रूपवान्पुण्य° । सुधे° । °तुच्छ° ।

²⁹ Read °स्व । °गुरु°

³⁰ Read L 16 विद्युती । Perhaps °धिइ°.

³¹ Read द्वितीया । च

³² Read °भुत् । °भुत्

L. 19.

सुदराकृति [I]

चिरजय सदा ऋद्धि वृद्धिर्भवतु³³ धर्मत [II] १८ [II]:

इति वशावलि: ॥

20. गांधी मोहोतागोत्रे सा केसवजी निजभूजोपार्जितवित्तेन³⁴ धर्मकार्याणि कुरुते अ
 21. तद्यथा निजपरिकरयुतो संघसाधु³⁵ विमलाब्दितीर्थे समेत्य कच्छसौराष्ट्रगुर्जर: म-³⁶
 22. रुधरमेवाडकुक्कुणादिदेशादागता: बहुसंघलोका: मिलिता: अजनशलाका-
 23. प्रतिष्ठा³⁷दिमहोत्सवायं³⁸ विशालमण्डपं कारयति अ तन्मध्ये नवीनजिनविंदा-
 24. नां रुच्यपापाणघातूनां बहुसहस्रसंख्यानां सुसुहृत्तं सुलग्ने पीठोपरि संस्था-³⁹
 25. प्य तस्य विधिना क्रयाकरणायं⁴⁰ श्रीरत्नसागरसूरिविधिपक्षगच्छपतेरादे-
 26. शत: सुनिश्रीदेवचद्रगाणना तथा क्रियाकुशलयाहै: सह शास्त्रोक्तारित्या⁴¹
 27. शुद्धक्रीया कुर्वन् श्रीवीरविक्रमाकृत: सवत् १९२१ ना वर्षे तस्मिन्⁴² श्रीशा-
 28. लीवाहनभूपालकृतश्राके १७८६ प्रवर्त्तमान्ये मासोत्तम⁴³ श्रीमाघमासे शुक्ल-
 29. पक्षे तिथि सप्तम्या: गुरुवासरे मार्त्तंडोदयवेलायां सुसुहृत्तं सुलग्ने स्वर्णशि-⁴⁴
 30. लाकया जिनमुद्राणां श्रीगुरुभित्त साधुभिरंजनक्रियान्कुरुते अ: सघलोका-⁴⁵
 31. न सुवेसधारीन् बहुऋद्ध्या गीतगांनवाजितपूर्वक समेत्य जिनपुजनलोह-⁴⁶
 32. नादिक्रियायाचकानादानादिसघवात्सल्यादिभक्तिहर्षतयक्रे पुनः⁴⁷ धर्मशा-
 33. लायां आरासोपलनिर्मितं सास्त्रतऋषभादिजिनानां चतुर्मुखं चैत्य पुन: गिरि-
 34. शिखरोपरि श्रीअभिनंदनजिनस्य विशालमंदिर तस्य प्रतिष्ठा⁴⁸ माघ सित त-
 35. योदश्यां बुधवासरे शास्त्रोक्तविधिना क्रिया कृता⁴⁹ श्रीरत्नसागरसूरिणासुप-
 36. देशत: श्रीसंघपति निजपरिवारेण सह श्रीअभिनंदनादिजिनविंदा⁵⁰ स्था-
 37. पिता तत: गुरुभक्तिसघभक्तिशक्त्यानुशारेण कृत: गोहिलवंशविभूषण-⁵¹
 38. ठाकोरश्रीसूरसघजीराज्ये पादलिप्तपुरे⁵² मदनोत्सवमभूत् श्रीसघस्य भद्रं
 39. भूयात्[.] कल्याणमस्तु शुभं भवतु[.] ॥
 माणिकसिंधुवरसुख्यसुनिवरेयु:⁵³ ।
 40. तत्स्थित्यवाचकवरविनयार्थवेन [I]
 एषा प्रशस्ति अवषास्रततुल्यरूपा⁵⁴
 संघ-
 41. स्य शाशनसमुन्नतिकारलेखि:⁵⁵ १: ॥
 वाचकविनयसागरेणैय प्रशस्ति-

³³ Read L. 19: °कृति: । °जय । °वृद्धि°.³⁴ Read °भूजो°³⁵ Read L. 21 °साधु° । °अंरम°.³⁶ Read °तिष्ठा°³⁷ Read L. 24 °रुच्य° । °कृतं°³⁸ Read क्रिया°.³⁹ Read L. 26 सुनि° । °चद्र° । °रीया°.⁴⁰ Read L. 27: °क्रिया । तस्मिन्°⁴¹ Read L. 28: °कृत° । °जाने । °वर्षे°⁴² Read L. 29 तिथी सप्तम्या: । °वर्षे° । °श्राका°.⁴³ Read L. 30, °मिह्या । अ संघ°⁴⁴ Read L. 31: °वेध° । °दिनपूर्वक । पूजन°.⁴⁵ Read L. 32 °सघ° । पुनः°.⁴⁶ Read °सा°⁴⁷ Read L. 35 °शास्त्री° । कृता°⁴⁸ Read L. 36 °देशत° । °विंदा°⁴⁹ Read L. 37 °पिते । °न्यसुसा° । कृत: । °शूष°.⁵⁰ Read पुरे°⁵¹ Read °रेयु°⁵² Read L. 40 °लि° । °रूपा°⁵³ Read श्राका° । °कार्यवेदि°.

L. 42. लिखिताः ॥

यावत् मेरु महिषर यावत् चद्रदिवाकरी⁵⁴ [i]

43 यावत्तीर्थ जिनेन्द्राणां [] तावत् नदत्त मदिः⁵⁵ ॥ १ ॥

श्रीरक्षु [ii]

ABSTRACTS

No. xxxiv.⁵⁶ Samvat 1783, Māha sudi 5, *Siddhachakra*, dedicated by Anandabāi, wife of Shetā (Khetā) of the Śrīmālī *laghuśākhā*, inhabitant of Dhanapura, consecrated by *panditavara* Devachandra, pupil of *upādhyāya* Dīpachandra, pupil of *mahopādhyāya* Jñānadharmajī, pupil of *mahopādhyāya* Rājasārajī in the *śākhā* of Jinachandra Sūri, *yugapradhāna* of the Brihat-Kharatara *gachchha*, who awakened Pātisahī Akabbara

No xxxv.⁵⁷ Samvat 1788, Māgha sudi 6, Friday, an image of Bhīmamuni dedicated by Dulichand, son of Sā(hu) Kikā of the Kharatara *gachchha*, consecrated by *upādhyāya* Dīpachandraganī

No xxxvi.⁵⁸ (Date as above), an image of Śrī-Yudhishtira [*sthira*] muni (remainder as above).

No xxxvii.⁵⁹ Vikrama Samvat 1788, Śāka 1653, Māgha sudi 6, Friday, an image of Chandraprabha, dedicated by Premajī (surnamed Cheulī, from his residence in Chenla), of the Śrīmālī *vriddhasākhā*, at the request of *bhattāraka* Vijaya-Dayāsūri, and of the Tapā *gachchha*, consecrated by *bhattāraka* Sumatisāgara of the same *gachchha*

No xxxviii.⁶⁰ Samvat 1791, Vaiśākha sudi 8, *pushyārke*; an image of Pārśvanātha, dedicated by *bhandārī* Ratnasīmha, a *mahāmantrī*, who caused an edict of *amārī* to be proclaimed in Gujarāt, son of Udayakarana (and Udayavantadevī), son of Shetasīhajī, son of *bhandārī* Dīpājī, of the Osavāla *vriddhasākhā* and the Nādūla-gotra, consecrated in the victorious reign of Vijaya-Dayāsūri, successor of Vijai-Kshamāsūri, of the Tapā *gachchha*

No xxxix.⁶¹ Samvat 1794, Śāka 1659, Aśādha sudi 10, Sunday, an image of Pārśvanātha, dedicated, and restoration of a temple made by *bhandārī* Harashachanda son of *bhandārī* Sivachanda, son of *bhandārī* Rūpachanda, son of *bhandārī* Tārachanda, son of *bhandārī* Nārāyanajī, son of *bhandārī* Bhānājī of the Ośavamaśa *vriddhasākhā*, Nādūla-gotra, dedicated in the victorious reign of Jinachandrasūri of the Brihat-Kharatara *gachchha*, by *pandita* Devachandra, pupil of *upādhyāya* Dīpachandajī, pupil of *upādhyāya* Jñānadharmajī, pupil of *mahopādhyāya* Rājasārajī

⁵⁴ Read L. 42 लिखिताः । मेरुमहिषरी । च०,

⁵⁵ Read लिखितं । नदत्त मदिः

⁵⁶ On a *Siddhachakra* slab in the south corridor of the Kharataravasi Tunk — *Lists*, p. 206, No. 337 — J B

⁵⁷ On the base of the image, on the right side of principal one in the Pañcha Pāndava temple — *Lists*, p. 207, No. 350 — J B

⁵⁸ In Pañcha Pāndava temple, on the base of the principal image — *Lists*, ib

⁵⁹ Outside the door of a square temple opposite the south-west corner of the great Ādiśvara — *Lists*, p. 197, perhaps

No. 100

⁶⁰ In the Vimalavasi Tunk, on right hand when going towards the Hāthipola, about half way up — *Lists*, p. 203,

No. 247

⁶¹ In the south wall outside the shrine door of a temple in the Chhāpāvasi Tunk — *Lists*, p. 207, No. 357

No xl⁶² Samvat 1810, Māha sudi 13, Tuesday, an image of Sumatinātha, dedicated by the whole Sangha, *Sanghavi* Kachara Kikā and the rest, dedicated by Sarvasūri.

No xli⁶³ Samvat 1814, Māgha vadi 5, Monday, a temple with a *śikhara*, dedicated by *Vo* Kāśarisangha, son of *Vo* Lādha, (and Prānakumara,) son of *Vo* Dipachand, son of *Vo* Sakalachanda of the Prāgvāta-vamśa, *laghuśākhā*, inhabitant of Rajanagara, consecrated by Udayasūri.

No xlii⁶⁴ Samvat 1815, Vaiśākha sudi 6, Wednesday, an image of Pārśvanātha dedicated by *masa* Kuyarajī Lādha of Bhāvanagara, consecrated by Rājasāmasūri, of the Laghuposāla *gachchha*

No xliii⁶⁵ Samvat 1822, Phālguna sudi 5, Thursday, two images in the Viśa, Deshavāla-Tapā *gachchha*'s *derī*, dedicated by *gāndhī* Parasottama Sūdarajī and by his nephew Amālidāsa and his brothers Nāthā and Kumbera, all of Meśānā The inscription was incised by Kubera, in Samvat 1863, Chaitia sudi 2, Friday

No xliiv⁶⁶ Samvat 1843, Śāka 1708, Māgha sudi 11, Monday, an image of Ādinātha, dedicated by Premachanda, of Rājanagara, a Śrīmālī of the *laghuśākhā* of the Kāśyapa gotra and Paramāra race, consecrated by Vijaya-Jinendrasūri of the Tapā *gachchha*

No xlv⁶⁷ Vikrama Samvat 1860, Śāka 1726, Vaiśākha sudi 5, Monday, an image of Śāntinātha, dedicated by Harashachanda, son of Hīrdechanda (and Kumarabāī), son of Sā Rāyakarana, a Śrīmālī of the *viddha śākhā*, a native of Damana-bandira (Daman), honoured by the Phiramgijātī Pūtakāla pātasāhī (the king of Portugal).

No. xlvī⁶⁸ (Date as in the preceding); a new image in the new temple of Vijjaharā-Pārśvanātha, dedicated by Savāichanda, son of Premachanda Jhaverachanda and Joyatī, a Jhaverī (*jeweller*) of the Usavāla race in Surat, in the name of Premachanda and others, during the victorious reign of Vijaya-Daivachandrasūri, of the *gachchha* Vijaya-Ānandasūri, consecrated by Vijaya-Jinendrasūri of the Tapā *gachchha*.

No xlvii⁶⁹ (Date as in No. xlv), a new image in the new temple of Asrahurā (Vijjaharā?) Pārśvanāth, dedicated by Jhaverī Premachanda, an Usavāla of Surat, belonging to the *gachchha* of Vijaya-Ānandasūri, in the victorious reign of Vijaya-Devachandrasūri, consecrated by Vijaya-Jinendrasūri, *bhattāraka* of the Tapā *gachchha*.

No xlviii⁷⁰ (Date as in No. xlv), an image of Sahasakutajī (*Sahasakūṭa*), dedicated by Dāhābhāī, son of Sā Lālabhāī, grandson of Sa Bhāīsājī, a Śrīmālī, at the request of Pūnyasāgarasūri of the Amehala *gachchha*, consecrated by Vijaya-Jinendrasūri of the Tapā *gachchha*.

No xlix⁷¹ Date and contents as of the preceding.

⁶² In a temple on the south of the way to the Hāthipolī, in Vimalavasi Tunk — *Lists*, p. 204, No. 285 — J B

⁶³ On south side corner of a temple in the outer compound of the Ādiśaia temple

⁶⁴ On the base of an image in a temple on the south side of the way to the Hāthipolī — *Lists*, p. 204, No. 291

⁶⁵ In Modī Premachand's temple No. 84 P

⁶⁶ In Vimalavasi Tunk, in a small temple on the south of the Vaghana polī — *Lists*, p. 204, No. 301 — J B

⁶⁷ In Modī Premachand's Tunk, on an image in the principal temple — *Lists*, p. 207, No. 362

⁶⁸ On the base of an image in the temple on the right upon entering the Tunk of Modī Premachand — *Lists*, p. 208, No. 367 — J B

⁶⁹ In Modī Premachand's Tunk, on the base of the image in the temple facing the preceding — *Lists*, p. 208, No. 364

⁷⁰ On a column in the Śāhakotā in the Pañcha Pāndava's temple — *Lists*, p. 207, No. 351

⁷¹ In the same temple — J B

No. 1⁷² Samvat 1860, Māhā sudya 13; a temple was begun and finished Samvat 1861, Phāguna vadī 5, Wednesday, by Vīrachanda, son of Pitāmara, grandson of Harashachamda, a Pārekh of Ahmadābad, of the Visā-Poravāla gachchha, and of the gachchha of Vijaya-Ānandasūri

No 1⁷³ Vikrama Samvat 1861 and Śālivāhana Śāka-1726, Dhātā samvatsara Mārgaśīrsha sudī 3, Wednesday, Pūrvāshādhā nakshatra, Viuddha Yoga, Gira Karana, in the victorious reign of Pūnyasāgarasūri, successor of Kirtisāgarasūri, successor of Udayasāgarasūri of the Amchala gachchha, a *kumda*, called Ichhākumda, was dedicated by Ichchhābhāi, son of Nihālachandabbāi, a Śrīmālī of Surat, while the Gohil chief Unnadājī ruled over Pālitanā.

No 1⁷⁴ Samvat 1867, Chaitra sūda 15, an agreement in Gujarātī not to allow anybody to build temples in the Hāthī Pola

No 1⁷⁵ Samvat 1875, Māgha vadī 4, Sunday, an image of Suvadhīnātha (?), dedicated by Sosajī, son of Mūlajī and Māmna-kumara, of Rādhanapura, an image of Chandraprabha, dedicated by Sedugarasī, son of Mūlajī and (?), an image of Mallinātha, and a little temple (*deharī*) dedicated by Kāmtiyā Hemajī, son of Tokarāsī

No 1⁷⁶ Samvat 1885, Vaisākha śukla akshaya-tṛtīyā, Thursday, a temple of Chandraprabha, built, at the request of the Śrāvika Gulāvabenī, by Bābu Harsha-chamdaajī and Visanachamdaajī, sons of Jethamallajī, Būranachamdaajī and Keśava-dāsajī, sons of Sāha Bolitthajī, of the Dūgada gotra, inhabitant of Bālūchāra, consecrated by Jinaharshasūri of the Kharatara gachchha.

No 1⁷⁷ Samvat 1886, Śāka 1751, Māgha, śuklapaksha 5, Friday, an image of Pundarīka ganadhara, dedicated for the welfare of his father by Lallubhāi, son of Seth Pānābhāi and his wife Mughivahu, daughter of Seth Vakhatachamda Khuśyālachamda of the Vriddhasākha of the Ośa race, inhabitant of Rājanagara, consecrated during the reign of Śantisāgarasūri of the Sāgara gachchha

No 1⁷⁸ (Date as above), a temple built and an image of Pārsvānātha, dedicated for the welfare of Bāi Rāmākumyara, wife of Sāha Harakbachamda, son of Sāha Mūlachamda, of the Vriddhasākhā of the Ośa race, inhabitant of Rājanagara, and for the welfare of her daughter Jhaverabāi, wife of Dosī Kusalachamda, in the reign of bhattāraka Rājendrasāgarasūri of the Amchala gachchha

No. 1⁷⁹ (Date as above), a *chaturvīṃśatīrthakarapatta* with *hrīmkāra*, dedicated by Motīchamda, son of Sāha Malukachamda, and Kusalabāi, of the Vriddhasākhā of the Ośa race, inhabitant of Rājanagara, consecrated by the bhattāraka of the Kharatara gachchha

No. 1⁸⁰ (Date as above), a *parameshtī[shthī]pada*, with *Omkāra*, dedicated by the donor of No. 1⁷⁹, consecrated as above

⁷² In Vimalavasi Turk, to the south-east of the Chaumukh of a hundred pillars — *Lists*, p 202, No 245 — J B

⁷³ On a tank by the roadside part of the way down the hill

⁷⁴ On the wall, beside the Hāthīpola, or the gateway separating the enclosure of the Ādiavara Bhagavān and the eastern section of the Vimalavasi Tunk — J B

⁷⁵ In Modī Premachaud's Tunk in a cell or chapel in the north corridor

⁷⁶ In a small temple to the south of Pundarik's — *Lists*, p 207, No 345

⁷⁷ In Hemabhai's Tunk, at the entrance — *Lists*, p 209 No 408

⁷⁸ On the seat of an image south of Pundarik's in the entrance to Hemabhai Vakhatchand's Tunk

⁷⁹ In Hemabhai's Tunk, on the north wall of the Mandapa of the principal temple — *Lists*, p 209, No 407

⁸⁰ In the same temple, on the south wall — J B

No lx⁸¹ (Date as above); a temple and an image of Chandraprabha, dedicated for her husband's welfare by Ichhāvahu, wife of Naginadāsa, son of Śeth Himabhāi, son of Śeth Vakhatachamda Khusyālachamda, of the Vriddhasākhā, of the Ośa race, inhabitant of Rājanagara, consecrated in the reign of Śāntisāgarasūri of the Sāgara *gachchha*

No. lx.⁸² Samvat 1887, Vaisākha sudi 13, *jñavāsara*, in the reign of Gohel Kāmdhājī, *kumvara* Noghanajī, of Pādaliptanagara, a temple (*vihāra*) built, and an image of Kumthanātha by Gajamalajī Parakh, son of Himatarāma, son of Sāha Tilokachamda of the Lunīyā gotra, Ukeśa jñātiya Vriddhasākhā, inhabitant of Ajameranagara, consecrated by Devachamda, in the reign of *bhatt*. Jinaharshasūri, of the Brihat-Kharatara *gachchha*

No. lxi⁸³ Samvat 1888, Vaisākha vadi — — *śorivāsare* (1), three images of Chandraprabha, etc, dedicated by Khemakuvarabāi, wife of Nihālachamda, son of Sāha Pāmnāchamda, Ośavāla of Ahmadābād, consecrated by Devachandra, in the reign of Jinharshasūri of the Kharatara *gachchha*.

No lxii⁸⁴ Samvat 1889, Śaka 1755, Vaisāsha śukla 13, Wednesday, an image of Dharmanātha, dedicated by Ujamabāi, daughter of Vakhatachamda, an Ośavāla of the Vriddhasākhā, inhabitant of Rājanagara, consecrated in the reign of Śāntisāgarasūri of the Sāgara *gachchha*. A small temple in the Motī tunk near Punchabhāi's temple by the same.

No. lxiii⁸⁵ (Date as above), an image of Rishabhadeva, dedicated by Paradhāmnava, wife of Sūryamala, son of Śieshā Vakhatachamda, of the Vriddhasākhā of the Ukesa race, inhabitant of Rājanagara, consecrated in the Sāgara *gachchha* (?).

No lxiv⁸⁶ (Date as above), an image of Chandraprabha, dedicated by Kapurachamda, inhabitant of Sirohi, son of Pubachamda Jasarupajī, younger brother of Jasarupajī, son of Patājī Pārakh, consecrated in the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. lxv⁸⁷ (Date as above), *chaturmukha bumba*, dedicated for the welfare of Hemabhāi by his whole family, *viz* Naginadāsa, his wife Ichhāvahu, his younger brother Premābhāi, his wife Sāmkalivahu and his sisters Rukhamani, Prasana, Motīkumara—Hemābhāi's wife Kamkuvahu, parents Śeth Vakhatachamda and Jadāvabāi, grandfather Khusālachamda, Ośavālas of the V. S., inhabitants of Ahmadābād, consecrated by Śāntisāgara of the Sāgara-*gachchha*

No lxvi.⁸⁸ Date as above, but sukra 12, Wednesday (?); a *pañchaparameshtī* [*shthī*]-*patta*, containing an *Omkāra*, dedicated by Ujamabāi (see No lxii), consecrated in the Tapā *gachchha* (?)

No lxvii.⁸⁹ Samvat 1889, Śaka 1754 Vaisāsha, śuklapaksha 12, Wednesday, a *chaturvīṃśatīrthamkarapatta*, containing a *Hīmkāra*, dedicated by Ujamabāi (see No. lxvi), consecrated in the Tapā *gachchha* (?)

⁸¹ In a shrine in Hemabhāi's Tunk,—*Lists*, p 209, No 413 —J B

⁸² Outside Kharataravasi Tunk, in a temple at the north east corner —*Lists*, p 207, No 347.—J B

⁸³ In one of the shrines round the court of Hemabhāi's Tunk, on the north side

⁸⁴ In a small shrine on the south corridor of the same

⁸⁵ In Hemabhāi's Tunk in a shrine in the south corridor room No 4

⁸⁶ In Hemabhāi's Tunk, north corridor, room No 2

⁸⁷ In the shrine of the temple in the north east of the court —*Lists*, p 209, No 412

⁸⁸ In the principal temple in Hemabhāi's Tunk, on the south wall, see No lxvii

⁸⁹ In Hemabhāi's temple, in the Mandapa north wall, east corner, see No lxvii —J B

No lxviii.⁸⁰ Samvat 1891, Māgha, śita 5, Monday, during the reign of Gohel Khāmdhājī, his son being Noghanājī and his son Pratāpasimghājī, of Pālitānā, an image of Rishabha, dedicated by Imdrajī, son of Nihālachamda, of the Yadugada-gotra, Ośavāla race, Brihat-śākhā, inhabitant of Makasudāvād-Bāluchara; consecrated by Pam. Devachandra, pupil of Pam. Jayavamtaḥ, in the reign of Jinaharsha of the Brihat-Kharatara *gachchha*.

No. lxix.⁸¹ Samvat 1892, Vaiśākha, śita 3, Friday, in the reign of Gohel Khamdājī (etc, see No lxviii), images of Sambhavanātha, Pārśvanātha and Śī-talanātha, dedicated by Mahetābakumāra, wife of Bābu Pratāpasimghājī, brother of Bābu Bahādarasimghājī, son of Bābu Rādhāsinghājī, of the Yadugada-gotra, Ukesa race), Brihat-Śākhā, of Makasudāvād-Bāluchara, consecrated in the reign of Jinaharsha of the Brihat-Kharatara *gachchha* by P. Devachandra, pupil of P. Jayabhadra, pupil of P. Kanaka Sekharājī.

No lxx.⁸² Samvat 1893, Śāka 1758, Māgha vadī 2, Wednesday; a temple built and image of Ādinātha dedicated by Phūlakumyara, daughter of Anopabhāi and Manachhī, Anopabhāi being son of Vakhatachamda (see above, No xlv), consecrated by Śāmtisāgara of the Sāgara *gachchha*

No lxxi.⁸³ (Date as above), temple built and image of Śāmtinātha dedicated by Ujalivahu, wife of Phatebhāi, son of Motīchamda, Vriddha-Śākhā, Ośavāla, inhabitant of Rājanagara, consecrated by Śāmtisāgara of the Sāg. ga

No lxxii.⁸⁴ (Date as above), temple built and image of Śāmtinātha dedicated by Bhagubhāi, son of Phatebhāi (wife Acharatavahu), son of Motīchanda (see No. lxxi), consecrated by Śāmtisāgara of the Sāgara-gotra

No. lxxiii.⁸⁵ (Date as above), a temple built in Hemābbhāi's tunk and image of Ajitanātha dedicated by Sā Lashamīchamda, (wife Pāravatī), son of Sā Jesamgha, son of Sā Hirāchamda, of the Vriddha-Śākhā, Usavāla, inhabitant of Khambhayanaya

No. lxxiv.⁸⁶ Samvat 1893, Jyeshtha śudī 3, Wednesday, an image of Gomukha Yaksha, dedicated by Bāphanā Gumāmnachamdaḥ Bahadaramallaḥ of Jeśalameru, consecrated by Jinamahemdrasūri of the Kharatara *gachchha*

No lxxv.⁸⁷ Samvat 1893, Śāka 1758, Māgha śukla 10, an image of Pārśvanātha dedicated by Premachanda, etc (see next inscription), consecrated by Padmavijaya, etc. (see next inscription).

No lxxvi.⁸⁸ Samvat 1893, Śāka 1758, Magha śukla 10, Wednesday, an image of Pārśvanātha dedicated by Ajab and Mānakumara, the first and second mothers of Sā Pitāmara, son of Sā Sākalachamda, son of Sā Premachamda, son of Sā Dāmodaradāsa of the Laghu Śākhā of the Śrīmāla race, inhabitants of Ahammadāvād, consecrated by

⁸⁰ In temple outside the gate of Pundarika temple of the Kharataravasi Tunk and next to that containing inscription No lx — *Lists*, p 206, No 341 — J B

⁸¹ Outside the enclosure of the great Chaumukha on the east, next to preceding on the base of an image — *Lists*, p 206, No 339

⁸² In Hemabhai Tunk, west corridor, room No 1

⁸³ In the same Tunk in a shrine in the west corridor

⁸⁴ In Hemabhai's Tunk, west corridor, room No 5

⁸⁵ In the Hemabhai Tunk, north corridor, first room

⁸⁶ In the shrine of Gaumukha, at the entrance to the Chaumukha temple — *Lists*, p 205 No 311

⁸⁷ Sākalachand Premachand's Tunk, on the seat below the image (Chintamani Pārśvanātha), in a cell in the west corridor of the principal temple — *Lists*, p 212, No 494

⁸⁸ In Sākalachand Premachand's Tunk, on the seat of Pundarika, facing the principal temple — J B

Rûpaviṣayagani, pupil of Padmaviṣayagani, a Samviṣṇamārgī, of the line of Vijayasīhasūri, in the Samviṣṇayamārgīya—Tapā *gachchha*.

No. lxxvii⁹⁹ (Date as above), an image of Padmanātha, dedicated by Sā Mūlachamda, son of Sā Karmachamda, son of Sā Premachamda (etc., see above) consecrated by Rûpaviṣayagani (etc., see No. lxxvi)

No lxxviii¹⁰⁰ (Date as above), an image of Dharmmanātha, dedicated by Amarachamda (and family), son of Ratnakumachamda and Devakūara Bāi, son of Premachamda and Ichhābāi of the Oḍa race, Lughu Śākhā, inhabitant of Mumbāi, consecrated in the reign of Vijaya-Dhaneśvarasūri of the gachchha of Vijaya-Ānamdasūri, called the Tapā *gachchha*

No. lxxix¹ (Date as above), an image of Dharmānātha, dedicated by Sā Śāhavisimgha, son of Sā Keśrisimgha, son of Sā Kluṣālachamda, son of Sā Nāhālachamda, an Ośavāla of the Viḍḍhaśākha, inhabitant of Ahamadāvād, consecrated by Śāntisāgarasūri of the Śāgara *gachchha*.

No. lxxx² (Date as above), an image of Ādinātha, dedicated by Khemachamda (and family), son of Śeth Motichamda and Divali Bāi, son of Śeth Amichamda and Rupā Bāi, an Ośavāla of the Viḍḍhaśākha and Nāhatāgotra, inhabitant of Mumbai-bindara (*Bombay*), consecrated by Jinamahemdrasūri, successor of Jinaharshasūri of the Bihāt-Kharatara *gachchha* (Kharatara Pippaliya), during the reign of Gohel Pratāpasimghajī.

No. lxxxi³ (Date as above), image of Śeth Mo[ti]cham]da and his wife Ichhābāi set up by Śeth Khemachamda, in the Kharatara-Ghinaliya (*Pippaliya*?) *gachchha*

No lxxxii⁴ (Date as above), image of Śāntinātha, dedicated by Śeth Amichamda (etc., see No lxxx), consecrated by Jinamahemdra, (*Kharatara-Pippaliya-gachchha-ja-yu śri Jinadevasūri tatpatte bha-śrī-Jinachamdasuri vidyamāne saparikaratarayute*)

No lxxxiii.⁵ (Date as above), an image of Supārśvanātha, dedicated by Rûpā Bāi, wife of Śeth Amichamda (etc., see No. lxxx), consecrated by Jinamahemdrasūri, etc., (see the preceding No lxxxii)

No lxxxiv⁶ (Date as above), an image in the temple of *śrīvat*-Kesarīdevī (Ambā), dedicated by Mumgīvahu, wife of Khemachamda (etc., see No. lxxx), consecrated by Jinamahemdrasūri, etc., (see No. lxxxii)

No. lxxxv⁷ (Date as above), an image of Pundarīka, dedicated by Khemachamda (and family, etc., see No lxxx); consecrated by Jinamahemdrasuri, etc. (see No lxxxii)

No lxxxvi.⁸ Samvat 1897, Śāka 1763, Vaiśāka, śukla 13, Monday, an image

⁹⁹ In the temple in the north east corner of Sākalachand Premachand's Tūṅk —*Liste*, p 213, No 498 —J B

¹⁰⁰ In Motiśāh's Tūṅk, in the temple on the south side of the principal one —*Liste*, p 210, No 420

¹ In Motiśāh's Tūṅk, on the base of image in a temple on the north of the principal one —*Liste*, p 210, No 433

² In Motiśāh's Tūṅk, on the base of the principal image in the temple next to the preceding

³ Near the door below the image of the Śeth and his wife, in the principal temple in Motiśāh's Tūṅk —*Liste*, p 209, No 417

⁴ On the base of an image to the right of the principal image in temple No 420 —*Liste*, p 210

⁵ On the base of an image to the left of the principal image in a temple to the north east of the central one

⁶ On the base of image of Ambā Mātā (Chakreśvari) to the right of the principal temple in Motiśāh Amichand's Tūṅk

⁷ On the base of Pundarīka, in the temple at the entrance of Motiśāh's Tūṅk, the temple of Pundarīka always faces the principal shrine of Ādinātha —*Liste*, p 209, No 418 —J B

⁸ On the base of image in a temple behind the principal one in Motiśāh's Tūṅk —*Liste*, p 210, No 421

of Âdinâtha, dedicated by Phulachamda, son of Kapurachamda and Kasali, son of Parekh Jibogha (?) and Lashamî, Śrīmālî of the Vriddha Śākhâ, inhabitant of Mumbai-bidar (*Bombay*), consecrated in the reign of Vijaya Devīdrasûri of the Tapa *gachchha*

No lxxxvii⁹ Samvat 1900, Śaka 1765, Māgha śukla 7, Friday, a temple built by Kshemachamda

No lxxxviii¹⁰ Samvat 1903, Śaka 1768, Māgha, krishna 5, Friday, an image of Rûpabâi (etc., see No. lxxxiii), dedicated by Kshemachamda, in the reign of Jinamahimdrasûri of the Brihat-Kharatara Pîpaliya *gachchha*

No lxxxix¹¹ Samvat 1905, Vaiśāṣha, śukla 1, Monday, an image of Âdinâtha, dedicated by *mehetâ* Motichamda, son of *m* Khetasî, Osavala of the Vriddha-Śākhâ, inhabitant of Pālanapûra, two other images of Âdinâtha, dedicated by his wives Rāmākuyara and Imdara, two more images of Âdinâtha, dedicated by Mangali, son of *metâ* Îśvara and Jñanavahu, son of Rāmākuyar and Motichamda, as well as by Dilubâi, wife of Khetasî, son of Mûlachamda, in the reign of Devīmdrasûri of the Tapâ *gachchha*

No xc¹² Samvat 1905, Śaka 1770, Māgha, śukla 5, Monday, a temple built, thirty-two images of Chamdraprabhu and other Jinas dedicated, a *dharmaśâlâ* 120 gaja long and 40 gaja broad, built in Palitâna, south side, an *upâsar* in Pālītânâ for the Amchala *gachchha* restored, (*all*) by Sâ Hirajî and Sâ Virajî with their wives Purabâi and Lîlâ Bâi, they being sons of Sa Narasî and Kuarabâi, son of Bhâramalla, and Mamka Bâi Osavalas of the Laghu-sâsha, and Nâgadâ-gotra, members of the Amchala *gachchha* inhabitants of Nabhinpura in Kachha, the pious works being made by the advice (*upadeśât*) of Muktisagarasûri of the Amchala *gachchha*

No xci.¹³ Pedigree and record of the benefactions of Seth Vakhatachanda, his son Hemâbhai and his grandson, the late Nâgaseth Premâbhai of Ahmadâbâd. He belonged to the Osavâla-jñati, the Addai Śākhâ, the Śisodia *vamśa*, the Kumkumalola-gotra, worshipped the gotra-devî Âśâpurî, the Kshetrapâla Barada. The pedigree includes (1) [K]ulautapatirâja Sâmamtasamgha râmno, (2) his son Kuarapala, converted to Jainism by Achâraja Dharmagoshasûri, (3) his son Sâ Harapati, (4) his son Sa Vaehchhâ, (5) his son Sâ Sehasakarana, (6) his son Seth [Sâ]mtidâsa of Râjanagara, a courtier (*râjasabhâsragâra*) in the time (*pravartte*) of Dalpatipâtasaba—Sâhajâmgajî, his son Seth Lakhamichamda; (8) his son Shusâlachamda (Khushalehand), wife Jhamaku; (9) their son Seth Vashatachamda (Vakhatchand). Then follow the names of the latter's wives, children and grand-children, an enumeration of his, and his family's benefactions with dates, from V S 1864 to 1905 and a *puttâvali* of the Sâgara-*gachchha*, (1) Râjasâgarasûri, (2) Vriddhisâgarasûri, (3) Lakshmisagarasûri, (4) Kalyânâsâgarasûri, (5) Punyasâgarasûri, (6) Udayasâgarasûri, (7) Ânandasâgarasûri, (8) Sâmtisagarasûri, V S 1905.

No xcii¹⁴ Samvat 1908, Chaitra vada 10, Wednesday, a temple built in the Mubatâ

⁹ In Sakalachand Premachand s Tunk, on the left side wall, near the shrine door of the temple on the south east — *Lists* p 213, No 499

¹⁰ On the base of a female image near the door of the principal temple in Motîsah s Tunk

¹¹ In Motîsah s Tunk, south corridor, first room

¹² In the Kharataravani Tunk in a temple outside the Chaumukh enclosure and behind that of Narsi Keshaji

¹³ In Hemabhai Vakhatachand s Tunk, on the front wall at the south corner, outside the principal temple of Ajitanath, built by Premabhai. — *Lists*, p 209, No 467 — J B

¹⁴ In Motîsah s Tunk, in a room in the south corridor

Moti-vasi (Motisnâh's Tunk), by Vriddhishamdañi, son of Muhatâ Patichâna and Punyakuara, of the Ośa race, inhabitants of Vikânera, consecrated by Pam. Devem-drakusâla, brother of Ânamdakuśala of the Tapâ *gachchha*

No xciii¹⁵ Samvat 1908, Vaisâsha krishna 7, Monday; an image of Dharmanâthaji, dedicated by Khusâlabbhâi, son of Dîpaehamda, a Śrîmâlî, inhabitant of Râjânagara

No xciv¹⁶ (Date as above), an image of Śumatînâtha, dedicated by Jethâbhâi, another son of Dîpaehamda (see No. xciii).

No xcv¹⁷ (Date as above), an image of Rishabha, dedicated in the reign of Harkhaehamdasûri by Jethâbhâi (&c, see No xciv) of the Pâyachamda(?) *gachchha*, consecrated by Pam. Ânamdakuśala

No xevi¹⁸ Samvat 1910, Chetra, śukla 15, Thursday, in the reign of Râjarajeshvara Mahârâjâdhîrâja (II) Gohil Śrî Noghana, his son being Pratâpasimghaji, of Pâlîtânâ, a new temple built and eight images of Adijîna, Suvrata, Âdinâtha, Namî-nâtha, Adinâtha, Śruvrata, Śântînâtha and Pârśvanâtha, dedicated by Seth Vaghmalaji, son of Agarakuvarabâi and Dhanarûpamalla, Osavâla of the Vriddha Śâkhâ and Śrî-Mummîyâ gotra, inhabitants of Ajamera, consecrated in the reign of Jinasaubhâgyasûri, successor of Jina harśha of the Khar ga by Hemaehamdra, younger pupil (*laghusikshya*) of Mâmnasumdaraji, of Harshakîrtti, pupil of Dayâvilasaji, pupil of Jayabhadraji, pupil of Pam. Kanakasesharañi

No xcvi¹⁹ Samvat 1911, Phâlguna, krishna 2 Monday,²⁰ an image of Abhinam-danasvâminmûlanâyaka, dedicated in the Motivasitunka by Sâ Kâlidâsa, son of Bâi-Deva and Bhagavâna, son of Sâ Harashachamda, a Visâ Poravada, inhabitant of Rajanagara; consecrated by Pam. Ânamdakuśala in the reign of Devindrasûri of the Tapâ *gachchha*

No xcvi²¹ Samvat 1913, Mâgasara, śudî 6, *Nāvāsare*, an image of Śamtînâtha, dedicated by Seth Phattebhâi, son of Sâ Motibhâi and Rupakumvarabâi, of the Sisodiâ-sashâ and Kumkamalola-gotra, inhabitant of Ammadâvâd

No xcix²² (Date as above), an image of Dharmanâtha, dedicated by Seth Chaganabhâi, son of Siradârakumvarabâi and Sâ Manâsushabhâi, of the Sisodiâ sâshâ and the Kumkamalola-gotra, inhabitant of Ahamadâvâd

No e²³ (Date as above), an image of Abhinamdana, dedicated by Samarathakuarabâi, daughter of Pradhânakumvarabâi and Seth Surajamalabhâi, Osavâlâ of the Sisodiâ sâshâ and the Kumkamalola gotra, inhabitant of Ahamadâvâd.

No ci²⁴ Samvat 1914 (written 19014), Mârgasîrsha, śudî 7, Monday, an image of Dattajîna, dedicated by Bâi Aindra, wife of Sâha Velachamda Mânyekachamda of Râjânagara

No cii²⁵ Samvat 1914 (written 19014), Mârgasîrsha, vadî aikame,²⁶ Wednesday (*vârabuddhe*), an image of Śuvrattajîna, dedicated by Bâi Harakumyyara, wife of Mânîkachamda Khimachamda, an Usa of Râjânagara

¹⁵ In Motisnâh's Tunk, in a room in the south corridor, next the preceding. —J B

¹⁶ In the same room as the preceding

¹⁷ In the same place as in No xciii

¹⁸ In the Chaumukh enclosure, on the east wall of a marble temple behind the great one — *Lists*, p 206, No 325

¹⁹ In Motisnâh's Tunk, in a room in the south corridor — J B

²⁰ Date on the image 903

²¹ In Hemabhai's Tunk, south wing, room No 33. —J B

²² Hemabhai's Tunk, south wing, No 32

²³ In the same corridor, No 31

²⁴ In Motisnâh's Tunk, south corridor, No 28, see No cvi

²⁵ In Motisnâh's Tunk, south corridor, No 22 —J B

²⁶ Date on the image Samvat 1693

No cii²⁷ Samvat 1916, Vaisākha, kṛṣṇa 6, Thursday, (*uttarāśhādhanaśhatra samkrānti mesha, sūrjo udayāt ghati 1, pala 45*), a temple (*Śrīvāsūpājyaprasāda*) built, *yātrā* and various benefactions made by an inhabitant of Kapadavanaja, a Nemba by race, of the Vriddha-sāshā and Maniyāna-gotra, called Sā Hīrājī, his son Gulābachamda and wife Manakuvara, their son Pārekha Mithubhai and wife Benakumvara, their son Karamachamda and wives (1) Bāi Jadāva, (2) Bāi Śiven, consecrated in the reign of Vidyānamdasūri, successor of Dhanesarasūri of the Ānandasūri *gachchha* by Gaṇi Ramgavijaya, pupil of Pam Viravijaya, pupil of Pam Dhīravijaya, a *samvega-pakshi*, pupil of Pam Khemāvijaya of the Tapā *gachchha*, during the reign of *rājā-dhūrāja* Pratāpasimghajī

No civ²⁸ Samvat 1916, Śāka 1781, Phālguna, kṛṣṇa 2, Friday, an image of Ajitanātha, dedicated in the new temple in the Vakhatachamdavasi, by Śeth Anopachamda, son of Vakhatachamda (etc, see No xci), and by his wife Adhīa and daughter Bāi Ddhīrya (Dhīraj), in the reign of Vijaya-Devendrāsūri of the Tapā *gachchha*

No cvi²⁹ Samvat 1922, Mārgasara, vadi 7, Thursday, an image of Aranātha, dedicated by Śivaprasāda, son of Modī Namidāsa, Ośavāla of the Vriddha Śākhā and the Chhājedā gotra, inhabitant of Kāśī, consecrated by Hīrāchamdra, pupil of Pam Devachamda, by command of (?) Jinamuktisūri of the Brihat-Kharatara *gachchha*

No cvii³⁰ Samvat 1924, Māgha śukla 10, Monday³¹, an image of Sitalanāthajī, dedicated by Sā Amolakakasalā, a Dasā-Poravāda of the Laghu-Śākhā, inhabitant of Viśālanagara (Visalnagar?) in Gujara-deśa, his sons were Mūlachamda, Mayāchamda, Ravichamda, their sons Gokala, Dīpachamda and Shimachamda, consecrated in the reign of Vijaya-Devendrāsūri of the Tapā *gachchha* by Pam Ratnavijaya

No cviii³² Samvat 1928, Māgha sukla 13, Thursday, an image of Pārsvajina, in their own temple (*dehari*) in the Tunk of Seth Motisā, dedicated by Prāgajī and his father Galālachamda, the latter being the son of Bāi Iratana, and Khimajī, son of Jhaverī Velājī of Navānagara

No. cix³³ Samvat 1930, Chaitra vada 2, an image of Dharmanātha, dedicated by Sā Māmnakachamda Motīchamda, of Amadāvād

No ex³⁴ Vikrama-Samvat 1939, Mahāmasa, kṛṣṇa 12, Tuesday, an image of Sāmtinātha, dedicated by Nānāpūjā Sā Pitāambarādāsa, a Poravāda of the Laghu Śākhā inhabitant of Amadāvād

No cxi³⁵ Samvat 1940, Saka 1805, Vaisākha śukla 3, Monday (*ishta ghati 3 pala 10 suryodayāt*), during the reign of Goyala Sūrasimghajī of Pālītānā, in the time of Vivēkasāgasūri of the Amchala *gachchha*, an image of Ādinātha dedicated in Sā Keśava Nāyaka's Tunk in the temple of Pundarika, by Sāhā Trikaṃa, who lives in Nalinapura, in Kachchha and in Mu[m]bāibindar (*Bombay*), an Ośavāla of the Laghu śākhā and Shotā-gotra, consecrated by Muni Shetasī

²⁷ In the Balabhai Tunk, near the shrine door of the temple in the south-east — *Lists*, p. 212, No. 493—J B

²⁸ In Hemabhai's Tunk, in another room, No. 27 of the same *Bhāmī*, with No. c

²⁹ In Motisā's Tunk, in a room in the south corridor, No. 28, in the same room as No. ci

³⁰ In Motisā's Tunk, in the south corridor room No. 23—J B

³¹ Date on the image—Samvat 1903

³² In Motisā's Tunk, in the south corridor room No. 30—J B

³³ In Motisā's Tunk, south corridor No. 35

³⁴ In Sakalchand Premachand's Tunk, west side corridor, small shrine No. 18 under an image

³⁵ In the shrine of Pundarika at Kesavji Navak's temple in Vimalavasi Tunk—J B

No cxii³⁵ Samvat 1940, Māgha śukla 6, Saturday; an image of Pārśvanātha, dedicated by Parasatāmīdhayā (?), son of Jayasīmha Himachamda, a Śrīmālī of the Vṛddha Śākhā, inhabitant of Amatāvāma (?), consecrated by Pamnyāsa Gulābavijaya-gaṇi, pupil of Pamnyāsa Manivijaya

No cxiii³⁷ Samvat 1940, Phālguna śukla 3, Friday, an image of Dharmanātha, dedicated by Rāmachamda Phulachamda, a Vṛddha Śrīmālī, inhabitant of Anahīlapura, consecrated by Pamnyāsa Gulābavijaya gaṇi, pupil of Pamnyāsa Manivijaya-gaṇi of the Samvijaya-paksha of the Tapā gachchha.

No cxiv³⁸ Samvat 1943, Pausa, kṛṣṇa astamī, Monday, a Vāsupūjyagṛha, dedicated by Sa Kevala Lakhamīcha(m)da, a Dasā-Saramālī (Śrīmālī) of Amadāvād, his wife Kesarabāī, his son Chunīlāla, with his wife Parasanabāī, and their daughter Bena Sāmkuna

No cxv³⁹ Samvat 1943, Māga sukla 10, Thursday, an image of Sā(m)tīnāth, dedicated by Sā Lala Vakhatachamda(a), a Viśā-Osavāla of Amadāvād, his wife Bāī Adhīr, his daughter Dhīrāja, and his sons Vādīlāla and Bholābhāī

No cxvi⁴⁰ No date, an image of Śreyāmsa, dedicated at the request (upadeśa) of Kalyānasāgarasūri⁴¹ of the Amchala gachchha, consecrated on Vaiśākha sudī 3, Wednesday

No. cxvii⁴² Samvat 15. (? ?). sudī 5, buddhe, an Ashtāpada, dedicated by Jhaverachamda (?), mentions also the name of Udayasāgarasūri.

No cxviii⁴³

- L. 1 ॥ श्री ॥ स० १६५० [प्र] चै० पूर्णि-
2 माया सुविहितसाकचीर-
3 सागरप्रोक्षासगीतपादाना
4 निजवचनरजितसाहित्री-
5 अकव्वरप्रदत्तयोसिद्धयै-
6 लाना भटारकयीविजयसे-⁴⁴
7 नसूरिप्रमुखसुविहित-
8 भक्तिभरसेव्यमानपादा-
9 रविदाना श्री ६ श्रीहीरवि-
10 जयसूरिपादाना साहात्म्यप्रो-
11 णितसीहिनिर्मितसकल-⁴⁶

- 12 सत्वद्रव्यग्रहण[सु]क्तिका-
13 या प्रथमचैत्रीपूर्णिमाया [त-]
14. च्छिष्यसकलवीचककोटि-⁴⁵
15 कोटीरगतकोटिश्री ६ श्रीवि-
16. मलहपगणिमि⁴⁷ । ये प० देव-
17 हर्ष ग० श्रीशत्रुजयक्रतक्रत्य⁴⁸
18. प० धनविजय ग० प० जयवि-
19 जय ग० जसविजयहसवि-⁴⁹
20 जय ग० सुनि [वे]सलादिमुनि-
21 शतद्वयपरिकरितैर्निर्वि-
22. ⁵⁰—ीकता यात्रा इति भद्रम् [॥]

Samvat 1650, Chaitra, full moon day, Vimalaharsha, pupil of bhattāraka Hira-vijaya, of the Sāpha gotra, which latter was honoured by Sāhī Akabbara and received from him the Siddhasāila (Śatrumjaya), made a pilgrimage, together with 200 other monks

³⁵ In a cell of Kēṣari Nāyaka's temple in the Vimalavasi-
tānka, east corridor —J B

³⁷ In some place as the preceding

³⁸ In Sālāchānd Premachand's Tānka, on the seat below
the image in the temple to the right of the principal one

³⁹ In Sālāchānd Premachand, under an image, west side,
corridor 17

⁴⁰ On the base of an image in a temple outside the Hathi
tānka, north side —List, p. 201, No. 234

⁴¹ This name shows that the inscription belongs to Samvat
1670 or 1683, —1676 is the date of the temple —J B

⁴² On a brass plate in Modī Premachand's temple, see No
xliv —J B

⁴³ On the south wall of the temple of Ādiśvara Bhagavan
temple —J B

⁴⁴ Read मटारक०

⁴⁵ Read ०साहि०

⁴⁶ Read ०वाचक०

⁴⁷ Read ०विभि

⁴⁸ Read ०मुजय० । कसकत्य०

⁴⁹ Read हस०

⁵⁰ Read ०छ०

VII.—VOTIVE INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SÂNCĪ STŪPAS

BY G BÜHLER, PH D, LL D, C I E.

The subjoined transcripts of a large number of the votive inscriptions, found on the SâncĪ, or more correctly Kâkanâda,¹ Stūpas Nos I and II, have been prepared according to impressions by Drs Burgess and Führer. The former took impressions of about twenty inscriptions in the beginning of 1889, and Dr Führer, who visited SâncĪ during the cold season of 1889-90, made copies of the whole collection. Compared with Sir A Cunningham's collection,² *Bhilsa Topes*, plates xvi—xix and xxi, the present ones show a hundred and ten inscriptions less for Stūpa I, and twenty-seven less for Stūpa II. On the other hand, there are, counting the duplicates, forty-one inscriptions from Stūpa I and five from Stūpa II which I cannot trace in Sir A Cunningham's work. The missing inscriptions are probably incised on stones, which may have been lost in the repairs executed some years ago, or during the forty years which have elapsed since the preparation of Sir A Cunningham's book. The most serious loss is that of Sir A Cunningham's No 177 (*Bhilsa Topes*, plate xix), see also *Corpus Inscr Ind*, vol I, Plate xx³, which, as I have already pointed out in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol XIX, p 124, seems to contain a second version of Aśoka's so-called Kosambī edict on the Allahābād Pillar. This much appears highly probable from a comparison of the middle portions of the two inscriptions.—

Allahābād

. samgham [.]
[Bho]khatī bhikhu-va bhikhunī-vā. [pi]
chā [.] (2) dā[tā]nī [d]usānī . nam
dhāpayitu ānapesa v s y y [.]

SâncĪ

. samgham (3)
Bhokhatī bhikhu [v*] ā bhikhunī [vā*]
[.] dātā (4) nī du[sā]nī s[ā*]nam
[dh* ā]p[a*]yit [u*] anā[p*]e (5) sasi
visapetaviye [] Ichhā hī me sā (6) ti
samghasa * mage chilathitike siyā ti (7)

Assuming a new sentence to begin with *bhokhatī* L 5, the remainder of the SâncĪ version may be translated as follows —

“Monks and nuns will dine,⁵ (and) causing white cloths to be put down for them, (you) will order it to be spread. For my wish is this, that the path of the Community (of Buddhist monks) may endure for a long time”

The order is evidently addressed to an official, probably to the *mahāmātra* in charge of Mālvā, just as the edict on the Allahābād Pillar gives directions to the governor of

¹ See J F Fleet *Corp Inscr Ind* vol III, p 31

Inscriptions found only in Sir A Cunningham's collection will be referred to in the sequel, according to his numbers to which C is prefixed

² During the repairs under Major Keith, many loose stones were built into the dome, some of which may have borne short votive inscriptions. The Aśoka edict was on a fragment of a large pillar, which still lies at the great stūpa. This and others may possibly have been overlooked by Dr Führer in his hurried visit.—J B

³ Sir A Cunningham's two facsimiles (A, *Bhilsa Topes*, Plate xix, B, *Corp Inscr Ind*, vol I Plate xx) have the following readings, which I have corrected —

L 4, *ta bhikkhu* i *omdāto* (A) *chā bhikkhunī ye khudātā* (B),

L 5, *dupānī* (A), *du[sā] pīr* (B), *sanam* (A, B), *chhavam anāte* (A), *pāyita anā* (B),

L 6, *vidhapetaviye* (A)

L 7, *tiṃ samghamsa* (A), *tiṃ* (B), *milathitikeṃ* (A)

I do not dare to propose a restoration of the first three lines of the SâncĪ version. Mr Prinsep and Sir A Cunningham's attempts (*Bhilsa Topes*, p 260 f) do not seem to me successful

⁵ Or perhaps “(if) a monk or a nun will dine, (then) etc

Kosambī. According to Childers, *Pali Dictionary* (sub voce *dussa*), it was customary with the Buddhists to spread white cloths on the seats prepared for the reception of distinguished monks. It is this mark of honour which both versions order to be shown to the monks and nuns visiting the sacred places. The concluding sentence of the Sānchi version, which probably was omitted on the Allahābād Pillar, may mean either that the king wishes the tenets (*mage*) of the Buddhist monks to exist for a long time, or that he desires the visits of the faithful to the sacred places to continue for a long time. The wording of this inscription shows the peculiar breadth which the Beloved of the Gods affects in his edicts, and we have the phrases, familiar to every reader of the latter, "for it is my wish" and "that . . . may endure for a long time". Finally, it must be pointed out that *chulathitika*, instead of which the dialect of Mālvā would have required *chirat*. 'ika, as well as the final *e* of the masculine nominative singular *mage*, is a Magadhiism, and that (as already stated by Sir A. Cunningham) the letters of the Sānchi version show the type of Aśoka's Rock and Pillar edicts. This inscription furnishes, therefore, the proof that the pillar at the South Gate, on which it has been found, dates from Aśoka's times. It, further, permits us to infer that those inscriptions on the railings of the Stūpa, which show the same characters, belong to an equally early period. The latter inference agrees with Sir A. Cunningham's views, who, besides, has assigned the inscriptions on the gateway to much later times.⁶ According to his opinion all the latter documents belong to the first century A.D., because their characters are of the same type as his No. 190, which records a donation of Vāsithiputa Ānamda, *āvesani* or foreman of the artisans of king Siri-Sātakanī. Identifying this Sātakanī with the third king of the Andhra dynasty, Sir A. Cunningham assigns to him, in accordance with Professor H. H. Wilson's calculations, the years 19-37 A.D., and thus places the date of Ānamda's inscription in the beginning of the first century of our era. Though I fully agree with Sir A. Cunningham in considering the Sātakanī of his No. 190 to be the third Andhra king of the Paurāṇik lists, I must differ from him regarding the date. The characters of his inscription No. 190, as well as the others on the Sānchi gateway, are in my opinion much earlier than the first century of our era. They are almost identical with those of the Nānāghāt inscriptions, and differ only slightly from the type of the characters of Aśoka's times. It deserves also to be noted that among the inscriptions of the Śeth Nāgapīya two, our Nos. 85 (= C. 182) and C. 192, are in the later characters, while one, our No. 7 (= C. 13) on Stūpa No. II, shows the same characters as Aśoka's inscriptions. Such a vacillation is easily explicable, if Nāgapīya lived in the second century B.C. But it is difficult to understand on the supposition that his donations were made two centuries later. Further, there is another important argument, which makes it probable that the first Siri-Sātakanī of the Andhra dynasty ruled, not after the beginning of our era, but about the middle of the second century B.C. I can only agree with Dr. Bhagvānlāl⁷ in identifying the first Andhra Sātakanī with the Sātakanī, whom Khāravela, king of Kalinga, protected in the second year of his reign. The

⁶ *Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 271 ff. Sir A. Cunningham's assertion that the occurrence of the name *Gotiputra* (in our No. 49) possesses a great value for determining the age of the railing, is of course no longer tenable. Correctly interpreted, *Gotiputra*, in Sanskrit *Gauṭiputra*, means only that the royal scribe *Subhita* was the son of a lady of the *Gota* or *Gauṭa* race. It by no means follows that she was the same person as the *Goti* or *Gauṭi* who bore the famous Buddhist teacher of Aśoka's times.

⁷ *Actes du sixième Congrès int. des Orient.*, vol. III, 2, p. 146. Dr. Bhagvānlāl, who assumes that the Maurya era began with Aśoka's conquest of Kalinga, fixes the beginning of Sātakanī's reign in 98 B.C.

thirteenth year of Khâravêla corresponds with the year 165 of the Maurya era (Bhagvânâlâl, *op cit.* p 149). Assuming, as I believe must be done, that the Maurya era begins with the coronation of Chandragupta, which fell between 322—312 B C., Khâravêla's second year lay between 169 and 159 B C., and Sirî-Sâtakanî was on the throne about that time. For these reasons I must assign our Nos 83—88 and Sir A. Cunningham's Nos 178, 179, 183, 184, 186—192, 194—196 to the first half of the second century B.C. To the same, and partly even to a later, period belong also our Nos 13 (C 25), 21 (C. 39), 51 (C. 112), 96, 108, 111 and 123. Among these, Nos 13, 51 and 96 particularly show the characteristics noticeable in the inscriptions of the first century A D, *viz.* the inverted *da*, the square *sa*, the angular *ma*, and the *anusvâra* above the line. All these inscriptions, with the exception of No 21, are very badly engraved and not much better than mere scrawls. Their occurrence on the railings among much older documents may possibly be explained by the supposition that they record repairs of older broken *vedikâs*.

With respect to the age of the inscriptions on Stûpa II, it is important to note that one person, who contributed to the gateways of Stûpa I, appears as donor of a piece of the railing. This is Śeth Nâgapiya, whose case has already been noticed⁸ It is further remarkable that Balaka, the pupil of Arâhaguta-Sâsâdaka, occurs in No 19 (C) of Stûpa II, while his teacher is named as donor in No. 18 (C. 35) of Stûpa I. These two facts point to the conclusion that portions of, or perhaps the whole, railing were erected somewhat later than Aśoka's times. But the interval cannot be very great, because, as Sir A. Cunningham has pointed out (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 291), the letters of the inscriptions on Stûpa II fully resemble those of Aśoka's edicts. And it agrees with this estimate, as Sir A. Cunningham has likewise stated (*loc cit.*),⁹ that the Stûpa II contained the relics of contemporaries of Aśoka, of Moggaliputta, who, according to the Buddhist works, presided at the third Council of Pâtaliputra, and of Majhima who was sent as missionary to the districts in the Himâlaya and is called in the inscription on the relic box *savahemavatâchariya* "the teacher of the whole Haimavata (*district*)."

The language of the inscriptions likewise agrees with the assumption that they belong to the third century B C., and to the first half of the second. It differs very little from the literary Pali and still less from the dialects of Aśoka's edicts, and it shares all the peculiarities of that of the Bharhut inscriptions,¹⁰ which latter, with the exception of the inscription over the gateway, on the evidence of their characters belong to the time of the Maurya dynasty

The inflected forms show, like the Bharhut inscriptions, a mixture of the case terminations used in the eastern and western versions of Aśoka's edicts. This is particularly noticeable in the genitives of the feminine stems in *î* and *â*, which sometimes end in *ya* or *yâ*, and sometimes in *ye*. Not traceable in Pali and Aśoka's edicts is the ablative in *âto*, which occurs three times in I, 51, 59, and 64. It is found once in the Bharhut inscription No 116. It is very common in the Jaina Mathurâ inscriptions,¹¹ and the

⁸ It is also possible that Nagila, the pupil of Aya, mentioned in No 1 of Stupa II, may be identical with the venerable Nagila, whose relatives according to No 84 (C 181) made a portion of the gateway of Stûpa I

⁹ I cannot agree with Sir A. Cunningham that there were relics of ten contemporaries of Aśoka. There are only two names which agree with those mentioned in the *Dîpavansa* and the *Mahâvansa*

¹⁰ See Dr E. Hultzsch's excellent edition of these documents in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol XL, p 58 ff. The references in the sequel give his numbers and readings

¹¹ See *ante*, vol I, p 372.

original from which the Śaurasenī termination *ādo* and the Mahāshtrī *āo* have been derived. Peculiar is also the nominative, instead of the crude form, at the end of the first part of a compound. It occurs once in I 3, where *kekatayakasa jamata-vijitasa* is a negligent spelling for *kekatayakasa jāmātā-vijitasa*, and takes the place of the grammatically correct *jāmātu* or *jāmāti-vijitasa*. The same anomaly is repeatedly observable in the Bharhut inscriptions, see e.g. No. 10, *isimigo-jātaka*, and it is very common in the Jaina Mathurā inscriptions¹² Further, the use of the feminine affix *ā* at the end of female names in *deiā*, e.g. *Sonado* [*de*]vā, I, 8; *Dhamadevā* II, 3, which agrees with that of the Bharhut inscriptions e.g. in *Chāpadevā*, No 22, differs from the Pālī. But it would be correct even in Sanskrit, if the compounds are taken as Bahuvrīhis and in the sense of "she whose god is Sona, Dhama, or Chāpa"¹³

The word-forms are in general of the type of the Pālī and of Aśoka's Girnār edicts. Even the *ra*, which is never changed to *la*, is occasionally preserved in groups of consonants. And it is worthy of note that in the name *Prāthānasa*, I 12, even the spelling of the initial syllable agrees exactly with that used in the Girnār inscriptions for words like *prāna*, *prīya* and so forth. The *ā* stroke is attached to *ra*, and both are placed above the *pa*, which thus shows at the top the well-known wavy line. Some of the words, which differ from those used in Pālī and Aśoka's edicts, are at least formed according to principles prevalent or traceable in the most ancient Prakrits. *Bhichhu*, which appears far more frequently than *bhikhu*, shows the change of *ksha* to *chchha* or *chha* observable in Pālī *achchhi*, a variant for *akkhi*, and Aśoka's *chhudaka* for *khudaka* and other words¹⁴. The only remarkable point is that the form with *chha* does not occur in this particular case in Pālī, nor in Aśoka's edicts, but that it is found repeatedly in the Bharhut inscriptions¹⁵ see, e.g. Nos 27, 31, 65, 120. *Nhusā*, I. 22, which clearly stands for Sanskrit *snushā* "daughter-in-law" has been formed according to the principle applied in Pālī to medial *sn*. It is interesting, because neither the Pālī nor Aśoka's dialects admit the group *nh* in the beginning of this or any other word. The Pālī forms for *snushā* are *sunisā*, *sunhā* and *husā*¹⁶. *Nusā*, a further corruption of *nhusā*, appears in our inscription, I. 73. The proper name *Patithiya*, I. 22, 23, no doubt represents the Sanskrit *pratishtita*, and thus shows an elision of a medial *ta*. Such elisions are rare in the most ancient Prakrits. Nevertheless, a number of similar forms has been collected in Professor Kuhn's *Beitrage zur Pālī Grammatik*, p 56.

A large number of other peculiarities which the Sānchi and Bharhut inscriptions exhibit are, I think, merely graphic and partly due to negligent spelling. Among these I would reckon :—

- (1) The frequent omission of a medial long *ā*, e.g. in *danam* for *dānam*, I. 6, 49, 82, *jamata* for *jāmātā*, I 3, *Achalaya* for *Achalāya*, I 6, *Sonado*[*de*]vaya for *Sonadevāya*, I. 8, *upasikāye* for *upāsikāye*, I 20, *Asvadevaye* for *Asvadevāye*, I. 30, *Yasulaya* for *Yasulāya*, I 33, *paṇavatīyā* for *paṇāvātīyā*, I 48, *bhatu* for *bhātu*, I. 63, *Samudatasa* for *Sāmudatasa*, I, 65, *Avisinaye* for *Avisināye*,

¹² See ante, vol I, p 375.

¹³ Such compounds would fall under the general rule of Pāṇini, IV, 1, 4, which teaches that nouns in *a* take *ā* in the feminine

¹⁴ See E Müller *Pālī Grammar*, p 55, —Kuhn *Beitrage zur Pālī Grammatik*, p 52

¹⁵ Another abnormal *chha* occurs in *sechha*, Sanskrit *śakṣha* and Pālī *sekha*, Bharhut inscriptions, No 15

¹⁶ The latter probably stood in I. C 58, where Sir A Cunningham gives a meaningless *pusa*, see below, note 27.

- I 79, *Arapána* for *Arápáná* (ablative), I 89 *Jitamitaye* for *Jítámitáye*, I 101, *Vedisakaya* for *Vedisakáya*, I 117, *Dhamasenaya* for *Dhamasenáya*, II 9, and *Nágapalitaya* for *Nágapálitáya*, II 10¹⁷
- (2) The occasional omission of short *i*, *e* *g*, in *Dhamarakhatáye* for *Dhamarakhátáye*, I 76, and *bhichhunayá* for *bhichhuníyá*, I 119
- (3) The almost invariable omission of medial *anusvāras*, *e* *g* in *Udubaraghara* and its derivatives (see Appendix, List V), in *Nadinagara* and its derivatives (see *ibidem*), *Tubavana* (*ibidem*), *Upidadata* (see Appendix, List III), in the proper names beginning with *Dhama*^o (see Appendix, Lists I-V), and in *atevāsi* for *amtevāsi* I 12, 66, 88, 112

It seems to me that the omission of the long *ā* is due everywhere to carelessness, and has for its ultimate cause the custom, common even in late times among clerks and tradesmen, of omitting the vowel-marks altogether, for, the real existence of forms like *jamata*, *jataka* and *jitamita*, in the spoken language, has little probability. As regards the omission of *i*-strokes and of the Anusvāras, it is possible to conceive also of other explanations. The syllables in which the *i* is omitted stand, one and all, in *these*, *i* *e* immediately before or after the syllable which bears the stress-accent. A vowel which is placed in such a position is very indistinct, and it is not impossible that *na* and *kha* were sometimes actually pronounced instead of *ni* and *khi* in words like *bhichhūnáyá* and *Dhamarakhatáye*. A good many vowel-changes in the literary Prakrits are due to this principle, and a still greater number in the modern vernaculars of India. It must also be noted that in Aśoka's inscriptions *aya* appears occasionally instead of *īya*,¹⁸ and for the same reason.

With respect to the omission of the Anusvāra it must be borne in mind that the spelling *dhama*^o instead of *dhamma*^o is perfectly admissible, because in these inscriptions a single consonant does duty for a double one, and hence *dhama* may be read *dhamma*, as the word is invariably spelt in Pali. Further, *Upidadata* and *Tubavana* may stand for *Upidadata* and *Tūbavana*, because long *ī* and *ū* are marked very rarely in these, as in other old inscriptions. But forms like *Upidadata* and *Tūbavana* are again admissible in Pali and other ancient Prakrits, where *ī* and *ū* may be put for *im* and *um* as in *siha*, *visati* and so forth. And it must be noted that the form *Ída* for India occurs repeatedly, *e* *g* in L 1 of the large Nānāghāt inscription, *Archæological Rep West Ind.*, Vol V, p 60. A form like *Nadinagara* may be a negligent spelling for *Nādinagara*, which actually occurs in our inscription I. 7, for the Pali and the other Prakrits show in a number of cases *ā* for *a*, *e* *g*, in *dāthā* for *damsthiā*, *sandāsa* for *samdamsā* and so forth. It is no matter of surprise that the dialect of the inscriptions should show these changes more frequently than the literary language of the Buddhist canon. These explanations of the omission of the Anusvāra seem to me more probable than the assumption that it is simply in every case due to negligence.

Turning to the contents of the inscriptions, the latter offer, in spite of their extreme brevity, a good many points of interest. Among the two hundred and eighty-five in

¹⁷ Analogous cases are extremely common in the Bharhut inscriptions, and it will suffice to quote one sentence No 155, *yam brāhmano avayesi jatakam*, which, as Dr Hultzsch has pointed out, is a quotation from *Jātaka*, vol I p 293, verse 61 (Fausboll), where the text has *yam brāhmano avādesi*.

¹⁸ See M. Senart's collection of such forms in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol XVII, p 304, and my additions in *der Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol XLV, p 154, to which instances *chetaya* for Sanskrit *chaitya*, Pali *chetiya*, has to be added from the Bharhut inscription No 11.

scriptions, contained in Sir A. Cunningham's and the present collections, there are ten, recording donations by corporate bodies or families. The remainder give the names of individual donors. If a certain number of mutilated, or according to the facsimiles inexplicable, inscriptions are left out, and if the homonymous donors are considered to be the same persons,¹⁹ we find among them fifty-four monks and thirty-seven nuns, as well as ninety-one males and forty-five or forty-seven females, who probably were lay members of the Buddhist sect²⁰

On the other hand, it is not improbable that two persons, bearing slightly different names, may be identical. Thus the monk Jonaka, I, C 152, may be the same as the monk Jonhaka, I, 75.

Among the corporate bodies making donations, there are, according to the explanations given below, two villages, Vejaja I, 17, and Pâdukulikâ II, 1. Sir A. Cunningham (*Bhilsa Topes*, p 240 and p 280) takes in both cases *grâma* as a personal name or as a part of such. But *grâma* is not used in such a manner, and the translation of *Vejajasa gâmasa dânam* by "Gift of Vejajagrâma," is grammatically inadmissible, as that could only be *Vejajagâmasa dânam*. On the other hand, the form of the two names agrees well with the suggestion that they denote villages, for, Pâdukulikâ corresponds to Pândukulikâ, 'the little dwelling,' or the little sanctuary of Pându, i.e. the Nâga Pându, and the word Vejaja closely agrees in its ending with the terminations *aj*, *ej*, and *ij*, which occur in hundreds of Indian village names as corruptions of the affixes *aya*, *eya* and *îya*²¹. Its first part corresponds to Sanskrit *vaïdya*, which possibly may be an abbreviation of *Vaidyanâtha*²². Pious donations, made by villages or towns, do not occur frequently in the inscriptions²³, and those recorded on the Sânci Stûpas possess a particular interest for, though, perhaps, they do not prove that all the inhabitants of Vejaja and Pâdukulikâ were Upâsakas of the Buddhist Samgha, they yet indicate that their most influential men, the members of the village Panch, belonged to the Bauddha sect, and that Buddhism had gained a footing among the agricultural population of Mâlvâ. Of equal interest is the mention of a *Bodhagosthî*, in I, 25, 26. The compound corresponds to *Bauddhagosthî*. A *gosthî* is a committee of trustees in charge of a temple or of a charitable foundation. The inscriptions teach us, therefore, that the village of Dharmavardhana possessed a Bauddha shrine, or perhaps a Vihâra, which was managed by such a committee. The fact that *Gosthî*s existed in the third century B.C. is of some importance. The term *gothî* occurs also in I, 51, where it is preceded by the word *Barulamisâya* or *Barulamisâna*. I am unable to explain the latter term. The collective gift of the *Vedisakâ dâmtakârâ*, or workers in ivory of *Vedisa*, I, C 189, probably indicates that these artisans formed a guild, or *śrenî*, such as the Nâsik inscriptions mention repeatedly.

Among the remaining inscriptions of this class, which mention the Vâkilyas of Ujjain, I, 27, C 21, all the relatives of the venerable Nâgila, I, 84, and the Upâsikâs

¹⁹ This is, of course, by no means certain, because in some cases persons bearing the same names are clearly distinct. Thus Asvadevâ the mother of Bahadrita (I, 30), is certainly not the same person as Asvadevâ, the mother of Samika (I, C 83), nor the nun Isidatâ of Madhuvana (I, C 132), the same as the nun Isidatâ of Kurâra.

²⁰ The number of the Upâsikâs is uncertain, because possibly the Odi, mentioned I, 82, may be identical with the nun Odi, II, 11, and because the interpretation of I, 21 is uncertain.

²¹ The map of Gujârât furnishes e.g., Adhlaj, Arnej, Kâmlej, Kamrej, Pariyaj, Palej, Prântij, Sarkhej. Among these Kamrej (also Kamlej), east of Surat, was called in Sanskrit *Karmaneya* or *Kamanîya* (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p 183).

²² Vaidya occurs as the name of a village in the Nepal inscriptions, *Ind. Ant.* vol. IX, p 175.

²³ The Bharhut inscription No. 16 mentions a gift of the town of *Karakakafa* (*Karakakafa nigamasa*).

or female lay worshippers of Navagâma, I, C. 53, the first two are the most interesting. If, as I believe to be the case, the Vâkalâ devî, the mother of Ahimîta, mentioned in I, C. 8, belonged to this family, it must have been a royal, or at least a noble race. With this supposition, *Vâkalya*, further, must be considered to stand for *Vâkalyya*. It would then correspond to Sanskrit *Vârkalîya* and *Vâkalâ* to *Vârkalâ*. Both forms might be somewhat irregular patronymics from *Vrikala*, which name is found in the mythological lists of the *Purânas* (see the Petersburg Dictionary, *sub voce*).

Proceeding to the inscriptions which mention donations made by monks and nuns, the first point, which must strike every reader, is their great number, which is proportionally greater than that found on any other Stûpa except at Bharhut or in the caves. As the Buddhist ascetics could not possess any property, they must have obtained by begging the money required for making the rails and pillars. This was no doubt permissible, as the purpose was a pious one. But it is interesting to note the different proceedings of the Jaina ascetics, who, according to the Mathurâ and other inscriptions, as a rule, were content to exhort the laymen to make donations and to take care that this fact was mentioned in the votive inscriptions. Another interesting point in which these inscriptions again agree with those of the Bharhut Stûpa is the entire absence of all mention of the Buddhist sects, which are frequently named in the Nâsik, Kârlé, Amarâvatî and other inscriptions. There are, on the other hand, a few specifications or titles given to certain monks and nuns, which are not without importance. Two terms of this kind, *Sutâtikrî* or *Sâlâtikrî*, I, 79, 80, "a female reciter of the *Suttanta* or the *Sûtras*" and *dhamakathîka*, I, C. 191, "a reciter of the Dhamma," have been recognised by the earlier decipherers. But, a third very interesting one, *pachanekayika*, I 66, has escaped detection. *Pachanekayika* is a negligent spelling for *pâchanekâyika* or *pamchanekâyika*, which former occurs in the Bharhut inscription No. 144, in Sanskrit *pâñchanakâyika*, and means, as Dr. Hultzsch has translated it, *loc. cit.*, "one who knows the five Nikâyas." The five Nikâyas are (see Childers, *Pali Dictionary*, *sub voce*) the five divisions of the *Sutta Pitaka*, the *Dîghanikâyo*, *Majjhimanikâyo*, *Samyuttanikâyo*, *Anguttaranikâyo* and *Khuddakanikâyo*. The title furnishes, therefore, a clear proof of the existence of these divisions of the *Sutta Pitaka* at the time when the inscription was incised. And this time must be the third century B.C., as the letters of the inscription fully agree with those of Aśoka's edicts.²¹ The discovery that the five great subdivisions of the *Sutta Pitaka* existed at so early a period lends some support to the view of those scholars who, like Professor Oldenberg, identify the titles of some of the treatises mentioned in Aśoka's longer Bairât edict with portions of the *Majjhimanikâyo* and *Anguttaranikâyo*. *Yugapajaka*, I, 74, which I translate tentatively by "the path-(finder) of the age," seems to be a new title.

Among the individual monks named in the inscriptions, there are none who can be identified with any of the great men in the Buddhist scriptures. But the names of some, *e.g.* Bhamduka and Tusaka, agree with such as are found in Dr. Wenzel's *Index Aya-Pasanaka*, I, 5, must, however, have been a man of some importance, as two pupils of his are mentioned on a pillar of the Sonârî Tope No. I. Monks and nuns, who

²¹ See also Dr. Hultzsch's remarks on this and other clerical titles in the Bharhut inscriptions, *op. cit.*, p. 58, and on the quotation from the *Jâtaka*, *ibidem*, p. 76.

had one pupil, there are several Peculiar and noteworthy are the names of monks and nuns, which like Kāboja, Prātithāna, Chirātī, and perhaps also Odi, consist of adjectives derived from the names of countries, towns and races In these cases it would seem that the real name of the donors has been left out Some similar names occur among the laymen—thus the name of Kekateyaka, I 1 3, the father of Dhama- and father-in-law of Viṣṭa, apparently stands for Sanskrit Kaikateyaka, and means 'he of the Kikata country or Magadha'

As regards the persons who are not marked as monks, and presumably were laymen, the specifications of their social position, which are sometimes added, possess some interest To the highest rank belongs the Vākalādevī, I, C. 8 Descending lower in the social scale, we have a *gahapati*, or village landholder,²⁵ I, 22, 23 Next we find numerous persons bearing the title *sethi*, *sheth*, or alderman, II, 11, 35, 57, 85, 99, 115, C 45, C 46, C 91, II, C 8 Simple traders *vānya* or *vānika* are mentioned I, 47, 81, 91, C. 119 A royal scribe *rājalepikā* occurs I, 49, a professional writer, *lekha*, I, C 48, a (royal) foreman of artisans, *āvesan*, I, C 190, a trooper, *asavāraka*, I, 117, and a humble workman, *lamika*, I, 10 The prevalence of merchants and traders seems to indicate, what indeed may be gathered also from the sacred books of the Buddhists, that this class was the chief stronghold of Buddhism The mention of professional writers is of some importance on account of the great age of the inscriptions. Among the epithets given to females the repeated occurrence of the old Pali title *pajāvatī*, literally 'a mother of children,' I, 8, 48, 95, 117, C. 45, C 46, C. 62, is not without interest, and the fact that some females are named merely 'the mother of N. N.,'²⁶ and, that others proudly associate the names of their sons with their own,²⁷ is worthy of note. Very peculiar is the phrase I 73, *Tāpasīyānāṃ nūṣāya Mītāya* 'of Mītā, the daughter-in-law of the Tāpasīyas' The inscriptions I. C. 58, O 59 and C. 67, of which unfortunately no impressions are accessible, indicate that the Tāpasīyas were a family or tribe residing in Ujjain²⁸ If Mītā is called the daughter-in-law of this community, that looks very much like a confirmation or practical illustration of a view regarding the legal position of married women mentioned as existing, but combated as objectionable by Āpastamba, *Dharmasūtra*, II, 10, 27, 3 He says, "For, they declare that a bride is given to the family (of her husband, and not to the husband alone)" I must content myself for the present with pointing out the possibility of a connexion between the wording of our inscription and the passage of Āpastamba. In order to prove it, more inscriptions containing the same or similar statements, and further information regarding the Tāpasīyas, are required

²⁵ See Prof Rhys Davids *Sacred Books of the East*, vol XI, p 267, note

²⁶ See I, 2, 59, 72, 108, I C 37, C 60, C 160

²⁷ See e g I, 30, C 83 Similar cases occur frequently in other Buddhist, and also in the Jaina inscriptions

²⁸ According to Sir A Cunningham's copies the three inscriptions run as follows —No 58, *Ujjeniya Tapasayāna Pusanajaya dānam*, No 59, *Ujeya, Tāpasīyānāṃ Ismīṭasa dānam*, No 67, *Ujjeniyā Tapasīyānāṃ Sihadataya dānam*, None of the texts can be quite correct I suspect that the real readings are (1) *Ujjeniya Tapasīyānaṃ hūṣā Naddāya dānam*, "The gift of Naddā (*Nandā*), daughter-in-law of the Tāpasīyas, from Ujjain," (2) *Ujjeniya Tāpasīyānāṃ Ismīṭasadānam*, "The gift of Ismīṭa (*Rishmitra*) of the Tāpasīyas, from Ujjain," (3) *Ujjeniya Tāpasīyānāṃ Sihadataya dānam*, "The gift of Sihadatā (*Simhadattā*) of the Tāpasīyas from Ujjain" If we combine the information conveyed by these inscriptions with the statement of our No 73, it is evident that the Tāpasīyas were a family or tribe, settled in Ujjain I do not think it necessary to assent, with Sir A Cunningham (*Bhilsa Types*, p 365), that they were netics We have also Pārvirājaka Rājās, *Corp Inscr Ind*, vol III, pp 97ff I may add that Sir A Cunningham identifies, *loc cit*, the Tāpasīyas with the "Tabasi Magorin" and the "Tabasa gens" of the classical authors

The names of various lay donors and, I may add, of a few monks furnish also some valuable information regarding the existence of the Paurāṇik worship during the third and second centuries B C. A very large proportion of the names, *e g* Araha, Arahaka, Arahadata, Arahadina, Arahadāsa, Arahadāśī, Arahatapālita, Arahaguta, Dhamadata, Dhamaguta, Dhamarakhita, Dhamapālita, Budhila, Budhapālita, Bodhi, Sagha, Samghila, Saghadinā, Saghadeva, Saghamita and Samgharakhita, is decidedly Buddhist. Another considerable group of proper names, *e g* Asāda, Mula (*i e* *Mūlā*), Muladatā, Phaguna, Pothaka, Pusa, Pusaka, Pusinī, Pusagiri, Pusarakhita, Pothaka, Pothādevā, Rohinī (*Rohini*), Sātīla, Svātīguta, has been derived from the names of Nakshatras, and points to the conclusion that the rule of some *Grihyasūtras*,²⁹ which recommends the use of *nakshatra-nāmāni*, was practically obeyed. The same inference may be drawn from almost all other collections of ancient inscriptions and from various ancient Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain works. There are further some names, such as Agisimā (*Agniśarmā*), Agido-[de]vā, Bahadata (*Brahmadatta*), Mahida, Mitā, Vesamanadatā, Visvadeva, Yamarakhitā, which are closely connected with the ancient Vedic worship, and some, Nāgā, Nagila, Nāgadatta, and so forth, bear witness for the existence of the snake-worship, which was common to the Brahmanists and the heterodox sects. Finally, the names Vinhukā, an abbreviation for Vishnudattā or Vishnuakshitā, Upidadata or Opedadata (*Upendradatta*), Balaka and Balamitīa (connected with one of the heroes of the legend of Krishna, Baladeva or Balarāma, who is also called Bala), furnish evidence for the development of Vaishnavism, while Nandiguta (*Nandigupta*), Nandigiri,³⁰ Sāmidata (*Svāmi-*, *i e* *Kumāra-datta*), Samika and Samikā (*Svāmika*, *Svāmikā*), Sivanadi (*Sivanandi*) do the same service to Śaivism. It is also possible that Isadata and Himadata are likewise Śaiva names. If the former has been correctly read,³¹ it corresponds to Sanskrit Īśadatta. The other two *may* be connected with Himā, a name of Durgā. They may, however, be also derived from *Hima*, "the moon."

The occurrence among the Buddhists of names connected with the ancient Vedic religion, as well as of such as are connected with Vaishnavism and Śaivism, in these early inscriptions, has no doubt to be explained by the assumption that their bearers or their ancestors adhered to these creeds before their conversion, and that they received their names in accordance with the established custom of their families. The rules regarding the giving of names were probably then as lax among the Buddhists as they are in the present day among the heterodox sects of India, which by no means restrict themselves to the lists of their particular saints or deities. Their historical value consists therein that they form a link in the chain of evidence which enables us to trace the existence, nay the prevalence of Vaishnavism and Śaivism, not only during the third century B C, but during much earlier times, and to give a firm support to the view now held by a number of Orientalists, according to which Vaishnavism and Śaivism are older than Buddhism and Jainism. By exactly the same method of analysis which has been here applied to the names on the Sānchi Stūpa, it is possible

²⁹ See, *e g*, *Hir Gr Sū* II, 4, 13

³⁰ I would explain *Nandigiri* by "he whose mountain (*i e* protection) is or may be Nandin," on the analogy of *Dantidurga*, for which name *Dantivarman* appears. Devagiri, Himagiri, Dhamagirika, Sibagiri may be explained similarly, though Devagiri and Himagiri may also be considered as personal names derived from mountain names. Viṣha, *i e* Vindhya, furnishes a certain instance of the latter kind.

³¹ Possibly the correct form may be Isidata, *i e* *Rishidatta*, (compare *Isiguta*)

to extract from those occurring in the canonical works of the Buddhists, the proof that the Pāurāṇik religions flourished at the time when those works were composed. If, e.g., we learn from the *Bhikkhupācattiya*, II, 1, that the ox of a Brahman in Takṣaśilā was called Nandivisalo "as big as Nandi," it is not doubtful that the animal had received its name in honour of Śiva's vehicle, and that Śaivism was popular at the time when the *Suttavāṇhanga* was composed and probably earlier.

The last point which calls for remark is the identification of the numerous geographical names which the inscriptions offer. A small proportion of the latter causes no great difficulty. Erakina, as must be read instead *Dharakina*, is without doubt the modern Eraṇ in the Sāgar district of the Central Provinces, which on the ancient copper coins is called Erakana or Erakana, and in Sanskrit Airikina²². Mahisatī is the ancient town of Māhishmatī, identified with the modern Mandāl,²³ Pokhara, the ancient Pushkara and the modern Pokhar near Ajmīr, Pratiṭhāna (the base of the male proper name Prātiṭhāna) either Allahābād²⁴ or Paithān on the Godāvarī, Ujenī, the modern Ujjain, and Vedisa the modern Besnagar.

Further Kuraghara, which appears five times, I would identify with the village of Kuraraghara, which according to the Buddhist scriptures lay in Avantī or Eastern Mālvā, and was the residence of Mahākachchāyana²⁵. Kuraraghara is, of course, the etymologically correct form of the name, and Kuraghara, a corruption by a kind of haplophony, which occurs more frequently in geographical and other names. The *Indian Atlas*, Quarter Sheet, No 53 N E, shows in 23° 38' N Lat, and 77° 5' E Long., an apparently not inconsiderable place, called 'Kurawar,' which may be the modern representative of Kuraghara.

With respect to the remaining towns and villages it is difficult to offer more than more or less uncertain conjectures, because there is no indication to which part of India they belonged, and because many of the names occur scores of times on the map of India, and more than once even in the immediate neighbourhood of Sānchi-Kākanāda. Thus it is possible to suggest that Tubavana may be identical with the southern district of Tumbavana mentioned in the *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā*, XIV, 15, or with its chief town, that Sonara, the etymon of the adjective Sonaraka, is the modern Sonārī close to Sānchi where some stūpas exist, that the name of Pādāna, the etymon of the adjective Pādāniya, is preserved in the modern Parana, Lat 23° 36' N and 76° 38' E Long (*Ind Atl Q Sh* No 53 N W.), and that Na(m)dinagara and Kāpāsīgāma correspond with the modern 'Nandner', Lat 23° 4' N and Long 76° 6' E (*Ind Atl Q Sh*. No 53 N W) and Kapasī Lat 23° 28' N and Long 77° 54' E. But it must not be forgotten that there were, and are, several 'Nandinagaras' and Nandners, and that another 'Kapasī' is found at no great distance in Lat 23° 55' N. and Long 77° E. The same remarks apply with still greater force to such places as Madhuvana, Udubaraghara, the etymon of the adjective Udubaraghariya, and Aba, i.e. Amba, the etymon of *Abeyaka*, for the corresponding modern Madhuban, Mahu, Umra or Umrer and Ambagam are found over and over again in the neighbourhood of Sānchi and in more distant districts. For the present it is not advisable to do more

²² Fleet *Corpus Inscr Ind*, vol III, p 18, note 2

²³ Cunningham *Ancient Geography*, p 488

²⁴ Jhusi, opposite to Allahābād,—see Führer *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North Western Provinces and Oudh*, p 138—Ed E I

²⁵ See Dr Wenzel's Index *Jour Pal Text Soc*, 1888

than to note the names and to point out some of the possibilities which they suggest. All of them may, hereafter, become important. Hence they have been given in alphabetical order, just as well as the personal names, in the Appendix to this paper

TOPE I

No. 1 = C. 1.

केकटयकपुतस धमसिवस दान [1*]³⁵

"The gift of Dhamasiva (*Dharmaśiva*), son of Kekateyaka (*Karkateyaka*)

No. 2 = C. 4.

धमगिरिकस मातु दान [1*]

"The gift of Dhamagirika's (*Dharmagirika's*) mother."

No. 3 = C. 5

केकटयकस जमत विजितस दानं [1*]³⁶

"The gift of Vijita, son-in-law³⁷ of Kekateyaka (*Karkateyaka*)

No. 4 = C. 6.

कादस भिक्षुनी दानं [1*]

"The gift of the monk Kâda (*Kānda*)"

No. 5 = C. 13.

अयपसनकस भिक्षुनी दानं [1*]³⁸

"The gift of the monk Aya-Pasanaka (*the venerable Prasannaka*)."

No. 6 = C. 14

नदिनगरा अचलय भिक्षुनिया दनं [1*]³⁹

"The gift of the nun Achalā, from Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*)."

No. 7 = C. 15.

नादिनगरा काबोजस भिक्षुनी दानं [1*]

"The gift of the monk Kâboja (*Kāmboja*) from Nâdinagara (*Nandinagara*)

No. 8 = C. 16.

सिहरखितस पजावतिय सोणदोवय दान [1*]⁴⁰

"The gift of Sonadevā (*Suvarnadevā* or *Sonadevā*), wife of Siharakhita (*Simharakhita*)."

³⁵ Possibly ककटयक°, but see No. 3. Below this is a modern Devanagari inscription रा श्री सावदेव प्रणमति नित्यं [1*] 'The king (P), the illustrious Savadeva, adores constantly'

³⁶ An apparent e stroke above the last द is an accidental scratch

³⁷ जमत seems to stand for जामावा, the nominative being used instead of the stem

³⁸ There are three impressions showing these words, and the differences in the shape of the letters seem to indicate that they have been derived from three different inscriptions

अचलय stands for अचलाय and दन for दानं

⁴⁰ सोणदोवय is meant for सोणदेवाय.

No. 9 = C. 19

धमरखितस भिक्षुनो दान [1*]

“The gift of the monk Dhamarakhita (*Dharmarakshita*).”

No. 10 = C. 20.

अठस कमिकस दान [1*]⁴¹“The gift of Atha (*Artha*), the labourer (?)”

No 11 = C 23.

L 1. सामनेरस

2 अवयकस

3 सेठिनो दान [1*]

“The gift of Sāmanera,⁴² the Abeyaka Sheth (*i e. the Sheth of a town or village called Aba or Amba, in Sanskrit Amra-grāma*).

No 12 = C 24.

प्रातिठानस भिक्षुनो हाटियस अवेवासिनो दान [1*]

“The gift of the Prātithāna monk (*i e the monk from Prātissthāna*), pupil of Hātiya ”

No 13 = C 25

उदुबरधरियस सीहरखितस दान [1*]

The gift of Sīharakhita (*Simharakshita*), inhabitant of Udubaraghara (*Udumbaragriha*) ”

No 15 = C 30

धमरखिताय मधुवनिकायि दान [1*]

“The gift of Dhamarakhitā (*Dharmarakshitā*), inhabitant of Madhuvana ”

No 16 = C 33.

L. 1 [गो]तिपुतस

L 2 भडुकस

L 3 भिक्षुनो दान [1*]

“The gift of the monk Bhamduka, son of Gotī (*i e of a mother of the Gupta race*).

No. 17 = C. 34

L 1 वेजजस गामस दा

L. 2. न [1*]⁴³

“The gift of the Vejaja village ” “

⁴¹ The s stroke is expressed by a prolongation of the upper right limb of स⁴² With the proper name Sāmanera (*Srāmanera*), literally “a novice,” compare the name *Samana*, Bharhut Inscriptions, Hultzsch, No 29, and *Samana*, I, C 179⁴³ The न is faint and blurred, the Anusvāra distinct Both stand above the line⁴⁴ Regarding the correctness of Prinsep's interpretation, which the above translation follows, see the Introduction

No. 18 = C. 35

अरहगुतस सासादकस भिक्षुनो दान [1*]

“The gift of Arahaguta (*Arhadgupta*), inhabitant of Sāsadā”

No. 19 = C. 36

L 1 सुभगस

L 2 कोरघरस दन [1*]

“The gift of Subhaga, inhabitant of Kuraghara (*Kuraragriha*)”⁴⁶

No. 20 = C. 38

वुदिनाये उपसिकाये दानं [1*]⁴⁸

“The gift of Vudinā (*Vyudīrnā*), a female lay-disciple

No. 21 = C. 39.

का[कणा]ये भगवतो पमाणलठि [1*]⁴⁷

“The measuring-staff of the Divine one (*Buddha, the gift*) of Kākanā⁴⁸ (i.e. probably *kākinī*, ‘the little crow’).

No. 22 = C. 40.

तुववना गहपतिनो [प]तिठियन्हुसाय वेसमन[दत्त]ये दान [1*]⁴⁹

“The gift of Vesamanadatā (*Vasīravanadattā*), daughter-in-law of Patithiya (*Pratishthita*) a *gahapati* from Tubavana (*Tumbavana*).⁵⁰

No. 23 = C. 41.

तुववना गहपतिनो पतिठियस दान [1*]

The gift of the *gahapati* Patithiya (*Pratishthita*) from Tubavana (*Tumbavana*).

No. 24 = C. 43.

नदावुनो च नादिविरोहिस च दान [1*]

“The gift both of Nādāvu (*Nandāyu*?) and of Nādivirohi (*Nandivirohin*).”

No. 25 = C. 73.

बोधगोठिय धम्मवटनना दानं [1*]

“The gift of the Bauddha Committee of Trustees from Dhamavadhanana (*Dharma-vardhanana*).”⁵¹

⁴⁶ Regarding this name see the Introduction

⁴⁷ The vowels of the first two syllables of the first word, and of the last two syllables of the second word, are not quite distinct

⁴⁸ Possibly काकणाये is to be read

⁴⁹ Dr Bhagvanlal Indrajī according to Mr Fleet, *Corp Insc Ind* vol III, p 31, took काकणाये to stand for काकणादे

⁵⁰ The fourth and fifth consonants of the last word but one are not certain At first sight they look like रुदा

⁵¹ Regarding the precise meaning of गहपति, see the Introduction

⁵² Regarding the explanation of Bodhagothi, see the Introduction Though the term *Dhamavadhanana* occurs twice, it is probably a mistake for *Dhamavadhana* Only the latter gives a sense, and its Sanskrit equivalent is mentioned as a village-name in the *Ramāyana*, I, 74, 10, see the *Petersb Dict*, s v

No 26.

बोधगोठिया धमवदनना दानं [1*]⁵²No 27 = C. 76⁵³

उज्जैनिया वाकिलियाना दानं [1*]

“The gift of the Vākiliyas, from Ujjain”

No. 28 = C. 78.

चिरातिय भिक्कुनिया दनं [1*]

“The gift of the nun Chirātī (*Kirātī*)”

No. 29 = C 79

सधनस भिक्कुनो दानं [1*]

“The gift of the monk Sadhana (*i.e. Sa-dhana or Sad-dhana*)”.

No. 30 = C. 80

अस्रदेवये बहदतमातु दान [1*]

“The gift of Asvadevā (*Āśvadevā*), mother of Bahadata (*Brahmadatta*)”.

No 31 = C 81

उगिरियक्स स्वतिगुतस दानं [1*]⁵⁴The gift of Svatiguta (*Svātīgupta*), an inhabitant of Ugirā.

No 32 = C 82

अरहगुताये दानं [1*]

The gift of Arahagutā (*Arhadguptā*)”.

No. 33 = C. 84

यसिलय अतेवसिनि संघरखिताये दानं [1*]

“The gift of Samgharakhitā (*Samgharakshītā*), pupil of Yasilā (*Yāśilā*)”.

No 34 = C 86

यसिलाये दानं [1*]⁵⁵“The gift of Yasilā (*Yāśilā*)”.

No 35 = C 87

सेठिनो पटिकमकारिकाना दान [1*]

“The gift of the Sheth, the great executor of repairs”⁵⁶

⁵² This is apparently a second inscription of the same import as No 25, not a second impression of No 25. For the size of most letters does not agree in the least and the termination of the first word ends in *य* instead of in *य*.

⁵³ See also I, C 11

⁵⁴ The subscribed *य* of स्वतिगुतस is not quite distinct

⁵⁵ Possibly यसिलयाये to be read.

⁵⁶ I take पटिकमकारिकाना as *pluralis majestatis*, agreeing with the singular सेठिनो, see above, vol. I, p. 573

No 36 = C. 90

उपिददत्तस दान [1*]

“The gift of Upidadata (*Upendradattā*)”

No 37 = C 92

वाघुमता सघदिनाय भिक्षुनिय दान [1*]⁵⁷“The gift of the nun Saghadinā (*Samghadattā*) from Vâghumata”

No 38 = C. 93

यखिय भिक्षुनिये वेदिसा दान [1*]

“The gift of the nun Yakhî (*Yakshî*) from Vedisa (*Vediśā*)”

No 39 = C. 95

कुररिये तापसिया मातु दान [1*]

“The gift of Kurarî, the mother of Tâpasî”⁵⁸

No 40 = C. 99

कापासिगामा अरहस दान [1*]⁵⁹“The gift of Araha (*Arhat*) from Kâpâsīgāma (*Kârpâsīgāma*)”

No 41 = C 101

कटकजुया भदकस दान [1*]⁶⁰“The gift of Bhadaka (*Bhadra*) from Katakajñu.”

No 42 = C. 102.

अपथकस दान [1*]

“The gift of Apathaka (*Apārthaka*)”⁶¹

No. 43 = C 103.

भोगवदनकस अजितिगुतस [1*]

“(The gift) of Ajitiguta (*Ajītigupta*?), inhabitant of Bhogavadhana (*Bhogavardhana*)”

No 44 = C 104

मोरसिहिकटि अरहदिनस दान [1*]

“The gift of Arahadina (*Arhaddatta*) in Morasihikata (*Mayūrasimhikata*)

No 45 = C 105

भोगवधन धमरखितय सिवनदिनी मातु [1*]⁶²“(The gift) of Dhamarakhitā (*Dharmarakshitā*), mother of Sivanadī (*Sivanandin*) from Bhogavadhana (*Bhogavardhana*).”⁵⁷ Perhaps वाघुमती⁵⁸ Tâpasî may be either a proper or a family name, as there was a Tâpasîya family (see the Introduction)⁵⁹ There are two impressions with these words. The differences of the characters show that they have been derived from two different inscriptions.⁶⁰ The letters are much blurred.⁶¹ I take the name to be formed from *apārtha*, “who has renounced (the acquisition of) wealth” It may, of course, also correspond with Sanskrit *alpārthaka*, ‘poor’.⁶² There are two impressions bearing these words. The differences of the characters show that they have been derived from two different inscriptions.

No 46 = C 107.

नवगमकसमिकाये उज्जिनि[ह]ारा दान [1*]

"The gift of Samikā (*Svāmikā*), inhabitant of Navagama (*Navagrāma*) from the district of Ujjain ⁶³

No 47 = C. 108

L 1 सिरिगुतस

L 2. वानिजस दान [1*]

"The gift of the merchant Siriguta (*Śrīgupta*)"

No 48 = C 109.

सुबाहितस पञ्चवतिया मन्निमाया दान [1*]⁶⁴

"The gift of Majhimā (*Madhyamā*), wife of Subāhita

No 49 = C. 110

L 1. सुबाहितस गोतिपुत-

L. 2. स राजलिपिकरस

L. 3. दान [1*]

"The gift of the scribe Subāhita, son of a Goti (i.e. of a mother of the Gauptha race)."

No 50 = C. 111.

तिरिडपदा नागाय उपासिकाय — —⁶⁵

"(The gift) of the female lay disciple Nāgā, from Tīrīdapada (Tīrīdapadra?)."

No 51 = C 112

वरुलमि[साय] गोठिया दान [वे]दिसातो [1*]⁶⁶

"The gift of the Barulamisa Committee from Vedisa (*Vedīsā*)"

No. 52 = C. 113.

L 1. धम्मरखिताये भिक्कुनिय काचुपथे

L. 2 दानं [1*]⁶⁷

"The gift of the nun Dhamarakhitā (*Dharmarakshītā*) in Kāchupatha "

No 53 = C 114

धम्मरखितस काचुपथस भि[कु]नो दान [1*]

"The gift of the monk Dhamarakhita (*Dharmarakshita*), inhabitant of Kāchupatha."

⁶³ *Ujjenihārā*, may stand for *Ujjeni āhārā* (see E. Muller *Pali Grammar*, pp 40 41) *Āhāra* is the well known ancient revenue term, corresponding to the modern Collectorate. It follows that *Navagrāma* was situated in the neighbourhood of Ujjain.

⁶⁴ There is a second copy, which bears only सुबाहितस पञ्चव[त] The letters show that it has been taken from another inscription.

⁶⁵ The last two syllables दान and half the preceding य are wanting in the impression.

⁶⁶ Possibly वरुलमिसान

⁶⁷ Possibly भिक्कुनिये, According to Sir A. Cunningham's copy the letter स has been lost after काचुपथे. I am, however, unable to make any sense out of such a reading.

No. 54 = C. 115

सधानस भिक्कु दान [1*]⁶⁸

“The gift of the monk Samdhâna”

No. 55 = C. 116

पुसगिरिनो नावगामकस दान [1*]

“The gift of Pusagiri (*Pushyagiri*), inhabitant of Navagâma (*Navagrâma*).”

No 56 = C 117.

भिक्कुस पाडानियस दान [1*]

“The gift of Bhichhuka (*Bhikshuka*), inhabitant of Pâdana.”

No 57 = C. 124

L 1 सामनेरस अबेय-

L 2 कस सेठिनो दान [1*]

“The gift of Sâmanera, the Abeyaka Sheth”⁶⁹

No 58 = C. 125.

नदिगुतस दाना भिक्कुनो [1*]⁷⁰“The gift of Nadiguta (*Nandigupta*), the monk”

No 59 = C 127

अरा[पा]नातो अरहदिन — — — — [1*]⁷¹“(The gift) of Arahadina (*'s mother*) from Arâpâna.”

No 60 = C 128

तवलमडा कुज — दान [1*]⁷²

“The gift of Kuja—(?) from Tam̐balamada”(?)

No 61 = C 129

— धुवना धमगुतस भिक्कुनो दान [1*]⁷³“The gift of the monk Dhamaguta (*Dharmagupta*) from Madhuvana.”

No. 62 = C 131

महागिरिनो भिक्कुनो दान [1*]

“The gift of the monk Mahâgiri”

No. 63 = C 135.

उपसिक्खस फगुनस भत्तु भिक्कुनो [1*]

⁶⁸ Read भिक्कुनो⁶⁹ See above, No 11⁷⁰ The apparent & stroke at the end of दाना may possibly be an *anuvâra*, run together with the द⁷¹ Sir A. Cunningham completes स सातु दानं⁷² Last sign of कुज—is not decipherable I suspect that कुजर, : e कुजर, is meant (see Bharhut Inscr.). No. 104⁷³ Restore मधुवना

"The gift of the monk Upasīḥa (*Upasīdhyā*), brother of Phaguna (*Phāḷ-guna*)."

No. 64 = C. 136.

भोगवदनातो रसिरखिताय [1*]

"(The gift) of Isirakhitā (*Rashirakshitā*) from Bhogavadhana (*Bhogavardhana*)"

No. 65 = C. 139

समिदतस भिक्षुनो दानं [1*]

'The gift of the monk Samidata (*Svāmidatta*)."

No. 66 = C. 140—141.

L. 1 देवगिरिनो पचनेकयिकस

L. 2. भिक्षुनो स अतेवसि — — णो [1*]⁷⁴

"(The gift) of the monk Devagiri, who knows the five Nikāyas,⁷⁵ and of his pupil."

No. 67 = C. 142.

पुसकस भिक्षुनो दानं [1*]

"The gift of Pusaka (*Pushyaka*) the monk."

No. 68 = C. 143.

खुडस च धमरखितस च भिक्षुनं दानं [1*]

"The gift both of Khuda (*Kshudra*) and Dhamarakhita (*Dharmarakshita*)."

No. 69 = C. 144.

उजेनिये अगिसिमये दानं [1*]

"The gift of Agisimā (*Agniśarmā*) in Ujjain "⁷⁶

No. 70 = C. 145.

L. 1 [प्रा]तिठानस भिक्षुनो दानं

L. 2. अ[यतिस]कस अतेवासिनो [1*]⁷⁷

"The gift of the monk Prātīṭhāna⁷⁸, pupil of Aya-Tisaka (*the venerable Tishyaka*)"

No. 71 = C. 146

बुधरखितस भिक्षुनो दानं एजावतस [1*]

"The gift of the monk Budharakhita (*Buddharakshita*), the Ejāvata "⁷⁹

⁷⁴ Though the last sign looks like णो, I suspect that the writer meant to give *Sa-atevāsino dānaṃ*

⁷⁵ See the Introduction

⁷⁶ Possibly अगिसिमये is to be read

⁷⁷ Possibly पतिठानस or पतिथानस.—The other three bracketed syllables are very faint

⁷⁸ See above, No. 12

⁷⁹ The etymological meaning of एजावत would be "endowed with desire" This, of course, does not suit here. I take the word to be an adjective, derived from the name of a town

No 72 = C 148

अरापाना असाडस मातु दानं [1*]⁸⁰“The gift of Asāda's (*Aśhādha's*) mother, from Arāpāna.”

No 73 = C 149

L 1 उजिनिया ताप-

L 2 मियान नुसा-

L 3 मिताय

L 4 दान [1*]

“The gift of Mitā (*Mitrā*), daughter-in-law of the Tāpasīyas, from Ujjain ”

No 74 = C 150

[भ]रडियस सपुरिसस युगपजकस दान (1*)⁸¹“The gift of the Bharadīya, the holy man, the path-(finder) of the age.”⁸²

No 75 = C 153

जोहकस भिहुनो दान [1*]

“The gift of the monk Jonhaka (*Jyotsnaka*) ”

No. 76 = C 154

धमरखताये मधुवनाकाये दान [1*]⁸³“The gift of Dhamarakhatā (*Dharmarakshitā*), inhabitant of Madhuvana.”

No 77 = C 155.

माहमोरगिम्हा सिहगिरिनो दान [1*]⁸⁴“The gift of Sihagiri (*Simhagiri*) from Māhamoragi

No 78 = C 160

L 1. धम[सि]रिया भिहुनिये मडलक्किटिकाये

L 2 दान [1*]⁸⁵“The gift of the nun Dhamasiri (*Dharmaśrī*), inhabitant of Madalachhikata (*Mandalāḥṣhikata*) ”

No. 79 = C 161

L 1. अविसिनये सूतातिकिनिया

L 2. मडलक्किटिकाये दानं [1*]

“The gift of Avisinā (*Avishannā*),⁸⁶ who is versed in the Sutta-Pitaka, an inhabitant of Madalachhikata ”⁸⁰ Possibly असाडस is to be read But the wavy line below the ड is probably accidental⁸¹ The left side of the initial भ has been almost cut away in the impression⁸² Or, perhaps, the gift of the holy man of Bharada, etc.⁸³ Meant for धमरखताये मधुवनिकाये⁸⁴ Possibly माहमोरगिम्हा Though there is a second inscription of this individual, I, C 28, I suspect that we should read *Mahāmoraḡarimhā*, from the great Mayuragiri Compare Bharhut Inscr Nos 81, 94, 95, where *Moragirimhā* occurs⁸⁵ The third sign of धमसिरिया has been originally णि, which afterwards was altered to सि⁸⁶ Compare Pali *nissinna* for *nishanna*, and the male name *Avisana*, Bhar Inscr Nos 141, 142

No 80

L. 1. अविस्मिनाये सुतातिकिनि—

L. 2 मडलच्छिकटिकाय दान [1*]⁸⁷

No 81 = C 162.

L. 1. सघदेवस वेरोहकटस

L. 2 वाणिजस दान [1*]

“The gift of Saghadēva (*Samghadeva*), a trader, inhabitant of Virohakata.”

No 82 = C. 167

L. 1. ओडिय

L. 2 नदिनग-

L. 3. रिकय दन [1*]

“The gift of Odi, inhabitant of Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*)”

No. 83 = C 180

अरहद्दिनस भिखुनो पोखरेयकस दानं [1*]

“The gift of the monk Arahadina (*Arhaddatta*), inhabitant of Pokhara (*Pushkara*).”

No. 84 = C 181.

L. 1. भदतनागिलस

L. 2. सवान जातीन-

L. 3. दान यमो [1*]⁸⁸

“A pillar, the gift of all the relatives of the venerable Nāgila”

No 85 = C 182.

कीररस नागपियस अक्कावडे सेठिस दान यमो [1*]

“A pillar, the gift of Nāgapiya (*Nāgapriya*), inhabitant of Kurara,⁸⁹ a Sheth in Achhāvada.”⁹⁰

No. 86 = C. 184.

बुधपालीताया भिखुने[या] दान [1*]⁹¹

“The gift of the nun Budhapālita.”

No 87 = C. 185.

पोठकस भिखुनो दान [1*]⁹²“The gift of the monk Pothaka (*Piosthaka*).”

No 88 = C 193.

अयचुडस अतेवासिनो बलमित्रस दान यमो [1*]

“A pillar, the gift of Balamitra, the pupil of the venerable Chuda (*Kshudra*).”⁸⁷ Restoro सुतातिकिनिया⁸⁸ There are two impressions. One shows in l. 2 सवान and the other सविन, as Sir A. Cunningham reads. The latter reading gives, however, no sense.⁸⁹ The proper form of the name is *Kurāra*, see No. 98⁹⁰ This means probably that Nāgapiya had his shop in Achhāvada.⁹¹ Meant for भिखुनिया⁹² The apparent d stroke after पीठ is in my opinion accidental.

No. 89.

अरपान देवकस दानं [1*]

"The gift of Devaka from Arapâna (*Arápâna*)"

No. 90.

अरहदिनस दानं रमोरज[हि]कडि — —⁸²

"The gift of Arahadina (*Arhaddatta*) in Ramorajakadī (?).

No. 91.

अस्ववतिया इसिगुतस वणिजस दानं [1*]

"The gift of the merchant Isiguta (*Rishigupta*) from Asvavati (*Asvavati*)."

No. 92.

इसिकस भिखुनो दानं [1*]

"The gift of the monk Isika (*Rishika*)."

No. 93.

L 3 इसिकस रोहा —

L 2 णिपदियस दा —⁸³

L. 1 न [1*]

"The gift of Isika (*Rishika*), inhabitant of Rohinipada."

No. 94.

इसिरखितस दानं [1*]

"The gift of Isirakhita (*Rishirakhita*)."

No. 95.

L 1. उजेनिया विस्रदे-

L 2. वस पजावतिया

L. 3. सुलाय दानं [1*]

"The gift of Mula (*Mulā*), wife of Visvadeva (*Visvadeva*), from Ujjain."

No. 96.

[उ]दुवरघरिय [स]चमि[तस] दा[न 1*]⁸⁴

"The gift of Sachamita (*Satyamitra*), inhabitant of Udubaraghara (*Udumbaragriha*)

No. 97.

L 1 क[ट]क[जुय]कस अयपतुडस⁸⁵

L. 2. भिखुनो दान[1*]

"The gift of the monk, the venerable Patuda (?), inhabitant of Katakañu"

⁸² The impression seems to be incomplete. The last word probably ended in यस and designated Arahadina as inhabitant of Ramorajakadā (?)

⁸³ The inscription has to be read from below. Read रोहिदि⁸⁴

⁸⁴ This is a mere scrawl, and the bracketed letters are mostly uncertain

⁸⁵ Most of the letters of l 1 are very faint, and the first bracketed one is not certain

No. 98.

कुरारा सवलितस दान[*]

“The gift of Samvalita from Kurāra.”

No. 99.

L. 1. कोरघरस सेठिनो

L 2 सीहस दान[*]

“The gift of the Sheth Siha (*Simha*), inhabitant of Kuraghara.”

No. 100.

गिरिगुताय भिक्षुनिया दान[*]

“The gift of the nun Girigutā (*Giriguptā*).”

No. 101.

जितमितये भिक्षुनिये वडिवहनिकाये दान[*]

“The gift of the nun Jitamitā (*Jitāmitrā*), inhabitant of Vadivahana.”

No. 102.

धमताय दान पुञ्जवदनियाये [*]⁶⁶“The gift of Dhamatā (*Dharmadatā*), inhabitant of Puñjavadhana (*Punyavardhana*).”

No 103.

धमदत्तस भिक्षुनो दान अ[य]भडुकिय[स ।*]⁶⁷“The gift of the monk Dhamadata (*Dharmadatta*), pupil of Aya-Bhaduka (*Ārya-Bhanduka*, No 16).”

No. 104

L 1 [पिय]धमाय

L 2 बोधिय च

L. 3 कोरघरिन

L 4 भिक्षुनिनं दानं [*]

“The gift of Piyadhamā (*Priyadharmā*) and Bodhi, the nuns of Kuraghara.”

No 105.

पुसये भिक्षुनिये नदिनगरिकाये दान [*]

“The gift of the nun Pusā (*Pushyā*), inhabitant of Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*).”

No. 106

L. 1. पोखरा हिम-

L. 2 गिरिनो दानं [*]

“The gift of Himagirī from Pokhara (*Pushkara*).”

No 107.

पोरविखिकस धम्मसिवस दानं [*]

“The gift of Dhammasiva (*Dharmaśiva*), inhabitant of Puravikha(?).”⁶⁶ Probably धमदत्ताय is to be read⁶⁷ अयभडुकियस looks almost like अहमडुकियस, but see No. 122, where the reading, given above, is plain.

No 108.

बेदकरा नदिगि[रि]मातु द[र]न [1*]

“The gift of Namdigiri's mother from Bedakara ”

No. 109

[भोगवट]नकस महि[ट] — — —⁹⁸“(The gift) of Mahida (*Mahendra*), inhabitant of Bhogavadhana (*Bhogavadhana*) ”

No. 110.

L 1 मधुवनिकाये बुधरखितये भिडुनिये

L 2 दान 1*

“The gift of the nun Budharakhitâ (*Buddharakshitâ*), inhabitant of Madhuvana ”

No 111

महिषतिय देवभगस [दा]न [1*]

“The gift of Devabhaga (*Devabhāga* ?) from Mahisati (*Māhishmati*) ”

No 112.

L 1. यखिलस भिडुनो अयदेवगिरिनी अते-

L. 2. वासिनी दान [1*]

“The gift of the monk Yakhila (*Yakshila*), pupil of the venerable Devagiri.”

No. 113.

L. 1. रोहणिपदिय-

L 2 स निगडिस दा-

L 3 न [1*]

“The gift of Nigadi, inhabitant of Rohanipada (*Rohinipada*).”

No. 114.

L 1. रोहणिपदिय-

L 2 स बुलिकस

L 3 दान [1*]

“The gift of Bulika,⁹⁹ inhabitant of Rohanipada.”

No 115

L 1 रोहणिपदियसि

L 2 सेठिनो नागदि-

L 3 नस दान [1*]¹“The gift of Sheth Nâgadîna (*Nâgadatta*), inhabitant of Rohanipada ”⁹⁸ Restore महिदस दान⁹⁹ Compare the *Buli* tribe (Wenzel *Index*, sub voce) of *Allakappa*¹ Read पदियस, the सि stands above the line, and is a correction

No 116.

वाडिवहना छडिकस भिक्षुनो दान [1*]

“The gift of the monk Chhadika (*Chhadika*?) from Vādivahana.”

No 117.

L 1 वेदिसकय [ह]सरखितास असवारकस

L. 2. पजावति — नागदता[य] दानं [1*]²“The gift of Nāgadattā (*Nāgadattā*), wife of the cavallerist Hamsarakhita (?) (*Hamsarakshita*), an inhabitant of Vedisa (*Vidiśā*).

No. 118

समिकाये सधितिकाये दानं [1*]

“The gift of Samikā (*Svāmukā*) and of her daughter”

No. 119

सिरिदिनाय भिक्षुनया नादिनागरिकाय दानं [1*]

“The gift of the nun Sīridinā (*Śrīdattā*), inhabitant of Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*)”

No. 120.

सोयसस दानं भादनकटियस [1*]

“The gift of Soyasa (*Sauyasasa*), inhabitant of Bhādanakata.”

No. 121.

[रि]वाये उज्जेनिकाये उपासकाये दानं [1*]

“The gift of the female lay disciple Revā, inhabitant of Ujjain”

No. 122.

— — — स भिक्षुनो दानं अयमडुकियस [1*]³“The gift of the monk . . . , pupil of the venerable *Bhamduka*”⁴

No 123

L 1 — — — — [ते] कन

L 2. [नो] रुहकस

L. 3. — — [म] — — त — स उ

L. 4. — रि — —

TOPE II.

No 1 = C 3.

पाडुकुलिकाय गामस दान [1*]

“The gift of the village of Pādukulikā (*Pāndukulikā*).”¹ The letters are mostly faint, and the bracketed one is very doubtful² Possibly another स may have stood in the beginning.⁴ See above, Nos 16 and 103

No 2 = C. 4

बुधिलस भोग[व]दनकस दान [1*]

"The gift of Buddhila (*Buddhila*), an inhabitant of Bhogavadhana (*Bhogavardhana*)."

No 3 = C 5.

धमदेवय देन मितसिरिय अतेवासिनि[य] [1*]⁵

"The gift of Dhamadeva (*Dharmadevā*), (who is) a pupil of Mitasiri (*Mitraśrī*)."

No 4 = C 6

इसिलस भिखुनो दाना [1*]

"The gift of the monk Isila (*Rishila*)"

No 5 = C. 11.

विभस भिखुनो दान [1*]

"The gift of the monk Viṇha (*Vindhya*)"

No 6 = C. 12.

यखिलस भिखुनो दान [1*]

"The gift of the monk Yakhila (*Yakshila*)"

No 7 = C. 13

L 1 नागपियस अछाव[ड]

L 2 स सेठिस दान [1*]

"The gift of Nāgapiya (*Nāgapriya*), a Sheth of Achhāvada"

No. 8 = C 14.

L. 1 सपकाय कोररिय दान

L 2 भिखुनिय [1*]

"The gift of the nun Sapa k¹ (*Sarpalā* ?), an inhabitant of Kurara."

No 9 = C 16.

L 1, धमसेनय कोररिय दान भिखुनि

L 2 य [1*]

"The gift of Dhamasenā (*Dharmasenā*), an inhabitant of Kurara, a nun "

No. 10 = C. 17.

नागपालितय दान यमो [1*]

"A pillar, the gift of Nāgapālītā"

No 11 = C 25

[ओ]डिय भिखुनिय यमो दान [1*]⁶

"A pillar, the gift of the nun Odi"

¹ Read दान, the third letter of मितसिरिय was originally an मि, which was afterwards corrected to सि

² This inscription can be restored in accordance with No 85, and C 192 of Tope I

³ Properly कुरार, see I, 98

⁴ Possibly ओदाय

No 12 = C. 30.

सघमितस सोनरक्स दानं [1*]

“The gift of Saghamita (*Samghamitra*), an inhabitant of Sonara (*Sonārī*).”

No 13 = C 32

अ[गि]लस दान अधपोरिकस [1*]

“The gift of Agila (*Agnila*), inhabitant of Adhapura (*Ardhapura*)”

No 14 = C 33

यसोगिरिनो दानं भिक्षुनो [1*]

“The gift of Yasogiri (*Yasogiri*), a monk.”

No. 15 = C. 36.

गडाय नादिनागरिकाय [1*]

“(The gift) of Gadā, inhabitant of Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*)”

No. 16 = C. 38.

अयनादुक्स भिक्षुनो दान [1*]

“The gift of Aya-Nāduka (*the venerable Nāduka*), a monk.”

No 17.

पुसरखितस दानं [अ]यस अतेवासिनो [1*]

“The gift of Pusarakhita (*Pushyarakshita*), the pupil of Aya (*Ārya*, i.e. the venerable one).”

No 18.

सिहाय दान [1*]

“The gift of Sihā (*Simhā*).

No. 19.

L 1 सुमनस भिक्षुनो

L. 2 दान [1*]

“The gift of the monk Sumana (*Sumana*)”

No. 20

धमगुतस पुसिनिया च दान [1*]

“The gift of Dhamaguta (*Dharmagupta*) and Pusiniya (*Pushyanikā*).”

No 21.

विसाखस पाडा — यस [1*]⁹“The gift of Visākha (*Viśākha*), an inhabitant of Pādā[na].⁹ Restore पाडानियस, according to I, 56

APPENDIX —LISTS OF NAMES.

I.—*Monks.*

Arabadina I, 83, 90.
 Arahaguta I, 18, II, C 19
 Arahaka II, C 34.
 Balaka II, C 19.
 Balamitra I, 88
 Bhamduka (Gotiputa) I, 16, ²kiya, 103, 122.
 Bharadiya I, 74
 Budharakhita I, 71
 Chhadika I, 116
 Chuda I, 88, (aya—) I, 88
 Devagiri I, 66, (aya—) 112
 Dhamadata I, 103.
 Dhamagiri I, C 178
 Dhamaguta I, 61
 Dhamarakhita I, 9, 53, 68.
 Dhana I, C. 31.
 Dhanaka (aya—) I, C 151.
 Gotiputa—see Bhamduka.
 Hâtiya I, 12
 Isika I, 92 (93?).
 Isila II, 4
 Jonaka I, C 152
 Jonhaka I, 75.
 Kâboja I, 7
 Kâda I, 4.
 Mahâgiri I, 62
 Nadiguta I, 58
 Nagadina I, C. 10.

Nâduka (aya—) II, 16.
 Nâgarakhita II, C. 39
 Nâgila (bhadata—) I, 84, II, C 1.
 Pasanaka (aya) I, 5 ¹⁰
 Patuda (?) I, 97
 Poṭhaka I, 87.
 Prâtithâna I, 12, 70
 Pusa I, C 29, C, 158.
 Pusagiri I, C 21
 Pusaka I, 67
 Pusarakhita II, 17
 Rahila (aya—) I, C 37
 Sadhana I, 29
 Saghamita II, C. 7
 Sagharakhita II, C 40.
 Samdhâna I, 54
 Samidata I, 65
 Sumana II, 19.
 Tisaka (aya—) I, 70
 Upasijha I, 63
 Vâjuka (bhadata—) I, C. 122.
 Vejha II, 5
 Visâkha I, C 123.
 Vira I, C 186
 Yakhadâ[di]na I, C 50
 Yakhila I, 112, II 6.
 Yasogiri II, 14.

II —*Nuns.*

Achalâ I, 6.
 Arabadâsi I, C 175.
 Avisinâ I, 79, 80
 Balikâ I, C 159.
 Bodhi I, 104
 Budhapâlita I, 86
 Budharakhitâ I, 110.
 Chirâtî I, 28
 Dhamadevâ II, 3
 Dhamarakhutâ I, 52
 Dhamasenâ II, 9
 Dhama[s]iri I, 78
 Dûpasâ (?) I, C 170
 Gadâ (II, 15 ?), C 21, 36
 Gurigutâ I, 100
 Hana (?) I, C 2
 Isidâsi I, C 169, II, C 22
 Isidatâ I, C 132, 133
 Isidinâ I, C 147

Jitamitâ I, 101.
 Kadî I, C 65
 Mitasiri II, 3
 Mulâ II, C 21
 Odatikâ I, C 26 ¹¹
 Odî (I, 82 ?), II, 11
 Phagulâ II, C 18
 Piyadhamâ I, 104
 Pusâ I, 105
 Saghadinâ I, 37
 Sapakâ II, 8
 Samgharakhitâ I, 33
 Sedî II, C 43
 Sîridina I, 119
 Valâ II, C 15
 Yakhî I, 38, (Yakha) C 187
 Yamarakhitâ II, C 20
 Yasilâ I, 33 (34 ?)

¹⁰ *Pasanaka* occurs as teacher of *Dhamaguta* and *Sagharakhita* in the inscription on a pillar of the Sonârî Tope No I, Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, plate xxiii

¹¹ This corresponds to Sanskrit *asadatikâ*, literally 'the pure one.'

III.—Male names, not marked as clerical.

Agila II, 18
 Ahimīta I, C 8
 Ajitiguta I, 43
 Apathaka I, 42
 Araha I, 40
 Arabhaka I, C 165 (see also List I).
 Arahadāsa I, C 100
 Arahadīna I, 44, 90
 Arahatapālita I, C. 164
 Asāda I, 72
 Atha (kamika) I, 10
 Bahadata I, 30
 Bahula II, C 35
 Bhadaka I, 41.
 Bhichhuka I, 56
 Budhapālita (sethi) II, C 8.
 Budharakhita II, C 10, 23
 Budhila I, C 82, II, 2.
 Bulika I, 114
 Chadaguta I, C 97.
 Chheta I, C 66.
 Dadata (?) I, C 89
 Damaka (?) I, C. 174
 Devaka I, 89
 Devabhaga I, 111
 Dhamadata I, C, 173
 Dhamagiri I, C. 56
 Dhamagirika I, 2, C 166
 Dhamaguta II, 20
 Dhamapāla I, C 134
 Dhamarakhita II, C 2¹²
 Dhamasiva I, 1, 107.
 Dhanagiri I, C 157.
 Disarakhita (?) I, C 42.¹³
 Gohila I, C 77
 Gopāla I, C 12
 Gotiputa,—see Subāhita
 [Hum]sarakhita I, 117.
 Humagiri I, 106
 Isadāta (?) I, C 52
 Isiguta (vāṇija) I, 91
 Isika I, 93 (?) (compare also List No II)
 Ispālita I, C 179
 Ismīta I, C 59
 Israkhita I, 94
 Kekateyaka I, 1, 3.
 Kuja (?) I, 60

Kujara I. C 94.
 Mahūda I. 109
 Mulagiri (lekha) I C. 48.
 Nadāva I 24
 Nādivirohi I. 24
 Nagadiina I C 74
 Nandigiri I 108
 Nāgridina I, 115
 Nāgriya (sethi) I, 85, C 192, II 7.
 Nigadi I, 113
 Opadadāta I, C 62-64
 Patithiya (gahapati) I, 22, 23
 Phaguna I, 63.
 Pusagiri I, 55.
 [Sa]chami[ta] I, 96.
 Sadātha(?) I, C 168.
 Sagha I, C 192
 Saghadeva I, 81.
 Saghamita II, 12.
 Samana I, C 179
 Samghula I, C 163
 Sāmauera I, 11, 57
 Samika (vāṇika) I, C 83, C 119
 Samvalita, I 98
 Sātula I, C 98
 Sihagiri I, 77, C 28 (?) (facsimile, *Sepagarano*).
 Siharakhita I, 13.
 Siriguta (vāṇija) I, 47.
 Siripāla I, C 120.
 Sivaund. I, 45.
 Sibra (sethi) I, 99
 Siharakhita I, 13.
 Soua I, C 57.
 Soyasa I, 120
 Subāhita, Gotiputa (rājashikara) I, 48, 49
 Subhaga I, 19
 Svaticuta I, 31
 Upidadata I, 36
 Vada (?) I, C 172
 Vadha I, C 47
 Vajraguta I, C 3.
 Vijita I, 8.
 Vimala I, C 138
 Visa I, C. 77.
 Visākha II, 21 (see also List I)
 Visvadeva I, 95
 Yasopāla I, C 27, 156

¹² If the following *sekhaya* stands for *sakshaya*, this person was an ascetic.

¹³ The name is probably wrong

IV — Females, not marked as nuns.

Agido[de]vā I, C 17.
 Agis[i]mā I, 69
 Arāhagutā I, 32.
 Asvadevā I, 30 , C 83.
 Balakā I, C. 61
 Buddhā I, C 64
 Dāsā I, C 46
 Dhamatā [datā] I, 102
 Dhamarakhitā I, 15, 45, 76
 Gadā II, 15 (compare also List II)
 Himadatā I, C 63
 Isimitā I, C 54, 69.
 Isirakhitā I, 64
 Kā[ka]nā I, 21
 Kanī I, C 85.
 Kurarī I, 39
 Mayhimā I, 48
 Mayadata I, C 62
 Mitā (Tāpasīyanam nusā) I, 73
 Mulā I, 95
 Muladatā I, C 60
 Nāgadatā I, 117
 Nagamitā I, C 72.
 Nāgāpālitā II, 10
 Nāgā I, 50 , C 45

Odi I, 82 (compare also List II)
 Padonā (?) I, C 51
 Patolā (?) II, C. 28
 Pothādevā, I, C. 44
 Pusinī II, 20
 Revā, I, 121
 Robunī (?) I, C 55
 Sagharakhitā II, C. 22
 Saghā I, C 106
 Sāmīdarā [tā] I, C. 176
 Samikā I, 46, 118.
 Semākā (?) I, C 91
 Sīhā II, 18
 Sīhadatā I, C 67
 Sonado[de]vā I, 8 , C 17
 Subhagā I, C 18.
 Tāpasī I, 39
 Vākalā devī I, C 8
 Vasulā I, C 88
 Vesamanadatā I, 22
 Vinhukā II, C 24
 Vipulā I, C. 70
 Vudīnā I, 20
 Yakhadāsī I, C 171
 Yasilā I, 35 (see also List No II)

Geographical names

Abejaka (adj) I, 11, 57
 Achhāvada I, 85 , (adj) I, C. 192 , ¹⁴ II, 7
 Adhaporika (adj) II, 13
 Anammitaka (? adj) II, C 10
 Arāpāna I, 59, 72, 89
 Asvavatī I, 91
 Bedakara I, 108
 Bhasikada I, C 156
 Bhādanakatiya (adj) I, 120
 Bhogavadhana¹⁵ I, 45 , °vadhana, I, 64 , C 137,
 °vadhanaka, (adj) I, 43, 109 , II, 2
 Chahatiya (adj) I, C 158
 Dhamavadhanana (read °vadhana) I, 25, 26.
 Ejāvata (adj) I, 71
 Erakina¹⁶ I, C 98
 Kāhoja (proper name) I, 7
 Kāchupatha (adj) I, 52, 53
 Kamdadigāma I, C. 47 , °gāmīya (adj) I, C
 45, 46
 Kāpāsīgāma I, 40
 Katakāñu I, 41 , °kañhula (adj) I, 97
 Katakareyaka (adj) I, C 100
 Kekateyaka (proper name) I, 1, 3

Kuraghara I, C 69 , C 71-72 , Koraghara (adj)
 I, 19, 99, 104
 Kurāra I, 98 , Kurariya (adj) I, C 138 , C
 192 , ¹⁷ Kurarī (adj) I, C. 133 , korara (adj)
 I, 85 , II, 8, 9, C 15
 Madalachhukatika (adj) I, 78, 79, 80 , C 159
 Madhuvana I, 61, ¹⁸ C 132 , °vanīla (adj) I, 15,
 76, ¹⁹ 110
 Māhamoragī, I, 77 , Mahāmo²⁰ I, C 28
 Mahisatī I, 111
 Morasīhikata I, 44.
 Nadinagara I, 6, C 170, Nādī²¹ I, 7 , Nadīna-
 garika (adj) ²² I, 82, 105, C 147, 169,
 Nādinagarika (adj) I, 119 , II, 15
 Navagamāla (adj) I, 46 , °gāmaka, I, 55 , °gā-
 mīka, I, C 53.
 Pādāñiya (adj) I, 56, II, 21 ²¹
 Pādukulhā II, 1 , Padukulini[li]ya (adj)
 II, C 8
 Poklāra I, 106 , °reyaka I, 83, ²² C 23, 39
 Poravīkhila (adj) I, 107
 Prathibhāna (proper name) I, 12, 70
 Puñnavadhaniya (adj) I, 102

Ramorajahikadi (?) I, 90

¹⁴ Achhāvada on facsimile

¹⁵ See also Bharhut Inscriptions, No 95

¹⁶ Dharakina, on facsimile

¹⁷ Kararāya on facsimile

¹⁸ First syllable obliterated

¹⁹ Spelt °vanāla

²⁰ See also Bharhut Inscriptions, No 13

²¹ Third syllable obliterated

²² Pokhamreyakada [sa], on copy

Rohanipadiya (adj.) I, 113, 114, 115, *Rohāni*^o I, 93.
 Sāhakagāmiya (adj.) I, C 97.
 Sāśādaka (adj.) I, 18, II, C 19
 Sonaraka (adj.) II, 12
 Tumbalamada I, 60
 Tridapada I, 50
 Tubavana I, 22, 23
 Udumbaraghariya (adj.) I, 13, II, C 41,
 C 42, *Udumbara*^o I, 96

Ugreyaika (adj.) I, 31.
 Ujeni I, 27, 69, 73, 95, C. 11, 12, 49, 55 68,
 70, 77, *eka* (adj.) I, 121.
 Vādivahana I, 116, *Vadivahanika* (adj.) I,
 101, *Vādya*^o (adj.) II, C 24
 Vāghumata I, 37, C 118.
 Vedisa² I, 38, *Vedisaka* (adj.) I, 117, C. 189;
eka I, C. 26.
 Vejya I, 17
 Verohakata (adj.) I, 81.

VIII—HARSHA STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE CHAHAMANA VIGRAHARAJA.

THE [VIKRAMA] YEAR 1030.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, Ph.D., C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

The stone which bears this inscription lies among the ruins of an ancient temple on the top of a hill, called Harsha or "Unchāpahar," which is near the village of "Harasnāth" in the Shaikhāwāt province of the Jaypur state of Rājputāna, about 7 miles south of Sikar and 60 miles north-west of Jaypur, Long 75° 15', Lat 27° 31', *Indian Atlas*, quarter-sheet No 33, N. E. There it was discovered, in 1834, by Dr. G. E. Rankin and Sergeant E. Dean, who both sent facsimiles of the inscription which it bears to the Asiatic Society of Bengal early in 1835. And, Dr. Rankin's copy having on the way become so much injured as to be totally illegible, the inscription was edited shortly afterwards from Mr Dean's facsimile by the Rev Dr Mill, with a lithograph prepared by Lieutenant Kittoe, and an account of the ruins on the hill Harsha by Mr. Dean, in the *Journal As Soc Beng*, vol. IV, pp 361-400¹. In the course of last year Mr Fleet kindly presented me with a pencil rubbing of the inscription, found among Sir A. Cunningham's papers, which, though it helped me to amend Dr. Mill's readings in many places, was yet not sufficiently clear to furnish a trustworthy text throughout. I therefore applied for assistance to Dr. Burgess, and owing to his interest and exertions in the matter I am now able to re-edit the inscription from two excellent impressions, obtained by Colonel S. S. Jacob for Dr Burgess, they were prepared by Mr Lāla Rām Bakhsh of Jaypur.

According to Mr Dean's account the inscription is on a slab of black stone, about 3½" thick and 3' square. It consists of 40 lines of writing which cover a space of about 2' 11" broad by 2' 10" high. Small portions of the inscribed surface are broken away at the four corners, and the right and left margins are slightly damaged, besides, about a dozen *aksharas* have become illegible in the body of the inscription by the peeling off of the surface of the stone. The rest of the writing is well preserved, and may be read with certainty almost throughout. The size of the letters is between ⅞" and ¼", it is largest at the top and becomes gradually smaller towards the bottom. The characters

¹ See also *Dharhut Inscriptions*, Nos 22, 82, 85, etc

² See also Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol III, pp 932-937.

are the ordinary northern alphabet of the period to which the inscription belongs, and they are skilfully formed and well engraved. The names of the writer and the engraver are not given. The language is Sanskrit, and by far the greater portion of the inscription, to nearly the end of line 33, is in verse. This poetical part is called a *praśasti*, and was composed by Dhīranāga, the son of the *haranika* Thīruka (verse 45) —In respect of orthography the text calls for few remarks. The letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, before *r*, *t* is always doubled after a vowel, *e g*, in *vichitra*, line 4, and *sūtradhāro* and *dagdha-ttripura*, line 6, and a single *j* is written instead of *jj* in *ujvalah*, line 16, and *visphurajñāna*, line 22. The dental *n* is employed instead of *anusvāra* in *dhvansa*, line 22, the dental sibilant instead of the palatal in *auttarevvarah*, line 22, and in *Chamdasiva*, line 29 (in a verse which offends against the metre), and the dental nasal has been incorrectly changed to the lingual in *prasannah*, line 15, and wrongly retained in *nirnnāsītā*, line 17.—Both the verses and the prose part of the inscription contain some words which are not given by the dictionaries or are employed in an unusual sense. To such words attention will be drawn in the notes on the translation.²

The proper object of the poetical part of the inscription, which consists of 48 verses, is to record the erection of a temple of Śiva, worshipped under the name of Harsha, on the hill Harsha, by the Śaiva ascetic Allata, and the completion of other works of piety by Allata's disciple Bhāvadyota. But more interesting is the account which is furnished, by way of introduction, of the princes to whose kingdom the hill Harsha belonged and by whom the ascetics were patronised, and of their wars with other princes who have not yet become known from other sources. And the value of the inscription is enhanced by the fact that it yields a considerable number of names of districts and places, and contains several dates, for one of which the corresponding European date may be given with absolute certainty.

The first twelve verses of the inscription are mainly devoted to the glorification of the god Śiva or, as he is more particularly styled here, Harshadeva, of his place of residence, the mountain Harsha, and of the temple erected to the god on that hill. After that the poet, in verses 13-27, celebrates a line of princes belonging to the Chāhamāna family, who are said to have become illustrious through their devotion to the god Harsha. The first prince mentioned is—

1. Gūvaka I, said to have been famous as a hero in the assemblies of the Nāgas and other princes (v 13). His son was—
2. Chandrarāja (v 14), his son—
3. Gūvaka II (v 14), and his son—
4. Chandana, who defeated or slew in battle the Tomara prince Budrena³ (v. 14). This prince was succeeded by his son—
5. Vākpatirāja, who put to flight Tantrapāla, a neighbouring chief, by whom he had been attacked (vv 15-16). And he again was succeeded by his son—
6. Simharāja. This prince, though he is said to have subdued, amongst others, a Tomara leader, who appears to have been allied with a certain Lavana, was evidently defeated by his opponents and probably slain in battle (vv 17-19). He was succeeded by his son—

² See notes 64, 66, 68, 69, 70, 77, 79, 81 & 85

³ I take this name to be equivalent to Rudrapala

7. Vighraharāja, ruling at the time when the inscription was composed, who restored the fortune of his family, but nothing specific that need be repeated here is mentioned regarding him, except that he had a younger brother, named Durlabharāja (vv 20-26) It will appear below that, besides Vighraharāja, Simharāja had two other sons, Chandrarāja and Govindarāja, and that he also had a brother, named Vatsarāja

These seven princes are apparently mentioned in the same order in the inscription from Bijhōī of which a rough reading is published in the *Journal As Soc Beng*, vol. LV, part I, p 40. From verse 16 of the present inscription it appears that the country over which they held sway, and in which Harsha was situated, was called Ananta, a name which is repeated in verse 28 The princes with whom they are represented to have been at war I have not hitherto met with in any other inscription, but the fact that two of them are described as Tomaras leads me to suspect that at any rate some of them were ruling the country around Delhi, which we know to have passed from the Tomaras to the Chāhamānas in later times

The contents of the remaining verses of our inscription may be given in very few words. In the country Ananta there lived a sage Viśvarūpa, a devotee of Śiva, who followed the *Pañchārthala* doctrine (v 28) He had a disciple named Praśasta (v 29), and his disciple again was Bhāvarakta, also called Allata, who was born in a family of Brāhmins of the Vārgatika tribe, and had come to Harsha from the neighbouring Rānapallikā, a village where the *Sāmsārika* doctrine was practised Allata built the magnificent temple of Harshadeva at which the inscription was afterwards put up, but died before he could accomplish all he had intended to do (vv 30-34). And the works begun by him were therefore completed at his request by his disciple Bhāvadyota (vv 35-42) The temple erected by Allata was built by the architect Chandaśiva, a son of Vīrabhadra (v 43), and completed on the 13th of the bright half of Āshādhā of the year 1013 (line 32) And the sage Allata is (in v 48) reported to have died in the expired year 1027, when the sun had entered the sign of the Lion, on the third bright lunar day joined with the *yoga* Śubha and the *nakshatra* Hasta, on a Monday. Referring this date to the Vikrama era, I find that the corresponding European date is Monday the 8th August, A D 970, for in northern Vikrama 1027 expired the *Simha-samkrānti* took place on the 26th July, A D 970, which was the 6th of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Bhādrapada, and the third of the following bright half (of the same Bhādrapada) was Monday the 8th August, when the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h 15 m and the *nakshatra* was Hasta up to 12 h 29 m. and the *yoga* Śubha up to 13 h 26 m after mean sunrise The date is interesting, because it is the earliest Vikrama date known to me in which the writer has quoted a solar *samkrānti*, instead of giving us the name of the lunar month.⁴

To the poetical part of the inscription is appended, in lines 33-40, the following list of endowments of the temple of Harshadeva, which were received up to Āshādhā śudī 15 of the (Vikrama) year 1030, the date on which I take the inscription to have been composed —

The king Simharāja, after having bathed at Pushkaratīrtha, had given the villages Simhagoshtha in the Tūnakūpaka group of twelve, Traikalakaka and

⁴ The practice is common enough in modern dates of Sanskrit MSS written in the Bengali character

Īśānakūpa⁵ in the Pattabaddhaka *vishaya*, and Kanhapallikā in the Sarah-kotta *vishaya*, his brother Vatsarāja the village Kardamakhāta in the Jayapura *vishaya*, the king Vīgraharāja the villages Chhattradhārā and Śamkarānaka (verse 25), Śimharāja's other sons Chandrarāja and Govindarāja two hamlets in the Pattabaddhaka and Darbhakaksha *vishayas*, Dbandhuka, an official of Śimharāja's, the village Mayūrapadra in the Khattakūpa *vishaya*, and a certain Jayanaraja the village Kolikūpaka. Besides, fields had been given by various pious people, at Madrāpurikā, Nimbadikā, Marupallikā, Harsha, and [ka]lāvanapadra. And taxes on salt and on horses had been assigned for the benefit of the temple by the traders (?) of Śākambharī and by the horse-dealers from the north.

Of the localities in this list, to which may be added the village of Rānapallikā near Harsha, mentioned above, few have as yet been identified. Jayapura, Śākambharī and Pushkaratirtha near Ajmere are well known. Of the rest, Rānapallikā must be the village "Ranol," about 7 miles east of "Harasnāth" and one mile west of "Shishu," and Nimbadikā, the village "Nimara," 4½ miles south of "Harasnāth," near a salt-lake which may have given its name to . . . [ka]lāvanapadra.

The inscription ends with the usual appeal to future kings to respect these endowments.

TEXT.⁶

L. 1. [य]⁷ ॥

सर्व्वविघ्नशम[नं सुरार्चित]⁸ पूर्व्वमेव शिव[यो]स्तनूज्ञवम् ।

भुक्तिसुक्तिपरमार्थसिद्धिद त नमामि वर[द] ७ — ७ ७ ⁹॥¹⁰—[1]

.

2 [का]कुलितमानसैः ।

स्तूयमानस्तु सद्देवे. पातु वस्त्रिपुरातक ॥¹¹—[2]

पादन्धासावनुन्ना नमति वसुमती शेषभोगावलगना

[वा(वा)]ङ्गत्वेपै. स[मं?] — ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ — — ७

3

— — कंचन्दैः ।

भिन्नावस्थ समस्त भवति हि भुवन यस्य नृत्ते प्रवृत्ते

स श्रीहर्षाभिधानो जयति पशुपतिर्दत्तविश्वानुकपः ॥¹²—[3.]

सव्ये शूल त्रिशिखमपरे दीप्ति [भि]चाक[पाल]

भूषा — — ७ ७ ७

4

[भु]जग कठिका नीलकठे ।

नेदृश्वेषस्त्रिनयन मया क्वापि दृष्टो विचित्र

⁵ See note 79

⁶ From impressions obtained, at the Editor's request, from Col. S. S. Jacob, C I E., and made by Lāla Ram Bakhsh of Jaypur

⁷ The words broken away at the beginning were probably
चौ चौ नमः शिवाय

⁸ The *akṣaras* in these brackets are slightly damaged at the top, but the reading is certain

⁹ The word broken away here was probably गजाननम्.

¹⁰ Metre Rathoddhata.

¹¹ Metre Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

¹² Metre Sragdhara.

द्रुत्यं गौर्यां प्रहसितहरः सस्मितः पातु युष्मान् ॥¹³—[4.]
वेगोद्धतार्यमादिग्रहगनतल व्यशुवाना जलौघै-
न्यकुर्वाणा स[सु][द्रान्*]

L 5

क्षय[व]लितजलानूर्मिमालासहस्रैः ।

देयादभ्यर्धित वः शशधरधवला स्वर्दुनी चद्रमौलि-
मौली लीला वहन्ती स्फुटविकटजटाव(व)न्यने चीरिकायाः ॥ ¹⁴—[5.]
चंचच्चद्रार्कतार भुवननगनदीक्षी[प]सि[धु]-

6.

[प्र]पंच

विश्वं देवासुराहिप्रमथमुनिवरैर्यक्षमर्त्यैः सनाथम् ।
यस्येच्छाशक्तिभावादसदपि सकल जायते लीयते च
सोव्याहो हर्षदेवो भुवनविरचनासूक्ष्माधरोप्रमेयः ॥ —[6]
नून वाणाग्निदग्धच्छिपुरसुररिपु-

7

[र्जा]तहर्षः सहर्षै-

रिन्द्राद्यैर्देववृदैः कृतनुतिनतिभिः पूज्यमानोक्ष शैले ।
योभून्नाम्नापि हर्षो गिरिशिखरभुवोर्भारतानुग्रहाय
सो¹⁵ स्ताहो लिंगरूपो द्विगुणितभवनश्चद्रमौलिः शिवाय ॥ —[7]
निर्यन्नेत्ता[ण्ड]-

8

[भा*]खडानणुदहनरुचि प्लोपसभ्रान्तसत्त्व(च)

प्रान्तज्वालावलीढद्रुमव(व)हलमहाधूमधूमायिताशम् ।
संरभारभभीमस्वनमसमशरोच्छेदि यस्याशशके
दृष्ट्वा देवैः [स्व]रूपं¹⁶ किमिय[म]समये सहृतिर्वी(र्वी)भुवे[द्य ॥]—[8.]

9

देव' पुरधगध्यास्ते यमभ्रंकपमुच्चकैः ।
हर्षख्याति' स हर्षाख्यो गिरिरिप¹⁷ पुनातु वः ॥ ¹⁸—[9]
शूरस्येद श्लोक¹⁹ ।

गाग नो निष्कर्ष[राम] प्रवहति न शुभा नदनोद्यानलक्ष्मीः
सद्रत्नस्वर्णशृंगामलविविधरुचो नैव — ²⁰

10

[स्त?]यात्त ।

अन्यां धत्ते तथापि त्रियमतिशयिनीमेप शैलोद्धितीया
साक्षाच्छभुर्यदास्ते तदपि हि परम कारण रम्यतायाः ॥ ²¹—[10]
अष्टमूर्तिर्यमध्यास्ते सिद्धाष्टकविभु' स्वयम् ।
महिमा भूधरस्यास्य परम. कोपि — ७ ७²² ॥ ²³—[11]

¹³ Metre Mandakrāntā¹⁴ Metre of verses 5-8 Sragdharā¹⁵ Read स¹⁶ Originally स्रप was engraved, but the initial स seems to have been altered to स्¹⁷ Originally रेप, altered to रेप¹⁸ Metre Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)¹⁹ Read शूरस्येद श्लोक²⁰ The two aksharas here broken away were perhaps सीषा²¹ Metre Sragdharā²² The word here broken away was perhaps विद्यते²³ Metre Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

- L. 11. [एत^x]सुवर्णाण्डकातिप्रवरतममहामण्डपाभोगभद्र
 प्रातप्रासादमालाविरचितविकटापाण्डुपुच्छाभिरासम् ।
 मेरो शृगोपमान सुघटितवृषसत्तोरणद्वाररम्य
 नानासङ्गोद्युक्त जयति भगवतो हर्षदेवस्य [ह^x]-
12. [स्मर्यम्] ॥ ²⁴—[12.]
 आद्य श्रीगूषकाख्याप्रथितनरपतिश्चाहमानान्वयोभूत्²⁵
²⁶श्रीमन्नागा[द्य²⁷]लोकप्रवरनृपसभालब्ध(व्)वीरप्रतिष्ठ ।
 यस्य श्रीहर्षदेवे वरभवनमयी भीतली कीर्त्तिसूक्ति-
 लोकेद्यापि स्थिरैषा प्रतपति परमैः —
13. — — — [नै²⁸] ॥ —[13]
 पुत्र श्रीचद्रराजोभवदमलयशास्तस्य तीव्रप्रतापः
 सनुस्तस्याय भूप प्रथम इव पुनर्गूषकाख्य प्रतापो ।
 तस्माच्छोचटनोभूत्कितिपतिभयदस्तोमरेश सदर्थ
 हत्वा रुद्रेनभूष²⁷ समर[भुवि]
14. [व^x]लाद्ये[न लब्धा^x] जयश्रीः ॥ —[14]
 तत परमतेजस्वी सदा समरजित्वरः ।
 श्रीमान्वाक्पतिराजाख्यो महाराजोभवत्पुतः ॥ ²⁹—[15]
 येनादैव्य स्वसैन्य कथमपि दधता वाजिवल्गा मुमुक्षु
 प्रागेव क्षासितेभ सरसि क[रि]²⁹रटङ्गिडिमैर्द्वि ८
15. —[जि³⁰] ³⁰
 यन्धच्चाभर्तुराज्ञा समदमभि[व]³⁰ हन्नागतोनतपार्श्व-
 क्षापालस्तक्षपालो दिशि दिशि गमितो द्वीविषण्णः प्रसण्ण(न्न). ॥ ³¹—[16.]
 शूरस्येद ।
 लोकेर्यो हि महीतले ननु हरिश्चद्रोपमो गीयते
 त्यागेऽश्व[र्य]जयेषु की[र्त्ति^x]-
16. [र^x]मला धर्मश्च यस्योज्ज्वलः ।
 येनादायि हराय मदिरक्तते भक्त्या प्रभूत वसु
 श्रीमद्वाक्पतिराजसूनुरसम श्रीसिहराजोभवत् ॥ ³²—[17]
 हैममारोपित येन शिवस्य भवनोपरि ।
 पूर्णचन्द्रोपम स्त्रीय मूर्त्त य[श] ८ [पि³³]डक[म्] ॥ ³³—[18]
 17 — —³⁴ १ तोमरनायक सलवण सैन्याधिपत्योद्धत
 युद्धे येन नरेश्वरा प्रतिदिश निर्वा(र्य)शिता जिष्णुना ।

²⁴ Metre of verses 12 14 Sragdhara

²⁵ Read "भूच्छ" The *akshara* यी, preceding मूत्, may possibly have been altered to ये

²⁶ Originally undoubtedly श्रीमन्नागाव was engraved, but the *akshara* व appears to have been altered subsequently, and the only *akshara* which would suit the context appears to me to be द्य, I am not certain, however, that the adopted reading is correct

²⁷ This word, for which Dr Mill has read रुद्रेन भूय, is quite clear and distinct in the original

²⁸ Metre Śloka (Anushtubh)

²⁹ This *akshara* might possibly be read वि

³⁰ The lower portion of this *akshara* is not quite

distinct

³¹ Metre Sragdhara

³² Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita

³³ Metre Śloka (Anushtubh)

³⁴ The word, here broken away, was probably either जित्वा

or हत्वा

कारावेषमनि भूरयश्च विष्टतास्तावद्भि यावद्दृष्टे
तन्मुक्त्यर्थमुपागतो रघुकुले भूचक्रवर्त्ती स्वयम् ॥ ³⁵—[19]
श्रीमा-

- L 18 [न्वि*]ग्रहराजीभूतसुतो वासवोपमः ।
वश्लक्ष्मीर्जयश्रीश्च येनैते विधुरोदृते ॥ ³⁶—[20]
श्रीसिहराजरहिता किल चितयती भोतेव सप्रति विभुर्ननु को ममेति ।
येनात्मवा(वा)द्भ्युगले चिरसन्निवास सधीरितेति ददता निज-

19 [रा*]ज्यलक्ष्मी. ॥ ³⁷—[21.]

येन दुष्टदमनेन सर्व्वत. साधिताखिलमही स्ववा(वा)द्भुभि ।
लीलयैव वशवर्त्तिनी कृता किकरीव निजपादयोस्तले ॥ ³⁸—[22.]
यस्य चारु चरितं सता सदा शृण्वता जगति कीर्त्तित जनैः ।
हृष्टिजातघनरोमक-

20. ७ —³⁹ जायते तनुरल सुडुम्बुडु. ॥ —[23]

मुक्ताहारैः सुतारैः प्रतरलतुरगैश्चारुस्त्रैश्च शस्त्रैः
कर्णपूरैः पूगपूरैर्मलयतरुवरैर्हंसभारैरपरैः ।
उद्यद्धानैः समानैश्चलकुलगिरिभिर्दन्तिवारैः सदरै-
र्निर्व्याजैः प्रातिर —

21. ७ ७ भिरिति भूते. प्राभूतैर्य. सिपेवे ॥ ⁴⁰—[24]

छत्तधारावरग्रामो द्वितीय. शकराणकः [1*]
तेनेमौ हर्षना[याय] [भ]क्त्या दत्तो सशासनौ ॥ ⁴¹—[25]
श्रीमद्दुर्लभराजेन योनुजेन विभूषितः [1*]
लक्ष्मणेनेव काकुत्स्थो विष्णुनेव जलायुधः ॥ —[26.]

22 [महा*]राजावली चासौ शशुभक्तिगुणोदया ।
श्रीहर्ष. कुलदेवोस्यास्तस्माद्विव्यः कुलक्रमः ॥ —[27]
अनतगोचरे श्रीमान् पण्डित श्रीत्तरेस्त्र(श्च)रः ।
पचार्यलालकुलाम्नाये⁴² विश्वरूपोभवद्गुरु ॥ —[28]
दीक्षाजातमलध्वन्सविस्फुरजा-⁴³

23 [ननि*]र्मलः ।

प्रशस्ताख्योभवच्छिद्यस्तस्य पाशुपतः कृती ॥ —[29]

भा[व]“रक्तो[भ]वत्तस्य शिष्यो द्विनामतोद्धटः ।

वार्गटिकान्वयोद्भूतसद्विप्रकुलसम्भवः ।(॥) —[30]

हर्षस्यासन्नतो ग्राम प्रसिद्धो राणपन्निका ।

सासारिककुलाम्नायस्ततो यस्य विनि[र्गमः ॥*] —[31]

³⁵ Metre Śardūlavikrīḍita

³⁶ Metre Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

³⁷ Metre Vasantatilaka

³⁸ Metre of verses 22 and 23 Rathoddhātā

³⁹ The two akṣharas here broken away, were probably

टका

⁴⁰ Metre Śragdharā,

⁴¹ Metre of verses 25—32 Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

⁴² One would expect to read here पचार्यलालकुलाम्नायी, and I believe that the akṣhara ला has been altered to स already in the original

⁴³ Read “ध्वन्सविस्फुरजा”

⁴⁴ Originally नि, but apparently altered to द

L 24 अक्षटच्छद्मना नदी शिवासन्नस्थितिक्रमः ।

श्रीहर्षाराधने नूनं स्वयं मर्त्यमवातरत् ॥ —[32]

आजन्म ब्र(व)ह्मचारी दिगमलवसनः सयतात्मा तपस्वी

श्रीहर्षाराधनैकव्यसनशुभमतिस्त्यक्तसंसारमोहः ।

आसीद्यो लब्ध(व्य)जन्मा भवतर[णधि]या — ८

25

— [पी?] सुव(व)न्धु-

स्तेनेद धर्मिवित्तैः सुघटितविकट कारितं हर्षहर्म्यम् ॥ ⁴⁵—[33]

अस्मिच्चद्रांक्षयैले गगनपथलिहोत्तुगशृंगप्रमेयं

हर्म्यं श्रीहर्षनामप्रधितपशुपतेः सद्भिमानो[प]मानम् ।

दृष्ट्वा सद्भोगयुक्त व(व)हुसुरभवनं कारितं येन

26

— —

नासाध्य किञ्चिदस्ति स्फुटमिति तपसो निःस्पृहाणा यतीनाम् ॥ —[34]

आसीन्नैष्ठिकरूपो यो दीप्तपाशुपतव्रतः ।

ती[ब्र]विगतपोजातपुण्यापुण्यमलक्षय ॥ ⁴⁶—[35.]

सदा शिवसमाकारस्तस्येश्वरसमद्युतेः ।

भावद्योतोभवच्छिष्यः सदीपितगु-

27.

[रुक्^x]मः ॥ —[36]

गुरोराज्ञामयं प्राप्य प्रतिष्ठासोः शिवालयम् ।

यथाप्रारब्ध(व्य)कार्याणामगीकृतभरोभवत् ॥ —[37.]

पुरस्तात्पर्वतस्याधस्त्रितयं येन कारितम् ।

सत्कूपो वाटिका दिव्या गोप्रपा घटितोपलैः ॥ —[38.]

सदैव वहमानेन कूपेन स्वादुवारिणा ।

वाटिकासेच-

28

. . . . प्रपाभरणन्तथा ॥ —[39.]

सत्पुष्पैरर्चनं शम्भोः पयःपानं गवामपि ।

कार्यद्वयमिदं सारं दर्शितं पुण्यकाञ्चिणाम् ॥ —[40]

दिगव(व)रजटा भस्म⁴⁷ तल्पं च विपुलं महो ।

भिन्ना हन्ति, करः पात्रं यस्यैतानि परिग्रहः ॥ —[41]

शिवभवनपु—

29

— ८ [पा^r]र यदासीत्तदखिलमुपलौघैः पूरयित्वा गभीरम् ।

समतलसुखगम्यं प्राङ्गणं तेन कातं मष्टणतरंगिलाभिः कारितं व(व)धयित्वा ॥ ⁴⁸—[42]

वीरभ[द्र]सुतं ख्यातं, सूक्तधारोक्तं चंडसिव⁴⁹ ।

विश्वकर्मेव सर्वज्ञो वासुविद्या[म]-

— ८ — [॥^x] ⁵⁰—[43.]

[ये]न निर्मितमिदं मनीहरं शकरस्य भवनं समुपमम् ।

⁴⁵ Metre of verses 33 and 34 Śrīgadhara

⁴⁶ Metre of verses 35-41 Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

⁴⁷ Originally भस्म, altered to भस्म.

⁴⁸ Metre Mahul.

⁴⁹ This word is perfectly clear in the impression and cannot possibly be read in any other way. It offends against both the metre and grammar.

⁵⁰ Metre Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

[म]र्वदेवमयचारुतोरणं स्वर्गखड्गमिव वेधसा स्वयम् ॥⁵¹—[44]
 गगाधरवरभवने करणिकयोक्कसुतेन भक्तेन ।
 अक्रियतेय सुगमा प्रशस्तिरिच्छ धीरनागेन ॥⁵²—[45]
 यावच्छभो ७ —

31 — ७ ७ नसुरनटीचद्रलेखापतित्व
 यावन्नक्ष्मीर्मरारिरुसि विलसति द्योतते कौस्तुभ च ।
 गायत्री याव[दा]स्ते सततमुपनता प्रेयसी व्र(व्र)ह्मणोन्ते
 कैलासाकारमेतत्प्रतपतु भवनं हर्षदेवस्य तावत् ॥⁵³—[46]
 अ . .

32 . [ह]त' शभु कथ कालस्य गीचरः ।
 हर्मनिर्माणकालस्तु यथादृष्टो निव(व)ध्यते ॥⁵⁴—[47]
 सवत् १०१[३] आपाढशुटि १३ शभोः प्रासादसिद्धिः ॥ ४४ ॥
 जातेष्वा(ब्दा)ना सहस्रे क्षिगुणनवयुते सिंहराशौ गतेर्कं
 गुक्ता यासीत्तृ[ती*]-

33 [या] शुभकरसहिता सोमवारेण तस्याम् ।
 आदिष्टः शंभुनासौ [ध्रुव]ममलपदं दिव्यना शुद्धसत्त्व(चं)
 लब्धा(ब्दा)र्वदेवभाव शिवभवनमभिप्रस्थितो ह्यल्लटोय ॥ ४४ ॥ (॥)⁵⁵—[48]
 स्वस्ति । सवत् १०३० आपाढशुटि १५ निरुद्धं यथालब्ध(व्य)शासना[ना] .

34 . चैव लिख्यते । महाराजाधिराजश्रीसिंहराजः स्वभोगे तूनकूपकद्वादशके सिंहगोष्ठ ॥⁵⁶
 तथा पट्टव(व)द्वकविपये चैकलककेशानकूपौ ॥⁵⁷ सर'कीटविपये कणहपन्निकामेवं ग्रामांश्चतुर-
 यद्वाकशिखरीपरि . . . [भ*]-

35. गवते श्रीहर्षदेवाय पुण्येहनि श्रीमत्युष्करतीर्थे स्नात्वा स्नपनार्चनविलिपनोपहारधूपदोपपर्व-
 याक्षोत्सवार्थमा शशाकतपनार्णवस्थितेर्यावच्छासनत्वेन प्रददौ । तथैतद्वाता श्रीवत्सराज
 स्वभोगावाप्तजय[पु][रविप*]-

36. ये कर्हमन्वातग्राममटाच्छासनेन । तथा श्रीविग्रहराजेन शासनदत्तग्रामहयसुपरिलिखित-
 मास्ते । तथा श्रीमिहराजात्मजौ श्रीचद्रराजश्रीगोविंदराजौ स्वभोगावाप्तपट्टव(व)द्वकविपये ॥⁵⁸
 दर्भकचविप[ये] . .

37 [पा]सरयेन स्वहस्ताकितशासनौ [रु?]. . . [द]के पाटकद्वय'पन्निकाग्रामौ भक्त्या वितेरतु' ।
 श्रीमिहराजोयदु.साध्यश्रीधधुकः खट्कूपविपये स्वभुज्यमानमयूरप[ट्ट]ग्राम स्वाम्यनुमत.
 प्रदत्तवान् । . . .

38 हिलात्मज श्रीजयनराजः⁵⁹ स्वभुज्यमानकोलिकूपकग्राम भक्त्या हर्षदेवाय शासनेन दत्तवान् । (॥)
 तथा समस्तश्रीभग्न[दि]ग्शा शाकभर्या लवणकूटक प्रति विशोपकमेक दत्त । तयोत्तराप-
 योयहेडाविकाना [स]

⁵¹ Metre Rathoddhata

⁵² Metre Āryā

⁵³ Metre Sragdhara

⁵⁴ Metre Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

⁵⁵ Metre Sragdhara.

⁵⁶ These signs of punctuation are superfluous

⁵⁷ The sign of *anuvāra* of the last *akṣhara* is doubtful

⁵⁸ Originally श्रीजयनराजः, altered to श्रीजयनराज.

L 39 [घ]ोटक प्रति द्रुम एको दत्त ।(॥) पुण्यात्मभिर्हृत्तानि देवमुज्यमानचेत्ताणि यथा । म[द्रा]-
पुरिकाया पि[प्य]लवालिकाचेत्त निम्ब(स्व)डिका[ग्रा]मे दर्भटिकाचेत्त मरुपल्लिकाया [भ्रा]-
टचेत्त [ह]र्षे लाटचेत्त

40 . . . [क]लावणपट्रे सेक्यकचेत्त तथाचैव द्विहलिकान[दि]सीमके वृहद्वलमिति ॥

सर्वानेतान्भाविनो भूमिपालान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ।

सामान्योय धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणा काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः [॥^x] ⁵⁰—[49]

TRANSLATION

[Om !]

[Om ! Adoration to Śiva !]

(Verse 1) I adore him who removes all obstacles, the first-born of Śiva and his spouse, who is worshipped by the gods, [Gaṇānana,] the granter of boons, who gives enjoyment, salvation, and true perfection.

(2) May the destroyer of Tripura guard you, who is ⁶⁰ with bewildered minds, but praised by the true gods !

(3.) Victorious is that Paśupati⁶¹, the bestower of compassion on all, who is named Harsha, the holy, at whose dancing the whole world verily changes its position, [for] the earth, resting on Śesha's hoods, bends low beneath the tread of his feet, [while the sky] with the sun and moon [rises high] with the lifting up of his arms.

(4) "A three-pointed spear is in thy left hand, in the other an alms-dish, the ornament , a serpent serves as necklace for thy blue throat, nowhere have I seen, O three-eyed one, such wondrous vesture,"—may Hara, smiling when thus jestingly addressed by Gauri, guard you !

(5.) May the river of heaven, who with her masses of water pervades the sky where the sun and the planets are shaken by her velocity, and who with the thousands of lines of her waves puts to shame the oceans with their decreasing water, who, white like the moon, appears like a graceful veil on the crest of the moon-crested (*god*), fast bound with huge uncouth tresses of hair,—may she grant your petitions !

(6) May the god Harsha, that unfathomable architect for the construction of the world, preserve you,—he by whose will and power all that was not is produced and vanishes again, the universe with its moving moon and sun and stars, with its expanse of worlds, mountains, rivers, islands and oceans, and together with the gods, demons, serpents, his own attendants, excellent sages, Yakshas and mortals !

(7) May the moon-crested (*god*), who in the form of the Langa has (*here*) a twofold dwelling, promote your happiness, he who—full of joy at having burnt Tripura, the enemy of the gods, with the fire of his arrow, (*and*) worshipped on this hill by the joyful divine hosts, Indra and the rest, who praised him and bowed down to him,—verily under the name of Harsha ⁶² stayed on (*these*) two mountain peaks for the welfare of Bhāta⁶³ !

(8) When the gods saw how his own nature broke forth, like a mighty fire issuing from the hollow of his eye, frightening the creatures with its scorching rays, darkening

⁵⁹ Metre Śālini

⁶⁰ The interesting portion of the verse probably expressed the idea that Śiva is dreaded by the demons

⁶¹ i.e. Śiva

⁶² i.e. 'joy'

⁶³ i.e. Bhāta^{avarsa}, or India

the quarters with thick volumes of smoke of the trees which were consumed by its flames all round, roaring terribly in its impetuous progress, (and) annihilating the god of love, they became afraid lest the destruction of the world had come, out of season

(7. 9.) May this mountain Haisha, which grazes the clouds on high (and) on which the god Harsha, the destroyer of Puia, resides, purify you¹

A hero speaks the following verse —

(10) The water of the torrents which flows here is indeed not that of the Ganges, here there is not the charming beauty of the garden of paradise; nor are there [palaces] here which glitter brightly all around with their jewelled and gilded pinnacles. Yet this hill possesses another, superior, unrivalled beauty, for that Śambhu dwells here in person is surely a paramount cause of loveliness.

(11) Since the eight-formed (god), the lord of the eight perfections, himself dwells here, this mountain possesses supreme grandeur which baffles description.

(12) Glorious is this mansion of the holy Harshadeva which is charming with the expanse of its spacious chapels, embellished with eggs of gold, (and) pleasing like the sons of Pāṇdu by reason of the court-yards⁶⁴ which are formed by the flights of buildings along its sides. Surpassing in height the peak of Meru, it is beautified by an excellent porch at which a bull is skilfully carved, and is endowed with manifold objects of enjoyment

(13.) First came the lord of men known as the illustrious Gūṛvaka, of the Chāhamāna family, who attained pre-eminence as a hero in the assemblies of the foremost princes of the world, the illustrious Nāgas and the rest⁶⁵, whose fame, remaining on earth in visible form, as an excellent dwelling for the holy Harshadeva, even now endures here and illumines with great

(14.) His son was the illustrious Chandrarāja, of spotless fame and fierce valour, and his son was the valorous prince who again, like the first, was named Gūṛvaka. From him sprang, inspiring kings with fear, the illustrious Chandana, who, when he had slain on the battle-field the proud Tomara lord, prince Rudrena, by force secured the fortune of victory

(15) After him came his son, the Mahārāja named Vākpatirāja, the illustrious, endowed with supreme splendour, ever victorious in battle,

(16) Who, managing to sustain the spirit of his army, eager to loosen the reins of their chargers, forced Tantrapāla,—the ruler of the country adjacent to Ananta, who had come arrogantly defying (?) the command of the prince whom he should have honoured,—to wander, quieted, overwhelmed with shame, in every direction, after his elephants had before already been frightened . . . by drums (?)⁶⁶

⁶⁴ The reading of the second line of this verse is quite clear in the impressions, but owing to the word *vikaṭā* its meaning is not clear to me. *Vikaṭā* is apparently used here as a feminine substantive, and should, judging from the context, denote both a hall or court yard and a female, related somehow to the Pāṇḍavas. In the former sense the word is evidently used also in verse 33, below, and as regards the other meaning, it may at any rate be noted that *Vikaṭa* is the name of one of the hundred sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra

⁶⁵ See note 26, above. I am doubtful about the correctness of my translation, but see no other way of explaining the original text

⁶⁶ I do not properly understand the second line of this verse, which is damaged in the original. *Trāṣitebha* might of course also mean 'who had frightened the elephants'. The word *abdhivahan* (supposing the reading to be correct) of the third line appears to be used in an altogether unusual sense. Dr Mill's translation of the second line is 'even he, having his elephant terrified and driven into a lake by the sounding cymbals of the hostile war elephants'

A hero speaks —

(17) Vākpātirāja's peerless son was the illustrious Simharāja, who verily all the earth over is sung of by people as the equal of Harischandra, of spotless fame for his liberality, majesty, and victories, and of resplendent virtue. He piously gave abundant wealth to Hara for a temple.

(18) And on Śiva's dwelling he set a golden dome (2), his own fame in bodily form, resembling the full moon.

(19) [After having defeated] the Tomara leader, proud of the command of armies, together with Lavana, the victorious one annihilated in war rulers of men in every direction. To him, who kept as many (*princes*) in his prison as he did in his house, the universal sovereign of the earth in Raghu's race came of his own accord to bring him final liberation.⁶⁷

(20) His son was the illustrious Vighraharāja, resembling Indra, who rescued both the fortune of his family and the Fortune of victory from the distress which had thus befallen them.

(21) By him the Fortune of his realm, deprived of the illustrious Simharāja and as it were frightened at the idea who might now be her lord, was re-assured by offering her a lasting home in his two arms.

(22) Having subdued with his arms the whole earth by overpowering the wicked on all sides, he easily made it obedient to his commands, so that it was like a servant bowing down at his feet.

(23) When good men hear his noble conduct constantly celebrated by mankind throughout the world, their bodies again and again are closely covered all over with hairs erect through delight.

(24) He has been served with many presents, offered without guile and exceedingly pleasing,—with strings of pure pearls, gay steeds, fine garments and weapons, with camphor, quantities of betel, first-rate sandal-wood and endless quantities of gold, and with spirited rutting elephants, huge like moving mountains, together with their mates.

(25.) Piously he has assigned by deeds two villages to the lord Harsha, the excellent village of Chhatradhārā and Śamkarānaka.

(26) He is adorned by his younger brother, the illustrious Durlabharāja, as Rāma was by Lakshmana, and as Halāyudha is by Vishnu.

(27) This row of great kings had the origin of their virtues in devotion to Śambhu. The holy Harsha is their family-deity, through him has the family become illustrious.—

(28) In the land of Ananta dwelt the blessed preceptor Viśvarūpa, learned and a devout worshipper of Uttareśvara, whose hereditary doctrine was that of the *Pañchārthas*.⁶⁸

(29) His disciple was Praśasta, a true worshipper of (Śiva) Paśupati, purified by knowledge which shone brightly because the rite of initiation had removed all stains from it.

⁶⁷ The following verse shows more clearly that Simharāja had been unfortunate in war and was probably killed in battle. The universal sovereign in Raghu's race, spoken of in this verse, I understand to be the divine Rama (or Vishnu).

⁶⁸ This verse contains the two words *uttareśvara* and *pañchārthala*, which I have not met with elsewhere. The former is derived from *uttareśvara* which we have in *Uttareśvara-tīrtha*, the name of a Tīrtha, and *Uttareśvardīśama*, the name of a Linga, and which apparently is a name of Śiva. *Pañchārthala* is evidently equivalent to *pañchārthika*, which occurs in line 6 of the Tewar stone inscription of Gayakarnadeva (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 211), and the meaning of which is apparent from the *Sarvadarsana saṅgraha*, translation by Cowell and Gough, p. 103.

(*Vv* 30 and 31.) His disciple was Bhāvarakta, also called⁶⁹ Allata, sprung from a family of holy Brāhmins belonging to the Vārgaṭika tribe, who had migrated from the well known village of Rānapallikā, near Harsha, where the hereditary doctrine is that of the *Sāmsārikas*⁷⁰

(32.) In Allata surely Nandin⁷¹ himself, whose place is ever near Śiva, had descended to the state of mortality, to worship the holy Harsha

(33.) He who from his birth was a religious student, with mere space for his pure covering, with the soul completely controlled, and practising austerities, whose excellent mind was solely bent on worshipping the holy Harsha, and who had forsaken the infatuation of the outer world, who as soon as he was born was a dear friend . . . of those eager to cross (*the sea of*) life,—he caused to be built this mansion of Harsha with its well-constructed halls (?), with the wealth received from pious people

(34.) When one sees how on this hill of the moon-decorated (*god*) which with its lofty peaks kisses the path of heaven he built this incomparable mansion of the holy Paśupati, celebrated under the name of Harsha,—this mansion which surpasses the palaces of the immortals and is a home for many gods, endowed with excellent objects of enjoyment,—it becomes evident to one that there is nothing which the penance of sages who have renounced all desires would not accomplish

(35 and 36.) Of him, resplendent like Śvara, the disciple was Bhavadyota, always like Śiva himself in appearance, who shed light on the (*spiritual*) lineage of his preceptor. A perpetual religious student and fervently practising the vows of a Paśupati ascetic, he by fierce austerities acquired holiness and got rid of the defilement of unholy deeds

(37.) Having received the command of his preceptor about to depart for Śiva's home, he took upon himself to complete the works as they had been commenced

(38.) To the east of the mountain, at the foot of it, he had three works executed, an excellent well, a beautiful garden, and a cistern for watering cattle, built of stone

(39.) Watering the garden by means of a well of sweet water which never dries up and filling the cistern.

(40.) To worship Sambhu with beautiful flowers and to give water to cattle to drink, these two things have been declared to be the best for people desirous of religious merit to accomplish

(41.) Raiment consisting of mere space, matted hair, ashes, a broad couch formed by the earth, food received as alms, and the hand used as a drinking-cup,—these represented all his wants

(42.) Having filled up with masses of stone all that immense which was [in front] of Śiva's temple, he caused to be made a beautiful court which, laid out with very smooth stones, is level and pleasant for walking.

(43.) The architect in this (*work*) was Chandaśiva, the famed son of Virabhadra, omniscient like Viśvakarman, in the art of building houses

(44.) He built this delightful house of Saṃkarā with its chapels, the beautiful porch which contains all the gods, like a portion of heaven made by the creator himself.⁷²

⁶⁹ This apparently is the meaning of *divinamatah*, which does not occur elsewhere

⁷⁰ What the doctrines of this sect were I have not been able to find out

⁷¹ An attendant of Śiva, commonly the bull on which he rides

⁷² In his account of the ruins of the temple, Mr Dean speaks of a doorway relieved by an architrave of most elaborate sculpture, divided into twelve compartments, in each of which a group from the Hindu Pantheon occupies a place

(V. 45) Dhīranāga, the pious son of the *karanika*⁷³ Thīruka, has composed this lucid eulogy here, at the excellent dwelling of Gangādhara.

(46) As long as Śambhu owns the river of the gods and the moon's crescent, as long as Lakshmī sports and the Kaustubha glitters on the bosom of Mura's foe,⁷⁴ as long as Gâyatrī abides near Brahman as his ever-devoted spouse, so long may this Kailāsa-like dwelling of the god Harsha shine forth !

(47) how should Śambhu come within the range of time ? But the time when this mansion was built is recorded here, as we have learnt it

In the year 1013, on the 13th of the bright half of Āshādhā, was the temple of Śambhu completed

(48) When a thousand and three times nine years had gone,⁷⁵ and when the sun had entered the sign of the Lion, on the third bright lunar day joined with (the *yoga*) Śubha and (the *nakshatra*) Hasta, on a Monday,⁷⁶—then that Allata, commanded by Śambhu who desired to give him an eternal, undefiled, essentially bright home, departed for the abode of Śiva, about to obtain freedom from bodily existence.⁷⁷—

May it be well !

The following is a record of the endowments as they were severally received up to⁷⁸ the 15th of the bright half of Āshādhā of the year 1030 —

The *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious Simharāja, having on an auspicious day bathed at the sacred Pushkaratīrtha, made over by deed of gift to the holy Harshadeva on the hill of the moon-decorated (*god Harsha*), to be his as long as the moon, the sun and the sea endure, four villages in his possession, *viz* Simhagoshtha in the Tūnakūpaka group of twelve, Traikalakaka and Íśānakūpa⁷⁹ in the Pattabadhaka *vishaya*, and Kanhapallikā in the Sarahkotta *vishaya*, for the purpose of bathing, worshipping and anointing (*the god*), for oblations, incense and lamps, and for the celebration of processions on festive days

Similarly his brother, the illustrious Vatsarāja, gave by deed the village of Kardamakhāta in the Jayapura *vishaya* which he had become possessed of

Similarly two villages, already mentioned above,⁸⁰ were given by deed by the illustrious Vīgraharāja.

Similarly the sons of the illustrious Simharāja, the illustrious Chandrarāja and the illustrious Govindarāja, piously presented by deeds bearing their signatures . . . two hamlets⁸¹ . . . in the Pattabaddhaka *vishaya* (and) the Darbhakaksha *vishaya* which they had become possessed of

⁷³ i.e. a writer of legal documents

⁷⁴ i.e. Vishnu

⁷⁵ i.e. in the expired (Vikrama) year 1027

⁷⁶ The name of the week day is similarly put in the instrumental case in other dates, where we should have expected the locative

⁷⁷ I take *vaideha* as an abstract noun, derived from *videha* 'bodiless'

⁷⁸ The word of the original, so translated, is *niruddham*, which I have not met with in this sense elsewhere

⁷⁹ The names of these two villages form in the original a Dvandva compound, which I cannot be sure of having resolved correctly

⁸⁰ See above, verse 25

⁸¹ Owing to the mutilated state of the text I am unable to translate this sentence properly. In particular I do not see how the meaning of the word *pāṭaka* here differs from that of *pallikā*. On *pāṭaka* see the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 135.

The illustrious Simharāja's *duhsādhyā*,⁸² the illustrious Dhandhuka, with the permission of his master, gave the village of Mayūtipadra which he possessed in the Khattakūpa *visaya*.

The illustrious Jayanarāja, the son of hila, piously gave by a deed to Harshadeva the village of Kolikūpaka, possessed by him

Likewise one *vimśopaka* on every *kātaka* of salt was assigned by the most illustrious⁸³ at Śākambharī

And one *diamma* on every horse was assigned by the of horse-dealers⁸⁴ from the northern country

The fields given by pious-minded people and now possessed by the god are as follows at Madrāpurikā a *pippalavāhikā*⁸⁵ field, at the village of Nimbadikā a *darbhaticā* field, at Marupallikā a *ghāta* field, at Harsha a *lāta* field, at [ka]-lāvanapadra a *sekyula* field, likewise here at⁸⁶ a big plough of land
(Verse 49) Rāmabhadra again and again entreats all the kings to come this common causeway of religion to princes must at all times be guarded by you !

IX — MUHAMMADAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SUBA OF DILHĪ.

By PAUL HORN, PH D, STRASSBURG.

The papers relative to Muhammadan inscriptions already published by scholars in India, especially those of the late Professor Blochmann, are so valuable that they have laid a solid foundation for further advances, but the number of inscriptions still unedited must be very large, and their collection and publication may be looked to with confidence for many additions to, and corrections of, our information

The following inscriptions are from impressions taken by the Archaeological Survey officers of the Panjāb circle at diverse places in the former *Sūba* of Dīhlī.

I.—JHAJJHAR (جھجھار, in inser No 5 جھجھار)

Jhajhar is now the head-quarters of the *tahsil* of the same name in the Rohtak District It is situated in the plain 35 miles west of Dīhlī The town is said to have been founded at the time of the first Muhammadan conquest of Dīhlī, and is not seldom mentioned by the chroniclers Many ruins testify its later importance In 657 A.H it is named among other cities which were conferred upon Nusrat Khān (*Tab Nās*, p 274), in 756 Firōz Shāh dug a large canal from the river Satlaj and prolonged it to Jhajhar, a distance of 48 *krōh* (Frishta, lithographed edition, vol I, p 262) In the *Ain-i-Akbarī* it is registered with 128,417 *bighas*, 1,422,451 *dāms*, *Sayūrgāl* 306,461 *dāms*, 60 cavalry and 1,000 infantry; the castes were Afghāns and Jats In A H 967, when Akbar made his encampment at Jhajhar, Abu'l Ma'ālī, who was set free from his confinement at

⁸² This word apparently denotes an office In other inscriptions we find *duhsādhyasādhanīka*

⁸³ The word here left untranslated is *dharmāha desyā* about the reading of which there is no doubt *Desy* apparently is used in the same sense which it ought to convey here in the Pehevi inscription, *ante*, vol I p 187, l 8, and probably denotes 'a guild,' and in that case *dharmāha* should denote a class of traders For *vimśopaka* see *vimśopaka*, *ante*, vol I, p 166 *Kutaka* probably denotes a certain weight or measure (of salt)

⁸⁴ The original has *heḷārīka* instead of *heḷārīka*, which occurs in the *Mitāksharā* on Yajñavalkya II, 30

⁸⁵ The terms here left untranslated probably denote various kinds of grain

⁸⁶ The words here omitted I do not understand

Bayâna by Khân Khânân, dared to present himself before the emperor; but the latter was so greatly offended by this that he ordered the rebel again into imprisonment.

The town was almost ruined by the great famine of 1783 A D, but has since regained its prosperity. The following twelve inscriptions belong to seven mosques in it, and date from the tenth and eleventh centuries of the Hijrat.

1. A loose stone (20½" by 18") from the destroyed Kâlî Masjid, now in the house of Mardan 'Alî Shâh Bhattiân in the town of Jhajhar, bears the following inscription of four lines¹.—

قال النبي عليه السلام من بنا مسجدا لله بنا الله له مثله في الجنة
بنا كرد اين مسجد مجلس عالي حان اعظم بركريده رحمان مرتني حبان
دارد حال بن معمر مرحوم ملك الشرق علاء الدوله والدين ملك ميلان اعلان
سلمه الله عن الحداث و ترج تراه نتائج الرمضان الخامس والعشرين من رمضان سنة تسع وتسعين
ر سعمایه

"The Prophet—may he be blessed!—says,—‘He who builds a mosque for Allâh, will have built for him a house like it by Allâh in Paradise.’"

"This mosque has been built by the high *Maylis*, the great Khân, the chosen of the Merciful, the educator of the world,—

"Dâûd Khân, the pardoned deceased son of the Malîk Ashsharq ('Aladdaula) Waddîn Malik Miyân, the Afghân,—

"May God preserve him from bad accidents and crown his reward with the crown of Paradise!—on the twenty-fifth Ramazân 799 [22nd June 1397]."

The date falls in the reign of Mahmûd Shâh; an inscription of the same year has also been published by Blochmann in the *Journal As Soc Beng*, vol XLII, p. 304

2. Over the *mîhrâb* of the Bâzârwallî mosque in the middle of the town, a sandstone slab, measuring 28" by 15½", bears the following five lines —

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
في زمانة عمدة الخلافة ناسط العدل و راب حلال الدين
محمد اكبر نادشاه عازي حلال الله ملكه و سلطانه بناء مسجد ساجده مكرمه
و محسنة بكنه لطناح بواب زمينجان فرمايش سرکار حراج كتر
في التاريخ السابع والعشرين ٢٧ من شهر رجب حجب قدرة سنة تسعين تسعمایه ٩٧٠

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God. There is no God, etc

"In the time of the pillar of the Kalifat, spreading justice and clemency, Jalâladdîn Muhammad Akbar *Bâdîshâh-i-Ghâzî*—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his

¹ Here, at Strasbnrg, I am unable to refer to the *Târîkh i Badaoni*, the *Jaunpurnâma*, the *Miftâh attairikh*, Stewart's *History of Bengal* and other works. I have retained in the transcriptions of the inscriptions the spelling of the originals, adding no wanting dots, *hamzas* or *tashâds*, the poetry excepted, but I have omitted the signs of the short vowel and the *jazmas* which often occur arbitrarily. For the short accounts of the places where the inscriptions have been found I have consulted Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. To Dr S Landauer I am obliged for his kind assistance in the elucidation of some difficulties.

reign! the erection of the honoured

"And beautiful mosque², the lady over natures (?), has been made by the *Nawâb* Rûmî Khân, governor of the *sarkâr* Khwâj Katôr³ (?),

"On the 27th of the month Rajab—may its honour increase!—of the year 970 [22nd March 1563]"

This inscription is interesting because it gives new information about Rûmî Khân, who is not often mentioned in the histories. Blochmann has noted two services of his in his translation of the *Âin* (No. 111, p. 424), the one from A. H. 971—one year later than the present inscription—the other of A. H. 983 (No. 146, p. 441). His full name is not certain. Blochmann styles him Rûmî Khân Ustâd Jalâlî.⁴

3 Over the northern outside arch of the mosque of Shâh Bura in the north of the town, is a sandstone, measuring 22" by 19", bearing the six lines—

دراہِ حقِ رحمتِ ایتی حور داد بنا این مسجد را عزم افتاد
دردِ شہِ حلال الدینِ اکبر کہ ایامِ نکامِ او مقرر باد
چو کس نرسد ندینِ توانِ نوکشت محمدِ زرسبِ ابراہیمِ دلشاد
یقینِ او ہمدم است نا واصلِ حق کہ خاطرِ مستکانِ می سارہِ اناد
تخصیصِ انکِ نا قطبِ زمانہ سرِ خدمتِ نجا می آوردِ استاد
چو مقصودِ جہانست ندہِ شاہ حدایا عرِ او را خارِ دان باد
کہ نہ صد نونِ درونِ شصتِ رندہِ ویدم شہرِ رمصلِ کہ آنرا کردِ نیاد
وصلِ اللہِ علی محمد
رہاتِ حواستمِ اتمامِ تاریخ ندایمِ حادِ سجدہِ بیصِ دہِ داد

۹۷۶

Metre: Hazaj.

"When God the only one, put away (*my*) misfortune, the building of this mosque was designed.

"In the time of the king Jalâl addîn Akbar—may his days be equal to his desire!—

"Everybody who comes to that mighty one, becomes a new one, Muhammad Ibrâhim (*also*) is happy through him.

"He is true and a companion of the followers of God, he exhilarates the afflicted.

"To him especially the pole and time devote their service, the masters

"As the design of the world is for ten kings, so, O God! may his glory be eternal!

"When nine hundred was increased by sixty and ten and five, it was in the month Ramazân that he laid the foundation. May the friendship of God be over Muhammad!

² *Lafîdâ'* has been distinctly engraved, but perhaps *afîdâ'* is to be read and *Bêga-za* (i.e. *Bêg-i*) *atîdâ'* synonymous with *daryâ khânîlary*—Bâbar's *Memoirs*, p. 480

³ The reading Katôr is somewhat doubtful, the word may be Ganaur or Kanaum, but even if read thus, we get none of the well known *sarkârs* of the Moghul empire. The same strange use of *farmâyîs* occurs in Nos. 4 and 44.

⁴ More famous was the homonymous *mîr âtash* of Humâyûn (died 942), who effected in 942 the conquest of the fort of Chanâṭ by the practice of old Zopyrus' stratagem, after having quitted the service of his former master Sulṭân Bahâdur of Gujârât, which treachery has given matter for the anecdote of Sulṭân Bahâdur's parrot in Khafî Khân's *Muntakhab allubâb*. The Turks of Europe were celebrated in Asia for their knowledge of artillery, which was always the most remarkable weapon of the Turks in their wars with the Persian Shâhs, a fact that Shâh Tahmâsp I. in vain attempts to deny in his *Memoirs* (see my German translation of them, p. 129. Strassburg, Trübner)

‘From the heavenly speaker I asked the date of completion, a voice gave me ‘*jā (-yī) sijda fayz da*’ (Bestow a place of adoration) 976’ [Ramazān 976 began on the 17th February 1569] ”

The words of the *tārīkh* give only 975 The poetry is very poor and difficult to understand I do not pretend that my readings are absolutely correct.

4 Over the central arch of the ruined mosque of Miẓān Rāib to the south of the Bāzarwallī Masjid is a rectangular sandstone, measuring 19" by 15", bearing the following five lines. This mosque is in the last stage of ruin, the yard being filled with filth and sweepings, it is no more used for religious purposes.

اشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

واشهد ان محمد عبده ورسوله

کرده بناء عمارت مسجد من رايب بن پنداره

في التاريخ عشر من شهر ذي الحجة

سنة ٩٨٩ بمائش من دار

“I testify that there is no God but God alone, who has no companion;

“And I testify that Muhammad is His servant and His apostle.

“The edifice of this mosque has been built by Miẓān Rāib, son of Piyāra,⁵ on the tenth of the month Zi-l-Hajj,

“In the year 989 [5th January 1582]. His commander (*was*) Miẓān Dāūd ”

5 The graveyard of Miẓān Rāib is situated half a mile east of Jhajhar, near the Buawalla tank. A red sandstone over the eastern gateway (27" by 13") bears the following inscription of four lines, the lettering is very poor —

ندری شاه اکبر کر عدالت مدارکه تاج جهان را

ساحس [؟] چون دیں بهتر محتر من رايب ان بن پنداره

قصه پر نور حجر سلامت کیل [؟] همواره

سنة الفه الله (sic) ماه رمضان محمد دولنداره اوتاحی [؟] . .

“In the time of Shāh Akbar, by whose justice came blessing upon the crown of the world

. “Miẓān Rāib, son of Piyāra.

“The town full of light, Jajar, is the repose of all nobles,

“In the year 1002, in the month of Ramazān [began the 21st May 1594]”

The marble gravestone itself measures 3' 8" by 10½". It contains the *Kalīma* and the words *qabr-i-Miẓān Rāib*, round the open middle space runs the *Fātiha* At the foot of the stone the Persian sentence has been engraved ‘Whatsoever came has gone’.

6 Over the outside central arch of the mosque attached to the tomb of ‘Abd as-Samad, half a mile east of the town near the Buawalla tank, is a red sandstone slab (21" by 17"), containing the following six lines —

حوش و راحت دین اسلامی در زمانه جلعه نور الدین

یا الهی بناء سال هزار عدل و انصاف استمرار متین

کرد مسجد بنای اسمعیل ایڑہ رایت کہ ارسب طالب دین
 سالِ تاریخ از حرہ حستم حردم رھمور ہزار و عشریں
 گوشہ شدنی معیر عدد الصمد اس مکن کہ قریم عناسی
 از طعیلی محمد عربی دین داران برصہ حلد بریں

Metre *Khafif*.

"In a good career is the faith of Islām in the time of the king Nûraddîn (Jahângir)
 O God! may his justice and equity stand firm and solid a thousand years !

"This masjid has been built by Ism'aîl Îrah Râib, who is a student of the faith.

"I asked the mind the date-year, the guiding mind (*said*) to me '1020' [began 16th March 1611].

"(I), a hermit, the poor 'Abd as-Samad, the son of Makan, who belongs to the family of the 'Abbassides,

"To the companions of Muhammad the Arabian, the pious ones in the high Paradise"

In No 11 'Abd as Samad's father is named Mankan.

7. Over the gateway of Rustam Khân in the south of the town, on a sandstone, measuring 4 feet by 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ ", are two lines, and flower arabesques.—

اشھد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شریک له واشھد ان محمد عدہ و رسولہ
 تاریخ دروازہ رستم خان ابن محمد خان سرنی سنہ ۱۰۲۹

"I testify that there is no God but God alone, who has no companion, and I testify that Muhammad is His servant and His apostle.

"The date of the gateway of Rustam Khân, son of Muhammad Khân Sarbanî (18) 1029' [began 8th December 1619]

"Jahângir elevated the builder from a commander of 60 to a chief of 5,000 foot and 4,000 horse and named him Rustam Khân, besides he bestowed on him the government of Gujarât He put much confidence in him and placed him in 1032 as general under the command of Prince Parwéz, after he had abandoned the service of the rebel Prince Shâhjahân *Iqbâl. Jah.* 209, *Waq'ât-i Jah.* in Elliot's *History*, vol. VI, p 388"

8 Over the central arch of the same mosque as No 6, on a red sandstone measuring 4' 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " by 9", is an inscription of two lines, (not *in situ*) —

نورِ حہانگیر شاہِ حہاں شد این روضہ پر نور حسن شہید
 تاریخ این روضہ را کسی ہزار و سی و پنج سالش کشد

Metre *Mutaqârib*.

"In the time of Jahângir, the king of the world, this light tomb of Hasan Shahîd has been made.

"The date of it for a tomb has been brought by somebody (?) in the year 1035" [began 3rd October 1625]

9 Over the central outside arch of the Shaikhânwalla masjid, a soft sandstone slab, measuring 4' 11" by 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", contained originally four lines, but the first, in Arabic, has almost vanished. Also the other lines are much injured, and some words are

missing, so that it is not possible to decipher fully the eighteen Persian hemistichs. I give only the beginning and the date.—

بہای حوی حجر . . .	محمد اللہ کہ در حجر کلام . . .
کہ عالی تر رشاہاں چہاسب	دور شاه نورالدین چہانگیر
کہ در زمین نمٹلش ہی نشاسب	بنای کرد رستم خان محمد خان
.
نس الف و پنج و سی	(مرتب شد عمارت) بتاریخ دہم از ماہ رحب

Metre *Hazaj*

“In the time of Shâh Nûraddîn Jahângîr, who is more exalted than the kings of the world, Rustam Khân,⁶ son of Muhammad Khân, has built it, who has not his like on the earth ”

In the verses that follow the beauty of the mosque is described. The building was completed on the 10th of the month Rajab in the year 1035 [the 7th April 1626].

10 Over the north-west arch of a small *bury* on the west side of the tank of Shâh Ghâzî Kamâl, a short distance north of the town, is a red sandstone, measuring 4' 11" by 8", and containing eight hemistichs, arranged in two lines —

در زمانہ جلعه نور الدین	حریص نادر مثال کرد نشان
رای رایان رای در گہل	بہر راحب فراغ خلق چہاں
سال تاریخ او حرد حسد	حردم کعب در علو دہاں
کوشہ شیبی معیر عبدالصمد	اس منکی کہ صاحب عرفاں
سند ہزار سی و شش بود	

Metre *Khafif*

“In the time of the king Nûraddîn the tank, which has scarcely its like, became a sign

“Of Râî Râyân Râî Darghal, for the benefit of the happiness of the people of the world,

“I asked the mind the date-year, the mind spoke to me ‘Know it in *ghulûw*’

“(I) the poor hermit 'Abd as-Samad, the son of Mankan, who is a master of knowledge

“The year was 1036 ” [began the 22nd September 1626].

The name of the builder is not certain.

11. Over the central outer arch of Kalâl Khân's masjid, half a mile outside Jhajhar towards the east near the Buawalla tank, on a red sandstone measuring 2' 9" by 7½", sculptured at the ends, is an inscription of three lines —

شده مرتب و موجود این بلند مکل	لطیف و کرم عنایات کارسار چہاں
دور عہد 7 حلائی پناہ شاہ چہاں	بنای مسجد عالی کلال خان کردہ
حدای عمر و علا داردش نام و اماں	سال سی و بہم یکہزار شد موجود

Concerning Rustam Khân, see above No 7

⁷ Corrected from نثاء حلائیق

Metre: *Mujlass*.

"By the grace and favour of the aids of the settler of the world, this high place has been arranged and constructed.

"Kalâl Khân has built this high mosque in the time of Shâhjahân, the refuge of men.

"It was in the year 1039 [began the 21st August 1629]. God—may he be honoured and exalted!—keeps it in safety and security."

II.—PÂNÎPAT

Pânîpat lies to the north of Dillî, as the *Albarnâma* (II, 35) says 30, according to the *Munt allub*. (I, 50) 40, *krôhs* distant. It dates back to the wars between the Pândavas and the Kauravas. The modern town stands upon a high mound composed of the *débris* of earlier buildings. Because of its importance in the Muhammadan period it was frequented by the kings, especially by the Mughal emperors, so that its name occurs very often in the chronicles. Bâbar, in his *Memoirs*, names it as a considerable city. Besides, it has at several times witnessed decisive battles which were fought on its plains and sealed the fate of the whole of Upper India. Timûr found it a place of consequence where were stored large provisions of wheat. In 933 A. H. Bâbar met Ibrâhîm Lûdî near Pânîpat and defeated him, his adversary himself being killed in the fight. The emperor considered the place of his victory a fortunate one and bestowed as a special favour the government of Pânîpat, together with the gift of the revenues due on one harvest, upon Sultân Muhammad Anghulî, who had bravely assisted him in that battle (*Târikh-i-salâtîn-i-Afâghûna*, Elliot's *History*, vol. V, p. 34). Sixty years later, Akbar, or speaking more exactly Khân Zamân, conquered Hêmu on the same field. On account of these victories Jahângîr, in his *Tuzaq*, speaks of Pânîpat as of a place 'which has always been a fortunate one for my ancestors' (Transl. of Lowe, p. 47). In 980 it was plundered, together with Sonpat and Karnâl, by the rebel Ibrâhîm Husain Mîrzâ. When Nâdir Shâh entered India, battles were again fought in the vicinity of Pânîpat. In A.D. 1761 Ahmad Shâh Durrânî gained there his great victory over the Marâthas.

The *Âin* states the area of the district to have been 568,444 *bîghas*, its revenues were 10,756,647 *dâms*, 3,540, 632 *say dâms*, and its contingent amounted to 100 horse and 2,000 foot. It had a castle built of brick. The principal tribes were Afghâns, Gûjars and Ranghars. Two learned men born at Pânîpat in Akbar's reign were Shaikh Zamân, author of a commentary on the *Lawâih* and other excellent works (Badâunî, II, 258), and of the renowned surgeon Shaikh Hasan (*Âin*).

12. Over the central arch in the western wall of the tomb enclosure of Hâfiz Jamâl, half a mile north of the town, is now fixed the sandstone (3' 8" by 13½") which bears the following inscription. It has been transported thither from Munk, where (from its contents) it seems originally to have belonged to a mosque. The middle of the second line has been completely destroyed by the weather, which has injured also other words and has taken away all dots.—

امر بنا هذه العمارة في عهد السلطان المعظم علاءالدین والدی ابوالمظفر

مسعود شاه سلطان و حلد ملکه ... درکه مرکه مظفر منصور علا بدر الدوله والدی [اس]

سعد الامرا بهلوان السرف (?) . . . مرجوم (?) السلطانی اعز الله ... فی المنصف من سوال

سنة ثلث و اربعين و ستمائة

"This edifice was ordered to be built in the time of the honoured king 'Aladdunyâ waddin Abu-l-Muzaffar Mas'ûd Shâh, the king—may God perpetuate his reign ! of Pargana Munk, Muzaffar Mansûr 'Alâ Badr addaula waddin,

"(son) of the chief of the Amîrs, *Pahlawân ashsharg* . . . , the defunct, the royal—may God increase his '—in the middle of Shawwâl 643" [began the 19th February 1246]

This is the first inscription of Mas'ûd Shâh, who reigned from 639 till 644 A H. He was the son of Fîrôz Shâh and succeeded Bahram Shâh on the throne. The name of the father of the grandee is not quite certain, the latter bore the title *Badr addîn*, which Malik Badî addîn Sunqar-i-Rumî (put to death in 639) had before him (*Tab Nâş* 255). Afterwards the title was bestowed on Malik Nuşrat Khân Sunqar-i-Sufî. As two persons could not have the same title at the same time—which is specially stated, *eg* in the *Riyâz assalâtin*, p 284—Malik Sunqar-i Sûfî must have been named Badr addîn, but in the reign of Mahmûd Shâh, under which king he was more of a *persona grata* than under Mas'ûd, who permitted the Nizâm al Mulk Khwâja Mûhazzab addîn to take all functions out of the hands of the Turkish Amîrs. It is not surprising that the name of the Malik of our inscription does not occur in the *Tabaqât-i-Nâsirî* among the Shamsî Maliks, for Minhâj addîn gives also a defective list of the Maliks of Mahmûd Shâh's reign, from which Major Raverty concludes that the author intended to continue his work to the period falling within his own lifetime.

Pargana Munk has been identified by General Cunningham (*Archæol Survey of India*, vol II, p 186) with the old Nieæa of Alexander the Great. It is not mentioned in the *Âin*, but it occurs once in the *Akbarnâma*, vol III, p 604, where it is said that Akbar gave it to Ziyâ al Mulk.*

13 Over the south door of the tomb of Shaikh Jalâl addîn in the east of Pânîpat is a sandstone slab (2' 8½" by 19") bearing four lines, the inscription is not visible from the enclosure owing to a high verandah which has been attached —

بانی این عمارت میرز محمد لطیف الله اعلى بانی بخیر در عهد سلطان السلاطین
سکندر شاه بهلول شاه سلطان کریم باری تعالی در بقیع یاب تا کند حظیره بدکی شیخ
المشایخ والا ولدا شمع حلال الحق والشرع والدين قدس الله سره
العزیز در اوزن تاریم درم ماه سُرال سه اربع و تسعمایه

"The builder of this edifice is Fîrôz Muhammad Lutfallâh, the Afghân. The builder of this religious edifice, during the time of the king of kings Sikandar Shâh, son of Buhlûl Shâh, the king, by the kindness of God Almighty, found grace to erect the vault of the tomb of the revered Shaikh of Shaikhs and saints, Shaikh Jalâl alhaq washshar' waddin—may God sanctify his dear secret! Dated 2nd Shawwal, 904" (13th May 1499)

* Because Blochmann has overlooked the fact that Ziya al Mulk is mentioned several times in the *Akbarnâma*, I add here briefly what is there said about him, as a supplement to the *Âin* Translation, p 497, No 276. In 994, he served under Shaikh Farîd Bal hshî, in 1000 A H, he became Governor of Munk. Afterwards he and Abû Naşîr were sent as ambassadors to Shâh 'Abbâs of Persia. In 1011 he became *lakhshîgar* of the army sent against Bîr Singh Dêv Bundêla, the murderer of Abu-l Fazl. In 1012 he was elevated to the rank of a commander of 700 foot and 300 horse. The *Âin* names him only as a chief of 350

The words *Bānī-yī in lhair* in the first line are doubtful, but, as I cannot make out the correct reading, I have recurred to that of Blochmann, who has published the inscription in the *Proceedings of the As Soc Beng.* for 1873, July, p. 141. (Perhaps Pānīpatī should be read, written نانی پتی). In the same place is given an account of Shaikh Jalāl addīn. The inscription falls in the 11th year of Sikandar Shāh Lodi's reign.

III —SEWĀH.

14. In Sewāh, 4 miles south of Pānīpat, is the tomb of Sayyid Bāyazīd. A sandstone, measuring 13" by 9", over the doorway of the dome, bears the following inscription of three lines —

بنا بمردہ کندہ سید بایزید شہید
بلورک نیب ساکی مرمع سراہ
سنہ ۴ مہر سیری

"The dome of Sayyid Bāyazīd, the martyr, has been built by Balu, son of Nayat, an inhabitant of the village of Sewāh, in the fourth year of Farrukh Siyar."

Farrukh Siyar really became emperor in 1124 A.H., but he gave orders that Jahāndār Shāh's reign should be considered as rebellion, and that his own reign should date from the 1st Rabi' al awwal 1123 [19th March 1711], *Munt allub.* II, 737.

IV —SONPAT (سرنپتہ، سرنی پت، سرنپت).

Sonpat is also a town of great antiquity which is said to have been founded by the earliest Aryan settlers. In the *Ann* it is registered with 283,299 *bighas*, 7,727,323 *dāms*, 775,105 *say dāms*, 70 horse, and 1,000 foot. It had a brick fort. The principal tribes were Afghāns and Jats. The following inscriptions are from three mosques and several tombs there. A celebrity buried at Sonpat is Sayyid Nasir 'Ābidallāh ibn Ahmad, whose tomb is still extant, but no inscription relative to himself has been discovered. Khizr Khān, son of 'Alā addīn Muhammad Khilji, is said to have made a pilgrimage to the tombs of certain martyrs buried here (Ibn Batūta, French edition, vol. III, p. 187).

15. Over the central outside arch of a mosque attached to the tomb of Imām Nasir, just outside Sonpat to the south on the Dilib road, is a sandstone slab (7' 6" by 17") which bears an inscription⁹ of two lines, the letters being thick and clumsy.—

تجدد هذه العمارة المسجد المباركة المنيرة في نوره السلطان الاعظم طلاله في العالم عباد الدنيا والدني
العايم بناسد الرحمن ابوالمظفر بناس السلطان
ناصر امير المرميين حلاله ملكه و سلطانه العبد الصغيف مدرتك نى اى نيك مقطع سونپ
فى التاريخ داردهم ماه مبارك رجب عظم الله حرمه سنہ سدعن و ستمائہ

"The building of this blessed august mosque was renewed during the reign of the great king, the shadow of God on earth, *Ghayāth addunyā waddīn*, who stands by the assistance of the merciful, Abu-l Muzaffar Balban, the king, the aider of the

⁹ See the facsimile No. 1 on the accompanying plate. The fact that the late Mr. Blochmann, the acknowledged authority for these inscriptions, has several times given faulty readings in the *Proceedings of the As Soc Beng* for 1873, May, p. 94, where he has published this inscription, may show how easily errors may be committed in deciphering.



Scale 12 inches

II — ONE SIDE OF A PHIAK AT SONPAT A H 884



Scale 1 7/8

III — MAHINI INSCRIPTION OF A H 949



Ghulam Husain impress

Scale 2-9/16

Commander of the Faithful—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—by the weak slave Mīr Beg, son of Āī Beg, the *muqti* of Sonpat Dated the 12th of the blessed month Rajab—may God increase its honour!—670" [13th February 1271]

Three other inscriptions of Balban's time are extant the first from Barwāla, 680 A H (sec No 51), the second from Gairhmukhtēsai in the Mīrat District, 682 A H. (E Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Dīhlī*, p 136), and the third from Sakī in saikār Qanauj, 684 A H (*Proceedings of the As. Soc. Beng* for 1874, May, p 104¹⁰)

16 In a part of the graveyard of Imām Nasīr a square pillar, of coarse black sandstone, is standing, which has been inscribed on each side with Persian verses and some Arabic religious sentences Its dimensions are 6' 2½" by 1' 3½" by 10¼" It is beautifully sculptured and copiously ornamented with flower arabesques and scrolls The verses in the middle of each side have been written in a large handsome *Ta'alīq*, round these middle pieces run also verses in smaller letters As there is no information about the builder or the name of the holy man buried in these, the historiographer loses nothing if I omit the marginal hemistichs—18 each on the top and on both sides, and 6 each on the two ends That it is the tomb of some saint follows from the poetry, which throughout points to a pious man. The date of the erection has been inscribed on the left side of the stone, viz the third Rajab 884 [20th September 1479], which falls in the reign of Bahlūl Lōdī

It has been said that the stone was put up in the time of Aurangzēb, and that it is the tomb of some Pīr Yūsuf, but such local tradition is of no value compared with the statement of the stone itself The stone is broken about 2 feet from the head, it is exposed to the weather, and the margin has thus been ruined in many parts Besides being broken, the sides near the basement are crumbling and the stones forming the base are very rotten This beautiful object should be protected

At the head and foot of the stone the following verses are inscribed (Metre *Ramāl*) —

کر سرا پرده قدر تو بر افلاک بود عاقبت ریز سرب ز رخسار خاک بود

"Even if the curtain of thy power were near the heavens, in the end under thy head and armpit will be the dust."

راس کس کار خود امروز که عمر در حاسب که خو آخر شود عمر بود کار بر راس

"Make ready thy work to-day when thou art in full life, so that thy work may be ready when thy life is finished"

Both sides contain two *Rubā'is* each" —

ناکی را اصول دین کم و کسب کنی از مطرب ساده نغمه در حواس کنی
اهنگ نواى عن کم کن که احل چندان بگذارد که نفس راس کنی

"For what length dost thou bid defiance to the fundamentals of the faith, requesting a smooth melody from the musician?"

¹⁰ Besides those mentioned there exist the following two inscriptions of Balban, viz at Kōh, or Aligāh A H 652, and at Manglaur in tahsil Rurki, A H 683, see A Fuhier, *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, pages 2 and 17 —Ed E I

¹¹ See the facsimile No 11 of the right side of this stone on the plate

"O eye! resign to thy new purpose, for death scarcely allows the soul to become ready."

کر کار برسم صاحب هوش کنی رینا سخنا اهل دل کوش کنی
ناکس نکى ندى و بستت بتوکس هرچند ندى کند فراموش کنی

"If thou wilt do thy works as a man of judgment, thou must listen to the words of the wise

"Do evil to no one and nobody will do evil to thee, or whatever evil they do thee forget it"

حوش آنکه ناکس مرر کیشال راحت رسد اردی بدل درویشال
ار حلق بکو همیسب ناحلق حدای بیکی کند ر عرص تحرید ریشال

"Happy is one by whose generous practice the heart of the poor receives quiet.

"He belongs to the good people, who does well to the creatures of God and gets reward from them."

خواهی ار صحرای فنا بیمری در ملک ثقا رسیدی ر آسری
ناید سخت بدکردی حرموش خاموشی تو بفر ناید بری

"If thou wilt pass from the plain of perishableness to the kingdom of eternity and become satisfied,

"Thou must preserve thy words and be like a silent one and always have silence in thy mind"

On the top are inscribed the *Kalima, Qorán*, Súra II, 256, and some other short sentences

Respecting the Imâm Nasîr, near whose tomb the inscription has been found, Mr. E. G. Delmerick gives some information in the *Proceedings, As. Soc. Beng* 1873, May, p. 95.

17 Over the eastern doorway of the enclosure of Khwâja Khizr's tomb, a quarter of a mile north of Sonpat, is a red sandstone, measuring 7' 1" by 1', containing two lines —

مرتب شد عمارت دغلیر حظیره میال حواحه حصری دریا حل سرزانی رحمه الله علیهما یرم الاثنین
الحامس عشر من شهر شوال سنة ثمان عشرین
و تسعمایة فی عهد السلطان العادل النادل الراضی بتایید الرحمان ابوالمطهر ابراهیم شاه بن اسکندر شاه
بن بهلول سلطان و سلطانه حلد لتناد²²

"The portico of the tomb of Mıyân Khwâja Khizr, son of Daryâ Khân Shîrwanî —may God have mercy upon both!—was erected on Monday the 15th Shawwâl, 928 [7th September 1522]

"In the time of the just and liberal king, who relies on the assistance of the Merciful, Abu-l Muzaffar Ibrâhîm Shâh, son of Iskandar Shâh, son of Buhlâl, the king—may his kingdom be perpetuated until the resurrection!"

²² The second last words are uncertain.

18 Over the southern doorway of the same tomb is found another inscription of two lines; the stone measures 9' 5½" by 11". It runs—

بِعِزِّ اللَّهِ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى وَفَصْلِهِ عِمَارَتِ كُنْدِ اِيْنِ حَظِيْرَةِ مَدْنِيْكَ مِيْلٍ مَعْطَمٍ وَ مَكْرَمٍ مِيْلٍ حِرَاحَةِ حَصْرٍ
مَرْحُومٍ مَعْرُورٍ دُرِيَا حَالٍ نَسْ شَيْخِ الْمَشَايِخِ شَيْخِ اَحْمَدِ نَسْ مَلِكِ الْمَشَايِخِ شَيْخِ مَدْنُوْكِيْ دُرُوْشِ شِيْرُوَانِيْ
عَلَيْهِمُ الرِّحْمَةُ وَالْعَفْوَانُ
مَعْطَمُ قَصْدِهِ سُوْبِيْتهُ دُرُوْدِهِ حَصْرَتِ سُلْطَانِ السُّلْطَانِيْنَ مَعْمَدِ نَوَاعِدِ الْاِسْلَامِ وَ الدِّيْنِ طَلِ اللّٰهُ مِي الْعَالَمِيْنَ
الرَّائِيْنَ بِنَايِدِ الرَّحْمٰنِ [اَبَر] الْمَطْعَرِ اَبَرَاغِيْمِ شَاهِ نَسْ سَكَنْدَرِ شَاهِ نَسْ بَهْلُوْلِ شَاهِ سُلْطَانِ حَلْدِ مَلِكِهِ وَ سُلْطَانِهِ تَعَامُ شَدِ
بِعِزِّهِ لَنْكَرِ حَالِ حَصْرٍ دُرِيَا نَدُوْمِ مَاهِ رَحْبِ رَحْبِ قَدَرِهِ سَدِّ ثَلَاثِيْنَ رَتَعْمَايِهِ

"With the help of God, who is blessed and exalted, and by His grace, the building of the vault of this tomb of the great and noble saint, Miẓān Khwāja Khizr, the deceased, the pardoned, son of Daryā Khān, son of the Shaikh of Shaikhs, Shaikh Ahmad, son of the king of Shaikhs, Shaikh Mandūkī Darwēsh of Shīrwān—may God have mercy and pardon upon them!—

"The *muqti* of the town of Sonpath, was completed in the time of his Majesty the king of kings, who confirms the laws of Islām and the faith, the shadow of God in both worlds, who trusts to the aid of the Merciful, Abu-l Muzaffar Ibrāhīm Shāh, son of Sikandar Shāh, son of Buhlūl Shāh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—by order of Langar Khān Khizr, on the 15th Rajab—may its honour increase!—930" [19th May 1524]"¹²

19 Over the central outer arch of a small *masjid* in the *sarāī* near the dispensary, on a brown sandstone slab (21" by 13"), are two lines. The stone belonged originally to a tomb which is now used as a police rest-house —

بَا اللّٰهُ لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا اللّٰهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَّسُوْلُ اللّٰهِ نَا عَامِرٌ اَعْرُوْنِيْ (sic) نَا اِلٰه
اِيْنِ حَظِيْرَةِ عَلِيْحَا نِ بَرَاوَرِ مَحْمُوْدِ حَالِ اَعْمَالِ مَقْطَعِ قَصْدِهِ سَرِيْنِهِ رَاسِبِ كُنَانِدِ دُرُوْدِهِ نَائِرِ نَادَشَاهِ دُرُوْمِ مَاهِ
مَعْرُودِهِ سَنَعِ بَلَدِيْ وَ بَسْمَاعِيْهِ

"O God! There is no God, etc. O forgiving! forgive me my sins, O God!

This tomb has been built by 'Alī Khān, brother of Mahmūd Khān, the Afghān, *muqti* of the town of Sonpath, in the time of Bābar Pādishāh, on the second of the month Safar 937' [25th September 1530]

'Alī Khān belonged to the Farmulī tribe and is mentioned in Bābar's *Memoirs* as 'Umdat al 'Aẓyān 'Alī Khān Shaikhzada-ya Farmulī, in the battle against Rana Sanka (933), in 935 A. H., he was sent against the rebel Baban (pp. 416, 435, 452). Abu-l-Fazl has inserted the same statements in his *Akbarnāma*.

20. Over the outside of a doorway, leading to the west from the enclosure of Imām Naẓīr, is a sandstone slab (3' 5" by 1' 3") containing 16 hemistichs in four lines —

دَعَالِمْ هِيْجَسِ رِيْنَسَالِ بِنَايِ نَدِيْدِهِ تَا بِنَايِ رُوْرَكَرَسِبِ
نَدُوْرَابِ شَهْشَاهِيْ اَدْمَانِدِ كِهْ دُرُوْمِيْدَانِ مَرْدِيْ شَهْرِيَاَرَسِبِ

¹² Both inscriptions have been published by Blochmann in the *Proceedings of As Soc Beng* 1873, May, p. 94, *et seq*. Mr Delmerick there identifies the Khwāja Khizr with the homonymous Khan, who is several times mentioned by Firishīa

¹⁴ Corr from نَدُوْمِ

حلال‌الدین محمد اکبر آن کل که از دستان معنی یادگارست
 جهانگیری که حوس حافل و قیصر علام و حاکمش مرسم آرس
 امیری کشته نانی این بنا را که طرح درلب از استوارست
 امیر کشور شوک علی درست که زور زرم حوس اسپدیارس
 عدالت‌پیشه حوس از ندیدم که در ملک عدالت شهریارست
 حورحستم از حرد سال نباش نکعتا نهصد و شش و چهارست

Metre. *Hazaj*.

"In the world nobody has seen such a building since the beginning of time,

"It suits to the time of a king who is a sovereign on the battle-field of manliness,—

"Jalāladdīn Muhammad Akbar, the rose, which is a reminder of the spiritual flower garden,

"A conqueror of the world, who makes (*men*), as the emperor of China and the Caesar, his accustomed servants and slaves.

"An Amīr was the builder of this building, of whose power the foundation is solid,—

"The chief of the kingdom of the majesty, 'Alī Dōst, who is like Isbandyar on the day of battle

"I never saw a practiser of justice like him who is sovereign in the reign of justice.

"When I asked the mind the year of its erection, he said 'It is 964'" [began the 4th November 1556]

'Alī Dōst Khān Bārbēgi (master of the ceremonies), son of Hasan 'Alī, is mentioned in the *Akbarnāma* (II, 69), 963 A.H. as one of Tardī Beg's officers in the war against Hēmū. A.H. 951 he is named among other nobles who accompanied Humāyūn to Persia (I, 223). In 984 he was attached to Shihābaddīn Ahmad Khān, and in 991 he was intrusted with the care of the army and the pay of the soldiers (III, 404). For the last time he is mentioned A.H. 1006 (III, 644). He had a son, Fath Dōst, who died in 989 (III, 354).

21 Over the south outer arch of the masjid of the Qāzizādas, in the Mahalla of the Qāzizādas, in the fort of Sonpat, is a rectangular soft sandstone slab, measuring 2' 6" by 10", which contains three lines.—

لااله الا الله محمد رسول الله

حوشا تعمیر مسجد زور اولاک صغایی عرش حوش نوری عذر

زمانی شد شاهی حال عالم حلال‌الدین محمد شاه اکبر

شده تاریخی (sic) بناء او مسلم ناصر قاصی احمد ناندی دکر

ماه رحب رحب قدره سنه تسع و ستین و تسعمایه

Metre. *Hazaj*.

"There is no God, etc

"Well! the repairing of the mosque—the clearness of its roof under the heavens is like fragrant ambergris—

"Was in the time of the kingdom of the soul of the world, Jalāladdīn Muhammad Akbar Shāh.

"The date of the erection has been intrusted to the command of Qâzi Ahmad and five others (?)"

"In the month of Rajab—may God increase its honour!—A. 969" [began the 7th March 1562].

The Qâzizâdas mentioned in the *Albarnâma* were all rebels, or *bad-andêsh* (*malicious men*), one being a partisan of Ma'sûm Khân, another who had the surname *khabîtha-ya Mâwcarannahr* (the impure from Transoxania) obeying Abu-l Ma'âlî's command and attempting to murder Mañ Chochuk Begum, Prince Muhammad Hakîm's mother, a third being united with a pretended son of Mirzâ Shâhbrukh to murder Qâsim Khân

22 Over the northern outer arch of the same mosque is a second inscription sculptured on a sandstone (measuring 2' 8" by 18") in five lines —

لا اله الا الله محمد الرسول الله

بعد شهنشاه شاهجهان که اسلام را ریب ریب داد

چنان مسجد ساخت قاصی نصر که خلق آرد سبی سجدہ چکان

چرتاربخش ارعقل حستم نکف که مسجد برای خدا برپاد

مرتب شد عمارت هذه المسجد المباركة الميمونة في التاريخ ياردعم شهر ربيع الاول سنة الف و سته و ستين
(Metre. *Mutaqârib*.)

'There is no God, etc

"In the time of the king of kings, Shâhjahân, who gave ornament and beauty to Islâm, Qâzi Nasr has repaired the mosque that people might bow the forehead in adoration. When I asked the mind its date, he said 'He has newly built the mosque for God's sake' The edifice of this blessed and august mosque has been prepared on the 11th of Rabi' al awwal A. 1066" [8th January 1656]

23 In the southern wall, outside Imâm Nasîr's tomb, is a stone which has been whitewashed so much that the letters of the inscription have been partly ruined. Nor has Imâm Nasîr's tomb a right to the stone, which originally belonged to a mosque, the dimensions of the inscription, which is in one line, are 3' 8" by 4½" Above the letters there are ornaments in the form of Cufic characters —

عمارة هذا المسجد بنى القائد الحامل السند ابى بكر (?) محمد بن الحسن العسولى ادام الله نوابهما

في المحرم سنة احدى وثمانين و الف و مائة

"The edifice of this mosque has been built by the leader, the guardian, the Sayyid Abû Bakr (?) Muhammad, son of Hasan, the Fuzûlî—may God perpetuate their reward!—in the Muharram of 1181."

The first name of the builder and the two last words are very doubtful, instead of 1100, it may also be 700 or 900.

V.—ROHTAK AND MAHIM

The cities of Rohtak and Mahim have suffered in general the same fate during the Muhammadan period. In the environs of both are to be found many remains of antiquities, also of Hindu origin, in the vicinity of Rohtak have been excavated coins of

Râja Samanta Deva from about 920 A D¹⁶ These districts had the misfortune to be plundered by every invader who came to the Panjâb, from Mahmûd of Ghazni till the present century, so that there are everywhere remains of destroyed villages, they were laid waste by Mahmûd the Ghaznavide, by Timûr, by Shihâb addîn Ghôrî, by Bâbar, by Nâdir Shâh, by the Marâthas, and by the English under General Lake. Now Mahim belongs to the district of Rohtak lying 19 miles north-west of the town of Rohtak, also in former times, before Akbar, both appertained to one *sarkâr*, the older name of the tract of country being Hariâna. 'Abbâs Khân states in his *Tâ'îkh-i Shêrshâhî* (Elliot-Dowson's *History*, vol. IV, p 415) that Shêr Shâh 'gave the *sarkâr* of Sirhind to *masnad* 'Alî Khawâs Khân as *jâgîr*, who kept in that *sarkâr* his slave Malik Bhagwant at the capital Dîhlî Mîân Ahmad Khan Sarvânî was *amî*, and 'Âdil Khân and Hâtim Khân *shiqdâr* and *faugdâr*' If Dîhlî was the capital of Malik Bhagwant's *sarkâr*, it is to be supposed that Rohtak and Mahim were also allotted to his province Under Akbar they were separated Rohtak fell to the Dîhlî *sarkâr*, and Mahim to *sarkâr* Hîsâr Fîrôza The *Âin-i Akbarî* has the following details concerning them. 'Mahim has a fort of burnt brick, 188,080 *bîghas*, 4,958,613 *dâms naqdî*, 81,202 *dâms sayurghâl* The inhabitants were Tunvar Râjpûts and Jats, 700 horse, 2,000 foot' (I, 527) 'Rohtak has a fort of burnt brick, 636,835 *bîghas*, 8,599,270 *dâms naqdî*, 428,000 *dâms sayurghâl* Jats, 100 horse, 2,000 foot' (I, 519). At Rohtak Kai Khosrau, grandson of Balban and designated heir of his throne, was murdered by Kai Qobad's emissaries.

Both towns, especially Mahim, bear traces of great importance in past times The following inscriptions refer to five mosques at Mahim and four at Rohtak¹⁵ The most important and interesting of the nineteen Rohtak and Mahim inscriptions is No 33 below.

24 Over the central outer arch of the new mosque in Rohtak, the tomb-stone of Fîrôz Khân is now placed It measures 3' 8" by 8", and contains two lines. The letters are partly illegible —

تمام شد این بقعه شیراز [?] در عهد بیکو [?] حضرت نادر شاه عاری حلاله ملکه و سلطانه
روحه بکا [?] مسند عالی [?]
میرزور خان بن مسند عالی احمد خان بن
و ثلثین و تسعمانه

"This tomb . . . has been finished in the prosperous time of his Majesty Bâbar Bâdîshâh-i-Ghâzî—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule!—The tomb of . . . the high *Masnad*

"Fîrôz Khân, son of the high *Masnad* Ahmad Khân, son of . . . Jamâl Khân, both defunct, on the 10th Rabi' al awwal 934" [4th December 1527].

Fîrôz Khân is mentioned in Bâbar's *Memors* and in the *Akbarnâma*, 932 A H, as a renowned officer who was generously rewarded along with other men of merit by Bâbar after the victory over Ibrâhîm Lôdî Besides one *hîôr* of *tankas*—(according to Bâbar's *Memors*,—1 *hîôr* 46 *takhs* and 5,000 *tankas*, p 384) from Jaunpûr, he received some *jâgîr* (*chîzî jâgîr*) The emperor sent him afterwards against Itâwah

¹⁵ Cunningham's *Reports Archaeological Survey of India*, vol XVI p 136

¹⁶ It may be remarked incidentally that the mention of Rohtak in the text of the *Tabaqât i Nâsirî*, p 217, is not correct, as Captain Raverty states in his translation of that work, p 693, note 7

25 Over the central outside arch of the mosque in the *garhî*, or fort, of the Pathâns at Rohtak the following inscription of three lines is engraved on a rectangular sandstone—size $16\frac{1}{2}$ by $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches The *garhî* of the Pathâns is in the north-west of the town, where the road comes in from Hânsî.—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من جاء بالحسنة فله عشر أمثالها ومن
جاء بالسئنة فلا يجزى إلا مثلها وما ترفعى إلا باله قال عليه السلام
من بنى مسجداً في الدنيا فله قصر في الجنة ٩٩٢٥١ سنة ٩٤٥

“In the name of God the merciful and the compassionate! He who brings a good work shall have ten like it, but he

“Who brings a bad work shall be recompensed only with the like thereof” My grace does not come through any one but God¹⁸ He (*the Prophet*), upon whom may God’s blessing be, has said —

He who builds a mosque in the world will have a castle in Paradise.’ 96,251

¹⁹ A. 945’ ” [began the 30th May 1538].

26 On a rectangular sandstone over the central outside arch of the *masjid* in the Khûbân Mahalla, west of the town Rohtak, is a stone, which measures 13 by 12 inches: the inscription is in three lines, and is worn —

بسم الله تعالى ورسوله بعمار ابن مسجد در عهد درلب نصير ... محمد همايوني نادر شاه عاري
حلت الله ملكه و سلطانه قرييق ياب العبير برهال الحنه والدين
محمد حمال ناگوری الششتي سنة خمس و اربعين و تسعمائة ٩٤٥

“With the aid of God almighty and His apostle for the erection of this mosque in the time of the reign of Nasir . . . Muhammad Humâyûn Bâdîshâh-i Ghâzî—

“May God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—found grace the poor, chief of the Paradise and the faith,

“Muhammad Jamâl of Nâgôr, the Chishtî In the year 945” [began the 30th May 1538]

The inscription being much defaced some words are doubtful. Humâyûn’s common title *nasir addin* does not certainly occur here, though the word after *nasir* is not clear.

The Chishtîs are a well-known family of Muhammadan saints. There exist shrines of divers members of it in several places. Chishtî saints—*khwâjagân-i chisht* in the inscription on the tombstone of Princess Jahânârâ at Diblî (*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society, Bengal*, for November 1872, p 170)—are mentioned in the following published inscriptions —Qutb addin Khân Chishtî, commonly known as Shaikh Khûbû (Blochmann, *Ain-Translation*, p 496), the foster brother of Shâh Jahângîr, in *Proceedings, A. S. B.*, for December 1873, p 199, Shaikh Faiz Allâh Chishtî, *ib.*, p 200, Shaikh Muhammad ibn Shaikh Mahmûd Chishtî, *Proceedings, A. S. B.*, for April 1877, p 94

At Nâgôr, the birth-place of Muhammad Jamâl of our inscription, was a Chishtî shrine.²⁰ A contemporary and fellow-countryman of his was Shaikh Mubâarak, the

¹⁷ *Qorân*, Sur vi, 161 (E H Palmer’s translation)

¹⁸ *Qorân*, Sur xi, 90

¹⁹ There follows a group like a rupee sign turned upside down

²⁰ See Cunningham’s *Archæological Survey of India, Reports*, vol XIII, p 51

father of the poet Shaikh Faizî and of Abu'l Fazl, but in the year 945 Shaikh Mubâarak had already left Nâgôr

27 Over the central outer arch of a mosque at Gaokarân, about half a mile west of Rohtak, a red sandstone (3' 2" by 2' 5") contains three lines with one line going round the stone as a border. The stone is getting worn partly by the weather and partly by copies being taken from it, but the inscription is quite legible. In the midst of the stone the period of the erection has been engraved in a square در دور حلال الدین محمد اکبر (in the time of Jalâl addîn Muhammad Akbar)²¹ —

مسح حال درویش سپهر مکرّم کشته ار حال بنده فرمال حق
کرده ار حال نعتی حدالامور شد ار آن رحشا و قاتل آن حق
سوی آن مسجد هر آن کس رفته شد عرق بحر لطف یابی (؟) نال حق
راغدی تاریخ این مسجد درویش کعب بر کو معبد حاصل حق

Mètre *Bamal*

"The Darwêsh Mastjân, the heaven of benignity, has gone out of life a slave of the order of God,

"He has made his soul a temple of good works, he became happy by it, and a receiver of the time of God (of eternity)

"Every man who has come to this mosque shall get a drop of the ocean of the kindness of God's banquet. (?)

"Zâhidî (or 'a hermit') wrote the date of this mosque, he said, 'Say "A temple of God's favourites" ' "

The letters of the *târîkh* give 966 [began 14th October 1558]

28 A loose stone standing on a grave in the graveyard near the Dâk Banglâ of Rohtak, on the west side of the Dîhlî road, bears an inscription of three lines, its dimensions are 17" by 16". On the left side the last letters of each line and the border have been lost.

ساحب شمشدر جان رلطف الله کند
بر سر قبر پدر صافی دل عا
تسعمایه خمس سنعی سال اسب هجر [ب]

"Shamshêr Khân has made with the favour of God the vault over the tomb of Pîr Sâfi-Dîl 'Â 975 H is the year" [began 8th July 1567]

Shamshêr Khân was *shiqqâdâr* of *pargana* Rohtak, A H 973, as we learn from inscription No 43. His name occurs several times in the *Akbarnâma*. In 987 he was *Khwâjasarâi* and was sent to Bihâr to quell the disturbances which had broken out there, and to Bengal, together with Râi Purukhôt, Maulânâ Tayyib, and Shaikh Najm addîn (III, 284). When a rebellion arose in the same year at Pâtna, Shamshêr Khân was despatched to Banâras (III, 286). In 991 he was one of the four judges who were named for the four "meadows" of the empire, the others being Râja Bîr Bar, Qâsim 'Alî Khân, and Hakîm Humâm (III, 405). Later he seems to have revolted, for it is related that in 1008 the besiegers of Ahmadnagar received 'the joyful tidings' of his death.²²

²¹ The border contains the passage from the *Qorân*, Sûra 11, 256

²² According to a notice on the inscription, a Shamshêr Khân lies buried at Batala, I know nothing about him

29. In the wall of the Dogawallī masjid in the north-east of the town on a soft red sandstone (19" by 16") is an inscription of four lines which has been so much eaten away by the weather that the decipherment is almost an impossibility. But the year of erection and the name of the king are legible. All I can read runs —

اسمہ [اے لا الہ الا اللہ محمد رسول اللہ]
 ثانی بنریقی اللہ در عہد ملک حلال الدین محمد اکبر ناساہ عاری
 حلد اللہ ملکہ
 ۹۷۹ سنہ

"The builder by the grace of God in the time of the reign of Jalāl addīn Muḥammad Akbar *Pādīshāh-i-Ghāzī*,—may God perpetuate his kingdom! . anno 979" [began 26th May 1571]

The year is perhaps 972, instead of 979

30. A sandstone partly cylindrical and partly octagonal, each face measuring 19 by 2½", in a graveyard on the west of the fort of Rohtak, near the western gate of the fort, bears an inscription of nine lines. The rubbing does not permit the decipherment of the fourteen engraved hemistichs, the first and last lines are the same, they contain the date—*sana* 998 (began 10th November 1589). On a brown sandstone (2' by 6") over the gateway of the same graveyard has been engraved, *Sūra* xlviii, 1

31. In the south of Rohtak, near the Government school, is a tomb the pillars of which are connected by eight lintels of red sandstone, each measuring 4' 2½" by 9". The single lintels have been inscribed with the following sentences from the *Qorān*: *Bismillāh*, *Sūra* ii, 256-59 incl, *Kalima*, *Sūra* cxii. No details of the date or of the builder are found.

32. Over the Dhōbī Gate in the *Mahalla* of Wazīr Khān, is a sandstone (18" by 17") containing an inscription of four lines —

بسم اللہ تعالیٰ و رسولہ بناء این عمارت در عہد دولت
 و خلافت ابوالفتح شہاب الدین محمد صاحب قرآن ثانی
 شاہ جمال ناساہ عاری حلد اللہ ملکہ ناعظم حادم المراء
 پیرخان این سرخاں سرور نامام رسید فی عرہ ماہ محرم سنہ ۱۰۴۴

"With the favour of God Almighty and His apostle, the erection of this building in the time of the reign

"And the Khālifat of Abu-l Fath Shihāb addīn Muḥammad, the second *Sāhib-qurān*²³ (Timūr)

"Shahjahān Bādīshāh-i-Ghāzī—may God perpetuate his kingdom!—by the endeavour of the slave of the

"Pīr Khān, son of *Sarkhān*, the *Sarwā[nī ?]* has been finished. In the beginning of the month Muharram A. 1044" [began 27th January 1634].

33. About half a mile from the Khāna, on the Rohtak road to Mahim, is the tomb of Jamāl Khān. The door has fallen in, but the walls are well built, and will stand many

²³ Elsewhere Shāhjahan is named ثانی صاحب قرآن a phrase which is to be interpreted *Thānī yī Shāhīqurān*, see Rūckert Pertsch *Grammatik, Poetik und Rhetorik der Perser*, p 240, note 1, and Tenfelz, *Z D Af G*, vol XXXVIII (188), p 253, note. Titles such as *Thānī-yī Iskandar-i-daurān* or *Thānī yī Iskandar* : *Zūl qarnain* and others occur very often

years yet. A red sand-stone (size 14 by 10½ inches) fixed over the south arch of the tomb, bears the following important inscription —

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
 در عهد دولت سلطان السلاطین جلال الدین محمد اکبر پادشاه عاری
 معبد الرحمن جمال خان بن منصور روضه ترمذی نام راسب کداند جمال خان را امد ثواب که
 یابد من تاریخ دی العده (؟) سنه الف و ماده

“In the name, etc. There is no god, etc.

“In the time of the reign of the king of the kings, Jalâl-addîn Muhammad Akbar Pâdishâh-i-Ghâzî,

“The friend of the Merciful, Jamâl Khân, son of Mansûr, found grace to build this tomb. Jamâl Khân has hope that he will obtain reward In the *Zilqa'da* A 1100” [began the 17th August 1689].

This inscription is unique, as no other mention of Muhammad Akbar, son of Aurangzêb, has till now been found. Prince Akbar proclaimed himself emperor, assisted by the Râjpûts, in 1089, and attempted to maintain the assumed title until 1100, when he fled to Persia. There exist no coins of his. The foregoing inscription shows that he adopted the *julûs* name of his great predecessor, whose name he bore. It is highly interesting to find a document of the rebel king's son in a place lying so far north as Mahim, because Prince Akbar fled to the Marathas in the beginning of his insurrection and always lived in the Dekhan.²⁴

34 In the north wall of the enclosure of the mosque of the Pîzadas is a red sandstone, measuring 19" by 16", which bears an inscription of five lines —

در عهد حضرت دولت (sic) شہنشاہ عالم بناء طہر الدین محمد نادر
 عاری پادشاہ خلد الله ملکہ و سلطانہ بندہ نرکاء مہری
 العیر جعفر حایو سوا اس سنج ستر و ساکی حصار شادمانی
 بدمشق الله تعالى بومدی نام مسجد در قصه مہم راس کداند حق تعالی
 محاب و مسکات کرداند نمہ و فصلہ تاریخ لحکم ماہ ربیع الاول سنہ سب و بلنس و سعمانہ

“In the time of the reign of his Majesty the king of kings, the refuge of the world Zahîraddîn Muhammad Bâbar,

“*Ghâzî Bâdishâh*—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—the slave of the court of the sun,

“The poor, base Janyu Sunu Âghâ, son of Shaikh Sunu, an inhabitant of the town of the joy,

“Through the grace of God Almighty found grace to build²⁵ the mosque of the town of Mahim—May God Almighty

“Make him accepted and favoured through His kindness and His wisdom!—On the fifth Rabi'al awwal 936” [7th November 1529]

²⁴ It is not impossible, as I now see that the last word is *samân* and that the inscription belongs to Akbar himself

²⁵ *Ras* or *rust kunanidan* with the meaning 'to build,' occurs several times in the inscriptions. In 19 and 33 *rust* is distinctly been engraved.

IV —INSCRIPTION OF HUMAYUN' FROM MAHIM, ROHTAK DISTRICT, OF A H 937





35 On an arch over the pulpit of the Jāmi' Masjid in the centre of the town, is an inscription. It is inside the arch on the east side, so that no one can see it without entering the arch and crouching. The stone is a red sandstone, it measures 3' 1' by 2' 2½" and consists of five lines²⁰ —

در عهد دولت سلطان السلاطین ظل الله فی العالمین مرئس السرب السلطنة
والخلافة حصرت محمد همانی نادسه عاری حلاله ملکه و سلطانه واعلی امره و سانه حصرت معنزل
الدارین نکه بنکم سلطان سرینده الدن کردنه درگاه امیر نادکار طعاء بدویق الله تعالی
بدویق نواب مسجد جامع و صند مهم راس کنایند الله تعالی محاب و مستجاب
کرداند نمده و فصله ر کمال کرمه بنارنج هفتم ماه رجب سنه سنه و بلنس و بسعمانه

"In the time of the reign of the king of the kings, the shadow of God in both worlds, the adorned of the throne of kingdom

"And Khālifāt, his Majesty Muhammad Humāyūn *Pādīshāh-i-Ghāzī*—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign and exalt his condition and dignity!—his highness the admitted

"To the palace of Baga Bégum Sultān,²¹ the worthy of the faith, the chosen of the court Amīr Yādgar Taghāī, by the grace of God Almighty

"Found grace to build the mosque of the town of Mahim—may God Almighty make him accepted and favoured

"Through His kindness and His wisdom and His perfect liberality!—On the 7th Rajab 937 [24th February 1531]'

Respecting Yādgar Taghāī the *Akbarnāma* furnishes the following information. One of his girls (according to II, 243 a grand-daughter) gave birth to Prince Alamān, son of Humāyūn, anno 931 (I, 113)²², and she most probably is the Baga Bégum Sultān of our inscription. She made a pilgrimage to Makka and Madīna in 972 (II, 244), whence she returned in 975 (II, 329). This journey may probably have been why she was styled Hājī Bégum. Afterwards she lived at Dihlī, and was in 981 welcomed with great honours by Akbar, who loved her much because she had cured him as a child of six years of vehement tooth-ache by a potent drug (III, 77). Akbar visited her, anno 989, at Dihlī (III, 373). She died in the same year (III, 375). The Hājī Bégum, who with other Bégums made the pilgrimage in 983, was probably not Prince Alamān's mother, who then was too old for such a toilsome journey. Blochmann mentions Hājī Bégum in his *Āin*-translation, but he is in error about her descent. In the *Akbarnāma*, II, 243 the words *dukhtar-i-Taghāī* are to be understood 'a daughter of (Yādgar) Taghāī'

Over the *mīhrāb* in the western wall of the mosque a sandstone (8' 5" by 10½") is fixed which contains in two lines *Qorān*, Sūra lxii, 1—8. Round the inside of an arch over the *mīhrāb* runs the *Kalīma* and *Qorān*, Sūra, iii, 16-17 (to *al islāmu*)

The Jāmi' mosque was repaired according to inscription No. 39 in A H 1078, by Aurangzēb's order

36. On a rectangular sandstone—size 21 by 13 inches—originally belonging to the old mosque of the butchers, now fixed over the central outer arch of the new masjid at

²⁰ See the facsimile reproduction No. 14 on the accompanying plate

²¹ The words *maqbul addārūn Baga Begum Sulṭān saz [ā] yda addin* are perhaps uncertain

²² Babar mentions in his *Memoirs* the chronogram for the birth of the prince invented by Shaikh Abu-l Wamid, p. 359. According to the *Memoirs*, Alamān's mother was a daughter of Yādgar Taghāī. For Babar's not agreeing with the name of Alamān see p. 451 (Pavet de Courteille, tome II p. 363)

Mahim (finished in 1887 A.D.), is the following inscription of three lines, which is considerably worn by exposure to the weather—

در عهد دولت شهشاه عالم پناه حصرت محمد همایون نادر شاه
خلد الله ملکه عمارت هذه المسجد ترويق یاب
.....

.... قصان قصه مهم راس کنایه بتاریخ ماه شعبان سنه اثني و اربعین و تسعمائة

"In the time of the reign of the king of kings, the refuge of the world, His Majesty Muhammad Humâ'yûn Bâdîshâh—

"May God perpetuate his kingdom!—... found grace to build the edifice of this mosque of the butchers of the city of Mahim During the month of Sha'bân of the year 942" [began the 25th January 1536]

As some of the letters appear to be broken, it is not possible to decipher the whole inscription A butcher's mosque is also mentioned at Nâgôr.²⁰ The mosque was rebuilt in Aurangzêb's time, see inscription No 40.

37. The rectangular sandstone that bears the following inscription is no longer *in situ*. It is now fixed over the outer doorway of the court of the ruined mosque of the Qasâ'yân²⁰ at Mahim The inhabitants know that it is not in its original place; they say it belonged to a mosque in a quarter of the town called Daulatpûr, the Daulatâbâd of the inscription The size of the stone which is yet entire is 4' by 11½ —

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم انّا فتحنا لك فتحاً مبيناً كشاه نادر شاهى هميشه اين درگاه سحر اشهد ان لا اله الا الله
در عهد دولت تده كحصرت سلطاني شير شاه حسن سر سلطان ترويق ياب نادر شاه اين مسجد
و مقام دولت نادر پيرسب ان حسن سر سيد عالي دولت خان
ناميد ثواب حديث نبوي من بني مسعود بنى الله تعالى له قصر في الجنة والعدل انقاه
الله تعالى في الدنيا و رفته الله تعالى على العدل والحق
في الحادي والعشرين من شهر المبارك المكرم شهر رمضان سنه بهصد حبل نه درد كه ميترساييد
الله الكريم الشعار

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! Verily, we have given thee an obvious victory.²¹ May this liberal door always be opened with joy! I testify that there is no god but God.

"In the time of the reign of the king, powerful as Salomo, Shêr Shâh, the son of Hasan Sûr, Yûsuf ibn Hasan Sûr, the high Sayyid (surnamed) Daulatkân, found grace to erect this mosque and the place of Daulatâbâd,

"In the hope of the reward of the prophet's saying 'He who builds a mosque will have a castle built for him by God Almighty in Paradise, and as for the merciful, God Almighty gives to him long life in the world and protects him for his justice and beneficence.'

It was on the 21st of the blessed and venerable month, month Ramazân of the year 949 [29th December 1542], when it became ready God is the generous and the omniscient'

²⁰ Cunningham's *Reports of Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. XXIII, p. 51

²¹ See facsimile No III, on the plate at p. 138 Qasâ'î and qasâ'b occur in Hindûstânî (Shakespeare), see No 40

²² *Qordâ Sur*, xlviii, 1

It is known that Shêr Shâh built numerous mosques and *kârawânsarâts*, but only very small remains of them have come down to our day. Besides his stately mausoleum at Sahsarâm there exist some ruins of his time at Dihlî.³² If I am right, the above inscription is the second of Shêr Shâh's reign that is known, the first being published by Blochmann in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society, Bengal*, for May 1874, p. 105 (947 A H.)

Yûsuf, the builder of the mosque at Mahim, was one of the seven brothers of Shêr Shâh (*Târikh-i Shêr shâhî*, in Elliot-Dowson's *History*, vol. IV, p. 310). He may be the same who built in 958 H. a door to the shrine of Khwâja Qutb addîn (*Journal Asiatique*, Vème Série, tome XVI, 426).

38. In the south wall of the enclosure of the masjid of the Pirzâdas (No. 34) is a sandstone, measuring 17" by 6", which bears three lines —

در عهد دولت حصہ ندگان حلاب بناء سلطان
شہاب الدین محمد صاحب قراں ثانی شاہ جہاں بادشاہ عاری حلد
حلالہ اندا ترمی یاب ستم ناصر اس شمع الہداد ماغمی سدہ الف و خمسین واحد

"In the time of the reign of his Majesty the slave (*of God*), the asylum of the Khalifat, the king

"Shihâbaddîn Muhammad, the second lord of the conjunction, Shâhjahân, *Bâdîshâh-i-Ghâzî*—may (*God*) perpetuate

"His Khalifat for ever!—Shaikh Nâsîr, son of Shaikh Ilâhdâd of Mahim, found grace A. 1051" [began 12th April 1641]

Khâfi Khân, in his *Muntakhâb allubâb* (I, 550) and 'Abd al Hamîd in the *Bâdshâh-nâma* (I, 2, 337) have each inserted an account of Shaikh Nâsîr, whom they mention among other saints and learned men of Shâhjahân's time.³³ Both authors evidently made use of the same sources, Khâfi Khân citing the *Shâhjahânnâma*.³⁴ I extract the following —His original name was Nâsîr Muhammad, he was born at Ajmîr, and lived afterwards in Gujarât. He made many voyages, and at different times attended the emperor. Always, night and day, he was clothed in mail and with a garment of cotton, and he perpetually bore arms. Besides his daily alms, he gave, if urged, all his property to poor men, even the horses and elephants which he had received from the king, and was content if he could get a fire of straw and wood in the open air to care for his own body, eating roots and leaves. Many wonders were effected by him. He was a disciple of Sayyid Ahmad, son of Sayyid Rafî'addîn, son of Sayyid Ja'far, from Shirâz.

39. On the south outer arch of the façade of the Jâmi' masjid is a red sandstone (3' x 1' 11½"), bearing nine lines —

در عهد سعادت مہد حد و مد رمیں
و زمان حدیر مکن و مکن سلطان
السلطان ظل اللہ فی العالمین محمد اور کریم

³² See Garcin de Tassy 'Description des monuments de Delhi en 1852 d'après le texte hindoustani de Sayyid Ahmad Khân,' *Journal Asiatique*, Vème Série, tome XVI, *passim*, e.g. pages 192 (No. xvii), 426 (No. lvi), and 428 (No. lviii).

³³ The printed text of 'Abd al Hamîd has Shaikh Nazîr.

³⁴ Many histories of Shâhjahân's reign are so entitled.

بهادر عالم كدر نادر شاه عاری خلق الله ملكه
 و سلطانه تعمير مسجد جامع قصده مهم حسب الحكم اقدس
 ناهتمام بنده درگاه حواحه رحمته الله ناهتمام رسد
 الله تعالى محاب و مسحاب كردانك بنده و فصله
 في التاريخ هجدهم شهر محرم الحرام سنه ثمان و
 سبعين و الف شهرى و سنه عاشر حلوس مبارك

"In the happiness-spreading reign, extended over all the earth
 And the time of the master of authority and dignity, the king
 "Of kings, the shadow of God in both worlds, Muhammad Aurangzêb
 Bahâdur 'Âlamgîr Bâdîshâh-i-Ghâzî—may God perpetuate his kingdom
 "And his reign!—the repairing of the Jâmî'masjid of the town of Mahim,
 according to the holy order,

"Was finished through the endeavour of the slave of the court, Khwâja Rahmat Allâh—

"May God Almighty make him accepted and favoured through His kindness and wisdom!—

"On the 17th of the month Muharram, the holy, A. H. 1078 [9th July 1667], in the tenth year after the blessed accession to the throne"

Sarbuland Khân Khwâja Rahmat Allâh was a man of great consequence under Shâhjahân and Aurangzêb, and died in 1090. But, as Sarbuland Khân received this title, which is omitted in the inscription, in the 30th year of Shâhjahân (*Maâsir al Umara'*, II, 478), i. e. 1066, and as he was in 1078 in the Dakkan with Prince Mu'azzam, whence he came back in 1080, it does not seem probable that both were the same person. A homonymous person is named as a commander of 800 soldiers and 200 horsemen under Shâhjahân (*Bâdshâhnâma*, II, 741).

40. The following inscription is engraved on a red sandstone (size . 11 by 7 inches), now lying on a heap of bricks in the ruins of the former mosque of the Qassâyân at Mahim, the whole is in a bad condition and the stone will probably get lost in a short time. The inscription contains eight lines, and is poorly cut —

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 در عهد دولت و زمان (?)
 ظل سبحانى انور الطهر
 محيى الدين محمد ادرتك ريب
 نادر شاه عارى خلق الله ملكه
 و سلطانه مسجدرا تصايل
 جهان كدر (?)

در يك كرد در شهر رمضان سنه تسعين و الف

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God In the time of the reign and the life of the divine shadow Abu'l Zafar, Muhyiddin Muhammad Aurangzêb

Bādīshāh-i-Ghāzī—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!— the mosque of the butchers.. .was rebuilt In the month of *Ramazān* 1090" [that month began the 6th October 1679]

The two last lines being hopelessly worn, the name of the restorer is not legible, the year may perhaps have been *sab'in* It is interesting to learn from this inscription that the butchers' masjid erected in 942 H. (Inscription No 36) was repaired a century and a half afterwards

41 An inscription of five lines is engraved on a rectangular red sandstone (size 17½ by 14 inches) over the northern outer arch of the mosque of Daula Khān in the *garhī* of the Pathāns in Mahim. The building being in a critical condition, the inscription, till lately safe, is now in danger of getting lost —

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
يا محمد يا بنى الله	يا الله يا مناج
نايش درله حان والاشان	اين عمارت ربه رب كريم
معمر دسنگاه دريا حان	پدرش سجنار نامرورى
مسجد مقدره رحان برحوان	سال اتمام را بعل و تمير

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the apostle of God.

"O God! O opener!

"This edifice for the merciful God"

"His father (*was*) a celebrated Bakh-tiyār,

The year of the completion—name with wisdom and discernment

"O Muhammad! O apostle of God!

"Its builder (*was*) Daula Khān of ele-

vated rank,

"Daryā Khān whose sins are forgiven.

"*Masjid* [*ī*] *miqbara* *zi* Khān 'mosque and tomb (*are built*) by the Khān "

The letters of the *tā' ilh* give 1108 [began 31st July 1696)].

42 Daula Khān, the builder of the mosque of the preceding inscription, erected a tomb for himself in the same year as the masjid. It is now a ruin, and the inscription on its wall being engraved on sandstone (size 2' 8" by 1') will be destroyed when it falls It runs in four lines—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله بده درگاه رحمانى
 درله حان محمدنى مرید کیلانى داستم که چهار یار برحق این دبیاء همه فانی تربیق یاقب
 در هنگام زندگانی این معتره سار صاحب ار لطف ربانى در عهد اورنگ رب
 ناساه ظل سبحانى بناریم ۱۴ شهر رمضان المبارک سنه یکهزار و یکصد و چهارده هجرى باعتمام استا
 انورک طلب معمار

'In the name, etc There is no god, etc. The slave of the court of the Merciful Daula Khān Muhammadi Murīd of Gilān—

"I knew that the four friends (*the Khalefs*) are over this wholly perishable world—found grace

"In his lifetime to erect this burial-place with the favour of the Lord, during the reign of Aurangzêh

"Bâdîshâh, the shadow of God On the 14th of the month *Ramazân*, the blessed A H 1114 [1st February 1703] Through the effort of the architect *Ustâ Abû Falad Tayyib*"

The inserted *Sunnî* dogma in the first person seems to be an allusion to the formula *ashhadu an lâ ilâha illallâh*, etc

VI — KHÔKARAKÔT (کھوکرو کرت)

43. Khôkarakôt is a village in ruins situated to the north of Rohtak. Over a gateway of the village, built by Shamsîhêr Khân, a stone was placed, which has been dug up out of the ruins and is now in the Museum at Lahore. Its dimensions are 2' 2" by 1' 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " and it bears a bilingual inscription, three lines in Persian and five lines in Hindi.³⁶ The Persian text runs—

در آیام سلطنت بدوکل حصرت حلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه عاری
حلد الله ملکه اندا رفعتہ می حدات انا شمشیر خان شعدار پرنکہ رھتک عمارت
ایں دروازہ بنیاد نہاد می شہر المبارکہ رمصل سنہ ہند ۹۷۸ و ہفتاد ناتمام رسد

"In the days of the empire of the slave (*of God*), his Majesty Jalâl addîn Muhammad Akbar Bâdîshâh-i-Ghâzî—

"May God perpetuate his kingdom for ever (*and*) his highness in Paradise!—Abû Shamsîhêr Khân, the *shiqqdâr* of *pargana* Rohtak,

"Has laid the foundation of this gateway In the blessed month *Ramazân* anno 978 it has been finished" [began 22nd March 1566].

The words *raf'atahu fi jannat Abû* are not certain There is no doubt that the Shamsîhêr Khân of this inscription and of No. 28 are the same persons

VII — BOHM.

44. The village of Bohm (بھم) is 4 miles east of Rohtak on the road to Dihli In the east wall of the tomb of one Mahmûd of Bohm, a stone (3' 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " by 9") has been recently fixed which contains an inscription of three lines not relative to its present place The passage from the *Qorân*, Sûra 11, 256, is followed by these words—

لا تحرب ابراہیم عرب مراسلانی درمایش علی قامی بہاغل

"The writer (*was*) Ibrâhîm, known as Muwêssâkhânî, by the order of 'Alî Qâzî Bahâikhân"

VIII.—HIŞÂR FIRÔZA³⁷

45. From a mosque outside the Dihli gate, situate in the Sarâi Nathûâ Bhatyârâ (a baker). Four lines on a stone 2' 5" by 1' 3"

³⁶ See the facsimile No. v, at p. 149

³⁷ The Hindi inscription, as Professor G. Bühler informs me, is not quite intelligible But it is of the same year. A.D. 1586 The date is Samvat 1623, *Vaisâkha vad*: 15, which corresponds according to Dr Schram's approximate tables to the 20th April 1586, if the year is taken as an ended northern (*gaurimânta*) Vikrama year, the 20th April was the last of *Ramazân* Akbar, Shamsîhêr Khan and the gate are all mentioned in the Hindi version

³⁸ For a short historical account of the town of Hişâr Firôza, see Blochmann, *Proceedings of As Soc Beng* 1877, April, p. 92, ff, where some of the following inscriptions have been published

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال النبي عليه السلام من بنى مسجداً لله بنى الله تعالى له بيتاً في الجنة
 بعد يومئذ الله الملك العلام و تركب حصرت رسالت عم
 در عهد ممدون و دولت ايام امروں حدايگان ناصر جهان عادل الرمال سلطان الهند و الحراسان رابع
 رايات المجاهدات و المعاري محمد همايون پادشاه عاري حلد الله ملكه
 و حلافه واد على العالمين عدله و رافته ناكرد و مزين گردايد اين مسجد مرعوب نيمارت حوب نمرصاف
 حصرت معنود ننده امدنوار رحم پروردگار المستعنى بالله⁴⁰ العرى الرحمان بطر قلى اس شاه قليحال
 المعروف بظامالدين حاتم تركمان رادالله تعالى ما اعطاه و بلعه الى ما يتمناه بحرمه⁴⁰ [سيد] الانرار
 والحدار مورجاني الرابع من شهر سعدان حتمه الله نالطفر و الامان سنة ٩٣٩ كاتنحررب عدالله يوسف احمد
 بن ركن الدين

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! The prophet—upon whom be peace!—says, 'He who builds a mosque for God, will have a house built for him by God Almighty in Paradise' By the grace of God, the omniscient king, and the blessing of the Lord of prophetship—on whom be peace!—

"In the auspicious time, and the day-increasing reign of the sovereign, the helper of the world, the just one of the age, the king of India and Khorâsân, who raises the standard of holy strife and war, Muhammad Humâyûn, *Pâdishâh-i-Ghâzî*—may God perpetuate his reign

"And his khalifat and extend over both worlds his justice and his compassion! this fine mosque was built and adorned, in beautiful structure, in order to please the Lord, who is adored by the slave who hopes in the mercy of the All-nourisher, who seeks help from God, the strength of the merciful, Nazar Qulî, son of Shâh Qulî Khân,

"Who is known as Nizâm addîn Jânym, the Turkman—may God increase what He has given him, and bring him to what he desires for the honour of the chief of the pious and the saints!—Dated 4th Sha'bân—may God allow the month to end in victory and security!—anno 939 [1st March 1533] The writer of these letters is 'Abdallâh Yûsuf Ahmad, son of Ruknaddîn "

46 The inscription from the Jâmi' mosque of Hîsâr consists of nine lines, and measures 1' 11" by 1' 5" The last line is written very closely, and is almost undecipherable on the rubbing, so that I can only accept Mr Blochmann's readings, whose translation I have also adopted, so far as I approve of it,

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احداً و انه لما قام عدالله يدعوه كادرا
 يكونون عليه لنذا قال عليه السلام من بنى لله مسجداً يدعى به رحمه الله بنى الله له في الجنة مثله
 تمام شد اين مسجد در ايام دولت شهيدشاه الاعظم والحقاقل المعظم مالک رقاب طرايع الامم من الهند و الترك
 و العرب والعجم السلطان العاقل الكامل الربى والى والحقاقل العادل العلى العالى الذى رحب اطاعته
 كاطاعه الله و رسوله لحكم اطيعوا الله و اطيعوا الرسول و اولى الامر منكم حافظ بلادالله
 ناصر عدالله رابع رايات المجاهدات والمعاري محمد همايون پادشاه عاري حلدالله تعالى

³⁹ By no means الملتحي

⁴⁰ Added by Blochmann

ملکہ رفی بحار اللطف امری فلکے نسعی حباب سعادت براجام رندۂ مصلای الامام مسجدۂ امراء العظام
امیر محمد بن

عالیجناب امارتآب مملکت پناہ نظام الدین بیلک میرک بن حباب المعفر المذرور حوشکیلکی . .
بن حباب معترف مآب . "فردرس مکانی [?]

شد بنای مسجدی نہر حباب اندر حصار کو رفیع الغدر آمد همچو کنواں سر بلند
پس کہ عالی قدر کنواں ہنٹ و مرزوں متاد ہرکہ دید اماند ازرا طرح ایں مسجد پسند
چوں پسند آمد تمام اہل دل [?] تاریخ از باب رحمہ کعبہ اند
کاتبہ و قایلہ نظام سنہ ۹۴۲

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! [*Qorân*, *Sûra lxxii*, 18, 19] 'the mosques are God's' You should not call on any one with God, and 'when God's servant stood up to pray they (*the jinns*) called out to him and well-nigh crowded upon him.' The prophet—upon whom be peace!—says, 'He who builds a mosque for God desiring thereby God's honour, will have one like it built for him by God in Paradise.

"This mosque was finished in the days of the reign of the great king of kings, the exalted prince, the master of the necks of crowds of nations among the Indians, Turks, Arabs, and Persians, the accomplished Sultân, the perfect, the chief, the ruler, the just prince, the high, the exalted, whom to obey is as necessary as to obey God and the Prophet, according to (*Qorân*, *Sûra iv*, 62) 'Obey God, and obey the Apostle and those in authority amongst you,' the guardian of God's countries, the helper of God's servants, who raises the standard of holy strife and war, Muhammad Humâyûn, *Bâdîshâh-i-Ghâzî*—may God Almighty perpetuate his kingdom and guide his ship in the seas of His favour!—through the exertion of the auspicious dignitary, the cream of the accomplished among men, the issue of great Amîrs, Amîr Muhammad, son of the distinguished noble, the meritorious Nizâmaddîn Beg Mirak, son of the pardoned and purified Khushgeldî, son of his highness, whose sins are forgiven.

(Metre *Ramâl*) "A mosque has been built in Hisâr for the sake of God, which is as high in dignity as the seventh heaven.

"Because it is high in dignity, and has the aspect of the seventh heaven, and has turned out well-adjusted, every one who saw it has approved of the style of this mosque. Because all people of sense approved of it, its chronogram is

"Its writer and composer is Nizâm A. 942" [began 2nd July 1535]

The father of the builder was already, in Bâbar's time, an officer of Prince Humâyûn (Bâbar's *Mémoires*, p 402), who afterwards employed him during his own reign in several situations. In 942, the year of the above inscription, he appointed him commander of the fort of Chanâr, then just conquered (*Akbarnâma*, I, 151). In the report of the victory gained over Rana Sanka (Bâbar's *Mémoires*, pp 410 ff) ten grandes bear the title Nizâmaddîn, but that was probably not their proper title, and is only a declamatory addition of the learned composer of the letter

⁴¹ I do not think that these words are correct

47. The ruins of Ulugh Beg's mosque are near the Commissariat in the town of Hisâr. The inscription consists of five lines; it measures 1' 4" by 2' —

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال عليه السلام من بنى لله مسجدا
يبتغى به وجه الله تعالى بنى الله له بيتا مثله في الجنة در عهد
ميمون و دولت افروز حضرت سلطان السلاطین ناصرالدینا ر
الدین رابع رباب المجاهدات و المعاری محمد همایون نادرشاه عامی حلد حلافته نایبه
توفیق الله الصمد امیر معظم امیر الع بیلک ابن امیر یوسف احمد میراحور وکل می ۹۵۱

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! He upon whom may be peace! says, 'He who builds a mosque for God

"Desiring thereby God Almighty's honour, will have a house like it built for him by God in Paradise' In the auspicious time

"And the increasing reign of his Majesty the king of kings, the helper of the world

"And the faith, who raises the standard of holy strife and war, Muhammad Humâyûn Bâdishâh-î-Ghâzî—may God perpetuate his khalîfat!—its builder,

"By the grace of God the eternal (*was*) the great Amîr, Amîr Ulugh Beg, son of Amîr Yûsuf Ahmad, the master of the horse Dated in 951" [began 25th March 1544]

48 On a dome outside Hisâr, about a mile to the east, inside the commissariat godowns, on a slab, measuring 1'5" by 1'10", are four lines of very bad poetry—

حور شارومہ کند حور بهشت کل رحشب او مشک و عنبر سرشت
رائعش ناعش معطر دماغ روان سلسلی راسخار کشت
دیر فلک کشد بر کرد او کہ تاریخ در کند آمد برشت
سنہ ۹۷۵
ہزار آفرین بر انبی یزید کہ حکمش بسیاد بہاد حسب
کاتب کدر

(Metre *Mutaqârib*). "How beautiful is the dome of the paradise-like mausoleum, its mortar and bricks are like musk and ambergris

"From the scent of its garden the brain is perfumed, and a *salsabîl* (a spring in paradise) flows from its trees

"The secretary of heaven (*Mercury*) turned round it, when the date was written on the dome. A. H. 975 [began 8th July 1567]

A thousand praises are due to Bâyezîd, by whose order the bricks were placed on the foundation The writer was Kabîr"

49 On a mosque in the yard of 'Shêr Buhlûl's mausoleum' outside Hisâr, one mile to the south, is an inscription, 2' 5" square, in six lines of well-formed *Nasta'liq* —

پیرری شرع رسول محبى عبدالنبی
آنکہ دیدارش دعد آئینہ دلرا حلا
پیش صحن روضہ بہلول شاہ احمد طرح
مسجدی عالی کہ ناشد مسکن اہل دعا

بی تکلف هائی رد نانک کاس مصرع نویس
در غرار و یکصد و شش یاب اتمام این بنا

Metre *Ramal*

"The follower of the law of the Prophet, the chosen one,' Abd annabi,
"Whose sight gives brightness to the mirror of the heart,
"Erected, before the courtyard of Shâh Buhlâl's mausoleum,
"A grand mosque, which is to be the dwelling of worshippers
"A heavenly speaker said without hesitation, 'write the hemistich
"This building was completed in 1106'" [began 22nd August 1694].

An inscription from a tomb near the Commissariat godowns, 6' 2½" by 10½ inches, is of no value, as it consists only of *Qoran*, *Sûra* V. 98

IX —BARWÂLA.

Barwâla is now the head-quarters of a *tahsil*, distant 18 miles north-east of Hisâr. In the *Âin-i-Akbarî*, Pargana Barwâla is mentioned as belonging to *Sarkân* Hisâr. Its area was 136,799 *bighas*, the revenues were 1,097,807 *dâms* (109,052 *Say. dâms*), the tribes were Sayyids, Malikzâdas, Baqqâls, the military contingent consisted of 100 horse, 1,500 footmen

50 An inscription from an old mosque, measuring 2' 5" by 8" is in very bad preservation —

امر بنده هذه المسجد في عهد السلطان المعظم معز الدين ولد الملك
ابوالمظفر كنعان السلطان محمد الاول والعمر تاج الدولة والدين
السلطاني دام اقباله في العزة [?] من ربيع الاول سنة ثمان و ستمائة

"This mosque was ordered to be built in the time of the noble king Mu'izzaddunyâ waddîn—may (*God*) perpetuate his reign!—

Abu-l-Muzaffar Kaiqobâd, the king, by the glory of the saints and the poor, Tâjaddaula waddîn . . the royal—may his prosperity be perpetual!—at the beginning of the Rabi' al awwal 688" [began 25th March 1289]

The inscription is important, as it is the first known of Kaiqobâd,⁴² son of Bughrâ Khân, viceroy of Bengal, the last emperor of the Balbanî Turks, after whom the kingdom was transferred to the Khiljîs.

51 A second Barwâla inscription is of Balban's reign, it consists of two lines. It has also been much injured by the weather. The dimensions are 3' 3" by 11 inches —

نور [?] الاسلام والمسلمين ابوالمظفر بلبن السلطان ناصر امير المؤمنين حلد الله ملكه و سلطانه
دام اقباله في العسرين من شهر المبارک رمضان سنة ثمان و ستمائة

"The light of Islâm and of the Muslims Abul-Muzaffar Balban, the king, the helper of the Lord of the Muslims—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—
may his prosperity be perpetual!—on the 20th of the blessed month Ramazân—may its blessing be general!—680" [2nd January 1282]

The extant Balban inscriptions have been mentioned above under No 15.

⁴² Another inscription of Kaiqobâd, dated A H 686, exists in the Saddo masjid at Amrohdâ, Mitrâdâbâd district, North-Western Provinces, (see A. Führer, *l c*, page 35).—*Ed E I*.

X—FATHÂBÂD.

52 In the town of Fathâbâd is a round sandstone pillar, 10' 2" high and 6 1½" in circumference. It is a pity that it is not possible to decipher this evidently most important document, which consists of thirty-six lines going round the pillar. The letters have been much injured and many patches of the stone have fallen off. Only single words are here and there legible on the rubbings (in five pieces). The inscription belongs to a king of the Tughluq dynasty, and contains long historical accounts. Tughluq Shah himself is mentioned. An occurring date, the reference of which is not clear, is the first Sha'bân 725 [13th July 1325], which falls in the first year of Muhammad, son of Tughluq Shâh⁴³

XI.—HÂNSÎ⁴⁴

53 On the Dinî mosque, near the Sarâogyân mandir, is an inscription in three lines, measuring 2' 9" by 1' 4"—

تویدی حدای علام و درکب مصطفی علیه السلام در عهد مومن و دولت همان
 حدانک عالمده ناساه اسلام راعی الامام فیروز شاه السلطان خلدالله ملکه
 و سلطانہ بندہ درگاه ساهی سلطانی بنارنج عره دی العده سد سع و سدی و سعمانہ انس مسجد بنا کرد

"Through the grace of God the omniscient and the blessing of the chosen Prophet—upon whom be peace¹—in the auspicious time and the august reign

"Of the lord, the refuge of the world, the king of Islâm, the shepherd of the people, Fîrôz Shâh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom

"And his reign¹—this mosque was erected by the slave of the court, Śâh(i)n, the royal, on the beginning of Zilqâ'da, 767" [10th July 1366].

54 From the middle arch of Ja'far Beg's mosque. Two lines, 1' 3" by 1", evidently a fragmentary piece, containing the words—

و مطهر کلمه [الله] ناصر امیر المور

".... and who manifests the word of God,⁴⁵ the helper of the Lord of the faithful"

There is also a defective inscription found on the middle arch of the Jod Goh (?) It consists of two lines (2' 13" by 30") and belongs to the reign of Iltimîsh (Altamsh), whose name it contains

Finally, a third inscription, which is found on the back corner of the mosque of Makhdûm Ashraf, measuring 1' 22" by 12", contains some words from *Qorân*, Sûia ix, 19

⁴³ I cannot let this opportunity pass of recommending this interesting document to travellers visiting Fathâbâd. From rubbings alone it cannot be deciphered. An examination of the original may perhaps be more successful. It would be necessary to make a transcript directly from the original which would assist in the reading of the rubbing. Ghulam Husain, one of Mr C. J. Rodger's staff, who prepared the copies of all the Panjâh inscriptions in this paper, says in a note that Zin' ud Din, Extra Assistant Commissioner, spent more than a month at Fathâbâd trying to decipher the inscription, but he had not been able to see what he did.

⁴⁴ For the history of the town of Hânsî, see *Proceedings of the As Soc Beng* for 1877, 117, fig.

⁴⁵ These words occur as an epithet of Husain Shuh in an inscription from A. H. 906 (see *Journal As Soc Beng* vol. XLIII (1874), p. 304, note).

X.—BADAL PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF NARAYANAPALA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D, C.I.E., GOTTINGEN.

In November 1780 Charles Wilkins discovered in the vicinity of the town of Badāl,¹ in the Dinājpur District of the Province of Bengal, a stone pillar, about 12 feet high, which was found to contain, at a few feet above the ground, an inscription engraved in the stone. Some years afterwards he succeeded in deciphering and translating this inscription, and his translation was published in 1788, in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol I, pages 131-144, with a drawing of the pillar and a specimen of the characters, and accompanied by some valuable remarks of Sir Wilham Jones. In 1874 Mr. E. V. Westmacott obtained a careless and mutilated transcript of the original text from Pandit Harachandra Chakravarti, which, with a translation by Mr. Pratāpachandra Ghosha, will be found in the *Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal*, vol XLIII, part i, pages 356-63. I now edit the inscription, of which a complete and trustworthy text has not yet been published, from impressions which at Dr. Burgess' request the Government of India has had prepared by Mr. H. B. W. Garrick.

The inscription contains 29 lines of writing—28 full lines and one line only 5" long,—which cover a space of from 1' 8½" to 1' 10" broad by 1' 7½" high. With the exception of two *aksharas* each at the commencement of lines 1 and 2, and altogether sixteen *aksharas* at the commencement of lines 25-28, which have become illegible by the peeling off of the surface of the stone, and a few slightly damaged *aksharas* in the body of the inscription, the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty throughout. The size of the letters is between $\frac{7}{16}$ " and $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The characters are of the same type as, but decidedly more modern than, those of the Ghosrāwā inscription, of which a photolithograph is published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol XVII, page 310, and may be assigned to about the end of the 9th or commencement of the 10th century A.D. They are skilfully formed and well engraved. The language is Sanskrit, and, excepting the short line 29, which merely records the name of the engraver, Vishnubhadra, the inscription is in verse. In respect of orthography the text calls for few remarks. The letter *ḁ* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*. Before *v* the consonant *m* has been retained, instead of being changed to *anusvāra*, in *samvrita*, line 6, *bhāntam* = *vikatam*, line 8, *samvalgitās*, line 9, *satām* = *vismayah*, line 10, *vāchām* = *vaibhavam*, line 20, and *tādrīkam* = *vyadhita*, line 24, and instead of *anusvāra* the guttural nasal has been used in *vanśe*, lines 1 and 26, and *vanśasya*, line 21, and the dental nasal in *pānsuh*, line 7. We also have *-sanśi* for *śamsi*, line 17, and *-sanghater* for *-samhater*, line 4. Besides, it may be noted that the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed in *vidhivat Rallā*, line 11, and *-pitān chatur*, line 13, and that the sign of *avagraha* has been exceptionally employed in *'bhadhā 'bhavat*, line 17, and *'tāro 'vadat*, line 21. As regards grammar I need draw attention only to the first compound in verse 11, which is formed incorrectly.

The proper object of the inscription is, to record (in verses 27 and 28) the erection of a pillar, bearing on its top a figure of the mythical bird Garuda,—the pillar on which the inscription still is, but the upper part of which is now missing,—by a Brāhman,

¹ See Montgomery Martin & Buchanan Hamilton's *Eastern India*, vol II, page 672. [Badāl Kacheri is in the south of the Dinājpur district, 3 miles south-west from the village of Manālkuri, which is on the borders of the Sāgunā pargana of the Bagurā (Bogra) district and 7 miles south-west from Damdama station on the Northern Bengal State Railway. Badāl is in Long 88° 58' E, Lat 25° 6' N (*Indian Atlas*, sheet 119), and the pillar is about a mile north from it. (Conf. Hunter's *Stat Acc Bengal*, vol VII, p 451, and vol VIII, p 108)—J. B.]

[The page contains dense handwritten text in Devanagari script, which appears to be a continuation from the previous page. The handwriting is very close and fills most of the page area.]

सुखमयिष्यं प्रपद्ये

named Râma Guravamîsra. But the inscription is really a *prâśasti*, or laudatory account, of Guravamîsra and his ancestors, and it is of some value mainly because it furnishes the names of four of the so-called Pala kings of Bengal, of whom some of the said Brâhman were counsellors or ministers

In the race of Śândilya there was one [Vishnu?], in his lineage was Viradeva, in his family Pâñchâla, and his son was Garga, the adviser of Dharma (or Dharma-pâla), 'the regent of the east' (vv 1-2) Garga married Ichchhâ, and their son was Darbhapâni, who became minister of the king Devapâla (vv 3-7). He, again, married Śarkarâdevî, who bore to him Someśvara (vv. 8-9). Someśvara married Rallâdevî (v 10), and their son was Kedâramîsra, by whose counsel the lord of Gauda (whom I understand to be Devapâla)² is represented to have defeated or held in check the Utkalas, Hûnas, Dravidas and Gurjaras (v. 13), and who is intimated to have consecrated the king Śûrapâla (v. 15) And, finally, Kedâramîsra married Vavvâ, a lady born at Devagrâma (v. 16), and she bore to him Râma, called Guravamîsra (v. 18), who was held in high esteem by the king Nârâyanapâla (v 19) There can be no doubt that this last-named Brâhman is the Bhatta Gurava who is mentioned as *dâtaka* in the Bhâgalpur copper-plate inscription of Nârâyanapâla³

Of the four kings mentioned in this inscription three, Dharma[pâla], Devapâla and Nârâyanapâla, are well known to us from copper-plate inscriptions As to Śûrapâla, I readily adopt Dr Hornle's suggestion⁴ that he is identical with the Vîgrahapâla of the Bhâgalpur copper-plate, the immediate predecessor of Nârâyanapâla. But regarding the Pala kings in general my views differ from those of Dr Hornle, and I hope to prove before long that the successors of Nârâyanapâla were his son Râjyapâla, his son Gopâla II, his son Vîgrahapâla II., his son Mahîpâla, his son Nayapâla, and his son Vîgrahapâla III

TEXT⁵

L 1 . . .⁶ शाण्डिल्यवङ्गेभूद्वीरदेवस्तदन्वये ।

पाञ्चालो नाम तन्नीति गर्गस्तस्मादजायत ॥⁷ — [1]

शक्र. पुरोदिशि पतिर्न दिगन्तरेषु तत्रापि दैत्यपतिभिर्जित एव

2

— उ . [1*]

धर्मः कृतस्तधिपस्वखिलासु दिक्षु स्वामी मयेति विजहास ह(वृ)हस्यति यः ॥⁸ — [2]

पत्नीच्छा नाम तस्यासीदिच्छेवान्तर्बिर्वर्तिनी ।

निसर्गनिर्मलस्निग्धा कान्तिचन्द्र-

3

मसो यथा ॥⁹ — [3.]

विद्याचतुष्टयमुखाखु(खु)रुहात्तलक्ष्मा नैसर्गिकोत्तमपदाधरितवल्लोक [1*]

सुतस्तयोः कमलयोनिरिव द्विजेशः श्रीदर्भपाणिरिति नाम निजन्धवा-

See *Indian Antiquary*, vol XV, page 303, v 6

⁵ See *ib.*, page 307

⁶ See the *Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society Bengal*, Part II, Appendix II, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol XIV, pages 162-165

⁷ From impressions prepared by Mr H B W Garrick, and supplied to me by the editor

⁸ The word which has almost entirely disappeared here was probably विष्णु, and it may have been preceded by the symbol for श्री

⁹ Read 'वरे'

¹⁰ Metre Śloka (Anashṭubh).

¹¹ Metre Vasantatilakā

¹² Metre Śloka (Anashṭubh).

L 4

नः ॥¹¹ — [4]

आ रेवाजनकान्ततङ्गजमदस्तिम्यच्छिलासङ्घते-¹²
 रा गौरीपितुरोश्चरेन्दुकिरणै पुण्यस्त्रितिक्री गिरिः ।
 मार्त्तण्डास्तमयोदयारुणजलादा वारिरा-

5

श्रिद्धया-

नीत्या यस्य भुव चकार करदा श्रीदेवपालो नृपः ॥¹³ — [5]
 माद्यन्नानागजेन्द्रस्रवदनवरतीहामदानप्रवाहो-
 न्मृष्टचोणीविसर्पिप्रव(व)ल-

6

घनरजःसम्भृताशावकाश¹⁴ ।

दिङ्मक्रायातभूभृत्परिकरविसरद्वाहिनीदुर्विलोक-
 स्तस्थौ श्रीदेवपालो नृपतिरवसरापेक्षया द्वारि

7

यस्य ॥¹⁵ — [6]

दङ्गाग्र्यनल्पसुदुपच्छविपीठमग्रे यस्यासन नरपतिः सुरराजकल्पः ।
 नानानरेन्द्रसुकुटाङ्कितपादपान्मुः सिंहासन¹⁶ सच-

8

कित खयमाससाद ॥¹⁷ — [7]

तस्य श्रीशर्करादेव्यामत्रेः शोम इव द्विजः [1*]
 अभूत्सोमेश्वर श्रीमान् परमेश्वरवत्सलम् ॥¹⁸ — [8]
 न भ्रान्तस्त्रिकट¹⁹

9.

धनञ्जयतुलामारुह्य विक्रामता ।²⁰

वित्तान्यर्थिषु वर्षता स्तुतिगिरो नोद्वर्ज्यमाकर्षिता ।
 नैवोक्ता मधुरस्वहु²¹ प्रणयिनः सम्ब[लि]ताश्च श्रि-

10

या ।²¹

येनेव स्वगुणैर्जगद्विषदृशैश्चक्रे सताम्बिधय²² ॥²³ — [9]
 शिव इव कर शिवाया हरिरिव लक्ष्म्या गृह्णात्रमग्रेप्सु [1*]
 अनुरूपाया विधि-

11

वत्²⁴ रत्नादेव्या स जग्राह ॥²⁵ — [10.]

आसन्नजिह्वाराजद्व(द्व)हलशिखशिखाचुम्बि(म्बि)दिङ्मक्रवालो
 दुर्वारस्फारशक्तिः स्वरसपरिणताशेषविद्या-

12

प्रतिष्ठः ।

ताभ्या जन्म प्रपदे त्रिदशजनमनोनन्दनः स्वक्रियाभिः
 श्रीमान् केदारमियो गुह इव विकसज्जातरूपप्रभायः ॥²⁶ ॥ — [11.]

¹¹ Metre Vasantatilaka.¹² Read 'सङ्घते'.¹³ Metre Gardulavikrāṇḍita.¹⁴ Read 'सम्भृता' Originally विकारा was engraved, but the sign for 's' is struck out.¹⁵ Metre Sragdhara.¹⁶ Read 'पासु सिङ्ग'.¹⁷ Metre Vasantatilaka.¹⁸ Metre Śloka (Aṇuṣṭubh).¹⁹ Read भान विकट.²⁰ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.²¹ Read मधुरं बहु प्रणयिनः सच.²² Read सतां विधयः.²³ Metre Gardulavikrāṇḍita.²⁴ Read विधिवद्रमा.²⁵ Metre Ārya.²⁶ Metre Sragdhara.

- l. 13 मरुद्गर्जनमम्पीतान्⁷ चतुर्विधापयोनिधीन् [1^x]
 नहामागन्धमस्यत्तिमुद्गिरन्वा(न्वा)ल एव यः ॥²³ — [12]
 उत्कीर्णितोत्कलकुल हतहृगगर्व्यं स्वर्वीक्षि-
- 14 तद्रविडगुर्ज्जिगनायदर्प ।
 भृषीठमधि(वि)रगनाभरणम्(ग्)भोज गोडिग्वरधिरमुपास्य धिय यदीया ॥²⁴ — [13]
 मयमपहतवित्तानर्थिनी यो-
- 15 नुमेने द्विपति सुहृदि चासीन्निर्विवेको यदात्मा ।
 भयजलधिनिपाते यस्य भीच तपा च ।²⁵ परिमृदितकगा(पा)यो²⁶ य परे धास्ति रेने ॥²⁷ — [14]
 यस्ये-
- 16 ज्यासु हृ(वृ)हस्पतिप्रतिरुतेः श्रीशूरपालो नृपः
 मानादिन्दु इव चताप्रियव(व)लो गत्वैष भूय स्वयं ।
 नानागर्भानिधिमेखनस्य जगत
- 17 कल्याणमन्त्री²⁸ चिर
 चदान्ध प्रतमानसो नतगिरा जग्राह प्रतम्पय ॥²⁹ — [15]
 देवग्रामभवा³⁰ तस्य पत्नी वज्राभिधाऽभवत् ॥ [1^x]
 शत्रुया चलय ल-
- 18 क्षमा मत्वा चाप्य[नपत्य]या³¹ ॥³² — [16]
 मा देवकीय तस्माद्यगोदया स्वीकृतस्यति लक्ष्मणा ।
 गोपालप्रियकारकमसूत पुरुषोत्तमस्तनय ॥ ॥ — [17]
- 19 अमटग्निकुलोत्पन्न मय्यन्नक्षत्रचिन्तक [1^x]
 य श्रीगुरुमित्राग्र्यो रामो राम इवापर ॥³³ — [18]
 कुगनो गुणान्वितं विजिगीषुर्नृप-
- 20 न व(व)रुमेने ।
 श्रीनारायणपाल प्रशस्तिरपराम्नु का तस्य ॥³⁴ — [19]
 वाचास्वभयसागसेधधिगम³⁵ नीते परान्निष्ठता ।³⁶
 वेदार्थानुगमादमी-
- 21 ममहंसो वरुण्य³⁷ मस्यन्विता ।
 ग्रामतिहृन्मूर्त्तिर्नेपु मत्तान्निष्पातता ज्योतिषो
 यस्यानल्पमतेरमेययगसो धर्मावतारो ऽवदत् ॥³⁸ — [20]
- 22 यस्मिन्मित्र श्रीभृति वागधीगे विज्ञाय वैराणि निसर्गजानि ।
 उभे स्थिति मय्यमिवादि(धि)गन्ध्यावेकत्र लक्ष्मीश्च मरुत्वती च ॥³⁹ — [21]
 शाम्भानुशील-

⁷ Read °पीतान्नु°

²³ Metre Śloka (Anushtubh)

²⁴ Metre Vasantatilaka

²⁵ This sign of punctuation is superfluous

²⁶ Originally °कगयी, altered to °कगया
Metre Malini

²⁸ Read कल्याणमन्त्री

²⁹ Metre Śardūlavatī

³⁰ Originally °भव, altered to °भवा

³¹ The lower portion of the *alsharas* in brackets is

³² Metre Śloka (Anushtubh)

³³ Metre Ārya

³⁴ Metre Śloka (Anushtubh)

³⁵ Metre Ārya

³⁶ Read वाचा येमय°

³⁷ This sign of punctuation is superfluous

³⁸ Read ययस्य सव°

³⁹ Metre Śardūlavatī

⁴⁰ Metre Upajāti

- L. 23. नगभीरगुणैर्वचोभिर्विद्वत्तभासु परवादिमदावलेपः [1^x]
 उद्वासितः सपदि येन युधि द्विषाच्च निस्त्रीमविक्रमधनेन [भ]टाभिमानः ॥⁴¹ — [22.]
24. [आविर्व्व(र्व्व)भू]व सहसैव फल न यस्य यस्तादृशम्वप्रधित⁴² कर्णसुखत्र किञ्चित् ।
 यत्राप्य दानपतिमर्थिजनोन्ममेति तत्केलिदानमपि यस्य न जातु
 — उ ॥ — [23.]
25. अतिलोमहर्षणेयु⁴³ [च^x] कलियुगवाल्मीकिजन्मपिशुनेषु ।
 धर्मेतिहासपर्व्वसु पुण्यात्मा यः श्रुतीर्व्वग्रहणीत् ॥⁴⁴ — [24.]
 असिन्धुप्रसृता यस्य स्वर्धुनी
26. . उ — उ [धा] ।
 वाणी प्रसन्नगम्भीरा धिनोति च पुनाति च ॥⁴⁵ — [25.]
 पितृत्वं स्वयमास्थाय पुत्रत्वमगमत्सूयं [1^x]
 व्र(त्र)ह्मेति पुरुषान् यस्य वङ्गे⁴⁶ यच्च प्रपेदिरे ॥ — [26.]
 गोभी-
27. — उ उ — स्वकीयवपुषो लोकेचणग्रहिणि
 स्वाभिप्राय इवातुलोन्नतिमति स्वप्रेमव(व)न्मस्थिरे ।
 सष्ट शल्य इवार्पिते कलिहृदि स्तम्भेत ते-
28. [न⁹] उ उ
 — — — फणिनां हरेः प्रियसखस्ताच्छीयमारोपितः ॥(॥)⁴⁷ — [27.]
 भ्रान्त्वा दिगन्तमखिल गत्वा पातालमूलमप्यस्मात् ।
 यश्च इ[ह]⁴⁸ तस्योत्तस्थौ हृताहिगरुडच्छ्लादमल[म्] ॥⁴⁹ — [28.]
29. सूत्रधारविष्णुभद्रेण⁵⁰ प्रशस्ति क्षणित⁵¹ [॥^x]

TRANSLATION.

[Om!]

(Verse 1) In Śāndilya's race was . . .⁵², in his lineage Viradeva, in his family Pāñchāla, from him was Garga born.

(2) As he made Dharma⁵³, the regent of the east, sovereign over all the regions, while Indra ruled no other than the eastern quarter, and was even there defeated . . . by the Daitya chiefs, he laughed Brihaspati to scorn.

(3.) His wife was Ichchhā⁵⁴, like love dwelling in his heart By nature pure and tender, she was like the beauty of the moon

(4.) Their son was the illustrious chief of the twice-born, named Darbhapaṇi, who, by his innate high rank rising above the three worlds and distinguished by his

⁴¹ Metro of verses 22 and 23 : Vasantatilakā

⁴² Read °दृश व्यधिव

⁴³ The akṣhara न was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line The following च, which I have added, is not in the original

⁴⁴ Metro Āryā

⁴⁵ Metro of verses 25 and 26 Śloka (Anushtubh)

⁴⁶ Read वङ्गे

⁴⁷ Metro Śārdūlavikrīḍita

⁴⁸ The akṣhara in brackets looks like च, altered to च

⁴⁹ Metro Āryā

⁵⁰ The akṣhara न was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line

⁵¹ One would have expected प्रशस्तिवर्त्तकीणां

⁵² The name, here missing, probably is Vishnu

⁵³ i.e. the king Dharmapāla, whose adviser Garga is represented to have been

⁵⁴ i.e. 'desire, love'

knowledge of the four Vedas, was like the lotus-born Brahman, the possessor of four lotus-like faces⁶⁰

(7) By his policy the illustrious prince Devapâla made tributary the earth as far as Revâ's parent⁶¹ whose piles of rocks are moist with the rutting-juice of elephants, as far as Gaurî's father,⁶² the mountain which is whitened by the rays of Ísvara's moon, and as far as the two oceans whose waters are red with the rising and setting of the sun.

(8) At his gate stood, awaiting his leisure, the illustrious prince Devapâla, scarce visible among the vast armies attending on princes who had come from all quarters, (*in such numbers*) that the prospect of the regions was hidden by thick clouds of dust rising from the earth, (*though*) swept by the constant and abundant streams of rutting-juice, flowing down from lustful elephants of various breeds

(9) Though the prince, who resembled the king of the gods, and the dust of whose feet was marked with the diadems of sundry kings, first offered to him a chair of state with a seat bright as the moon, he ascended his own throne with trembling

(10) To him was born, of the illustrious Śarkarâdevî, the twice-born Someśvara, the illustrious, a favourite of the supreme lord, as the moon had sprung from Atri

(11) Never exulting, though like Dhanañjaya⁶³ he displayed unlimited prowess, never listening proudly to words of praise, though he showered riches upon suppliants, and never addressing friends with many honeyed words, though he made them leap with joy by his bounties,—he roused the wonder of good men by such qualities of his, not common in the world

(12) Desirous of attaining the state of a householder, he in due form took the hand of Rallâdevî, a suitable spouse, even as Śiva had done of Śivâ, and Hari of Lakshmi.

(13) From them took his birth the illustrious Kedâramisra. Filling the circle of the quarters with the flames of abundant (*sacrificial*) fires, radiant with the presence of the gods, of irresistible great might, of a pre-eminence in every branch of knowledge matured from within, and brilliant as glowing gold, he, like unto Guha, delighted the minds of gods and men by his deeds.⁶⁴

(14) Pouring forth, even as a boy, the oceans of the four Vedas which he had drunk at a single draught, he laughed at Agastya's proficiency⁶⁵

(15) Attending to his wise counsel the lord of Gauda long ruled the sea-girt earth, having eradicated the race of the Utkalas, humbled the pride of the Hûnas, and scattered the conceit of the rulers of Dravida and Gurjara.

(16) He allowed suppliants to take freely away his riches; his mind made no

⁶⁰ Darbhapani was *chaturvidya* (or *chaturvedin*), as Brahman is *chaturmukha*, and the epithet *divyêśa*, applied to him, besides suggests that he was like the moon

⁶¹ i.e. the Vindhya mountains

⁶² i.e. the Himalaya

⁶³ i.e. Arjuna

⁶⁴ The general meaning of this verse, in which Kedâramisra is compared to the god of war, Gnha or Karttikeya, is clear enough, but two difficulties are presented by the compound which forms the first line. Since that compound is a Bahuvrîhi, we should have expected a past passive participle, conveying the sense of 'touched' or 'filled,' in the place of *chumbin*, 'kissing,' which is the reading of the original. Besides, when the compound is referred to Kedâramisra, none of the ordinary meanings of *gñhima* ('not crooked, straightforward, a frog, a fish') appears very appropriate. I therefore incline to think that the writer has confounded the word with *anumisra* ('a fish, a god'), and I have translated accordingly. Applied to Gnha, the first two compounds of the verse would mean 'who fills the circle of the quarters with the big crest of his peacock which shines brightly when frogs are near, and who wields an irresistible, large spear'

⁶⁵ Agastya is fabled to have swallowed the ocean

distinction between friend and foe, he was both afraid and ashamed to fall into the ocean of worldly existence, and having crushed the attachment to the pleasures of this life, he took delight in the supreme abode.

(V 15) At the sacrifices of him, the image of Brihaspati, the illustrious prince Śūtipāla, having destroyed the forces of his enemies, often attended of his own accord, like Indra himself, the destroyer of the demon Vala; and ever desirous of the welfare of the earth, girt by the several oceans, he there with bent head received the pure water,⁶⁶ his soul being bathed in the water of faith.

(16) His wife was Vavva, born at Devagrāma, unlike the fickle Lakshmi and the childless Satī

(17) As Devakī gave birth to Purushottama⁶⁷, the adopted son of Yaśodā, Lakshmi's husband, who delighted the cow-herds, so she bore to him a son, famous and compassionate, who was a lord of fortune, and who caused pleasure to the king, being the most excellent of men.

(18) He, Rāma,⁶⁸ called Guravamiśra, the illustrious, born in Jamadagni's race, and conversant with the constellations which bode good fortune, was like another Rāma Jāmadagnya, to whom the thriving Kshatriya order caused anxious thought

(19) Since the illustrious prince Nārāyanapāla, desirous of victory, skilful in discerning excellent qualities, held him in high esteem, what need is there of further eulogy?

(20) The spread of holiness told that he, of no mean intelligence and of immeasurable fame, possessed great power of speech, knowledge of traditional lore, and profound skill in politics; that he belonged to a family which had acquired boundless lustre by searching after the meaning of the Vedas, that he was eager to celebrate the virtues of great men, and was well versed in astronomy

(21) In him, who was possessed of fortune, as well as a master of speech, Lakshmi and Sarasvatī resided both together, having forsaken, as it were, their natural enmity and joining in friendship

(22) In the assemblies of the learned he at once confounded the pride of self-conceit of opponents by his speeches to which the constant study of the Śāstras imparted deep meaning, just as, possessed of boundless wealth of valour, he did in battle the conceit of bravery of enemies.

(23) He never uttered words gratifying to the ear of which the fruit became not at once apparent, nor did he ever bestow a gift which the suppliant having received went to another more bountiful donor⁶⁹

(24) This pious-minded man expounded the Vedas in books of moral tales, which excited a thrill of joy and showed that he was born a Vālmīki of the Kali age.

(25.) Being a river of heaven which does not proceed to the ocean . . . , his pellucid and profound language both delights and purifies

(26.) To his ancestors and to him people were wont to resort, considering that (*in them*) Brahman himself had first become a father, and that the same Brahman (*in him*) had again become their offspring

⁶⁶ i.e. the prince, at those sacrifices, was as it were consecrated as sovereign of the earth

⁶⁷ i.e. the god Vishnu Kṛṣṇa

⁶⁸ Or perhaps, 'this pleasing person, called Guravamiśra'

⁶⁹ In other words, he never made a promise which he did not at once fulfil, nor did he mock suppliants with valueless gifts

(V. 27) He has placed Tārksīya,⁷⁰ [the foe] of serpents and dear friend of Hari, here on the top of this pillar, the beauty of which, like that of his own person, attracts the eyes of people, which like his own aspiration rises to an unparalleled height and is firm like his affection, and which clearly is as it were a stake planted in the breast of the Kālī age.

(28) Having roamed to the furthest ends of the world, and hence descended even to the bottom of the lower regions, his spotless fame has risen here in the guise of this Garuda with a serpent in his mouth

This eulogy was incised by the artisan Vishnubhadra

XL.—ATAKUR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KRISHNA III , DATED SAKA-SAMVAT 872

By J F FLEET, I.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E

This inscription was first brought to notice by Mr Rice, in 1889, in his *Inscriptions at Śravana-Belgola*, pp 19, 21 (see note 6 below). It is now published in full for, I believe, the first time I edit it from inked estampages, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Dr Hultzsch

Ātakūr is a village about fifteen miles to the north-east of Mandya, which is the head-quarters town of the Mandya Tālukā of the Maisūr District in Maisūr. It is shown in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 60, as 'Atcoor,' in Lat 12° 40' N, Long 77° 8' E,¹ and it is entered, as 'Atagur,' in the map given in Mr Rice's *Gazetteer of Mysore and Coorg*, Vol. II, pp 190-91. In the inscription the name occurs in the slightly different form of Ātukūr. The inscription is on a stone slab, set up in front of a temple known as that of the god Challēśalinga, about a quarter of a mile to the north of the village. The temple is mentioned in the inscription, by the name of Challēśvara.

Towards the top of the stone there are, in connection with part of the record, the sculptures of a dog and a boar fighting with each other, the dog is on the proper right, and the boar on the proper left, they occupy a space of about 3' 2" broad by 1' 6" high — Below this lies the inscription proper, lines 1 to 19, covering a space of about 4' 11" broad by 4' 0" high. At each side, however, of the boar and the dog, and along the top of the stone, there were left blank spaces, which were subsequently utilised for a slightly later additional record, consisting of four lines, which I have numbered 20 to 23. Lines 20 and 21 run up the proper right margin of the stone, curve round at the corner, run right along the top, and then curve down into the proper left margin. Line 22 breaks off on the proper right margin with the *ppa* of *ppanneradam*, and continues on the proper left margin, below the ends of lines 20 and 21. Line 23 is a short line, lying below the ends of lines 20, 21, and 22, on the proper left margin. The writing is in a state of fairly good preservation throughout, and, with the exception of two *alsharas* in line 4, the whole record can be made out with perfect certainty. The

⁷⁰ = the bird Garuda, the vehicle of Vishnu

¹ The name seems to be not an uncommon one. The maps show an 'Atagur,' forty nine miles north east of Maisūr, and an 'Adagur,' eleven miles north by west of Hassan.

estampages, however, are not suitable for lithography; and, the surface of the stone being apparently rather rough, it would probably be very difficult to obtain impressions which would serve that purpose.—The characters belong to the so-called Old-Kanarese alphabet, and are of the regular type of the period to which the record refers itself. The average size of the letters, both in the original inscription and in the addition, is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ".—The language is Old-Kanarese, and, except for two verses in lines 15 to 19, the whole record is in prose.—In respect of orthography the only points that call for special notice are (1) the use of *ri* for *vi* in *nirya*, line 1, *prithuvī*, line 2, and *krishna*, line 3, (2) the use of *b* for *v* in the word *bīra*, lines 16, 18, (3) the occasional use of *s* for *ś*, e.g. in *saha*, line 1, and *sakti-yāge*, line 16, and (4) the doubling of *s* after *r*, in *ār=ssagara*, line 17.

The inscription refers itself to the time of a king named Krishnaraja, whom, partly from the date that is given, and partly from the mention of a predecessor, we know to be Krishna III., a son of Amoghavarsha III., of the Rashtrakuta dynasty of Mālkhed in the body of the inscription, he is also called Kannaradīva, and in the addition at the top of the stone, this form only of his name is used. We are told that he was making a display of triumph, after fighting against and killing a Chōla king or chief named Rājāditya, at a place called Takkōla.² The inscription then introduces a Ganga feudatory of his,³ called in the body of the record Permānadi, and in the addition Bātuga,⁴ who, as we learn from the addition, had killed a certain Rāchamalla,⁵ the son of Ereyapa, and (as the result) was ruling over a Ninety-six-thousand district, which is evidently the well-known Gangavadi Ninety-six thousand. From the addition we also learn that it was Bātuga himself who slew Rājāditya, treacherously, and while they were out taking the air together and that, in approbation of the deed, Krishna III. gave to Bātuga the districts known as the Banavase Twelve-thousand, the Belvola Three-hundred, the Purigere Three-hundred, the Kisukād Seventy, and the Bāgenād Seventy.⁶ The record then introduces a follower of Bātuga, named Manalarata, of the Sagara lineage, with the hereditary title of "lord of Valabhi." And it proceeds to state that, in recognition of his valour in battle, Permānadi-Bātuga granted some land to a temple of the god Challesvara (a form of Śiva) at the village of Ātukār, a stone,—evidently the one bearing this

² The fact that Rājāditya died in battle with Krishna III., is mentioned also in the large Leyden copper plate grant (see Dr Hultzsch's Report No 79, dated the 6th April 1891), the passage speaks of the "lordly elephant," on which Rājāditya was riding.

³ The use of the paramount title in *dharma mahārājādhirāja* must be taken, with the use of the name Satravāha-Kongunivarman, to be only an hereditary custom. The construction of the whole record, and the subject-matter of it, show clearly the nature of the relations between Permānadi Bātuga and Krishna III.

⁴ This name occurs also in the body of the inscription, among the titles of Manalarata. That passage (l. 9) is probably enough to show that Permānadi and Bātuga were one and the same person. But the point is rendered quite certain by the other reference to Bātuga and Manalarata in ll. 21-23.—When I wrote the preceding remarks, I overlooked the fact that Bātuga is distinctly called Permānadi Bātuga in the Hebhal inscription (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII, p. 270).

⁵ One might perhaps expect the name of Rajamalla, rather than Rāchamalla. But the original very distinctly has *cha* in the second syllable.

⁶ Mr. Riee (*loc. cit.*, p. 21) summarised this part of the record thus — "Moreover, from a subsequent addition 'engraved at the top of the same inscription, we learn that this Ganga king' [viz. the Satyavahja-Kongunivarman, or more specifically the Permānadi Bātuga, of lines 5, 6, 8] 'was Rāchamalla, the son of Ereyappa, also, that he defeated a rival named Bātuga, who then proposed to Rājāditya, the Chōla prince mentioned in the previous part of the inscription, to join him in attacking Kṛṣṇa Dēva. His treachery becoming thus known, he was defeated and slain, and the provinces of which he was governor absorbed into the Ganga territories' — Mr. Riee's extract from the text (*loc. cit.*, p. 21, note 5) showed that this summary could not be correct but did not suffice to indicate the real meaning with any completeness and certainty.

inscription,— being set up, to commemorate the grant, on the spot where, a dog having been loosed against a boar, the boar and the dog killed each other. The inscription proper ends with two verses descriptive of the prowess of Manalarata. And from the addition we learn that Bûtuga also granted, to Manalarata himself, the group of villages known as the Âtukûr Twelve, and the village of Kôteyûr of the Belvola country.

In the date the only details given are the *Saumya samvatsara*, coupled with Śaka-Samvat 872 (current) (A D 949-50), expressed in words. This falls within the limits of the dates already obtained for Krishna III. And all else that can be said is that, as, by the southern luni-solar system of the cycle, which is the only one that can be made applicable in this case, the *Saumya samvatsara* coincided with Śaka-Samvat 871 as an expired year, we have in this record another clear instance of the use of a current Śaka year.

This record refers to a variety of places. Âtakûr itself is mentioned, as Âtukûr, in the inscription proper (l 12), and in the addition at the top of the stone (l 22), and the latter passage shows that it was the chief town of a group of twelve villages. The inscription also mentions (l 10) a neighbouring village named Belatûr, in the *Kelâle nâd*, but for these names I cannot find any representatives in the map. It gives Takkôla (l 4) as the name of the place where Rajâditya was slain, this, again, I cannot identify. In the titles of Permânadi-Bûtuga it mentions the town of Kolâla and the Nandagiri mountain (l 5). Mr Rice (*e.g. Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xxviii) has taken Kolâla to be the same with the Kôlâhalapura of the Eastern Ganga records, and has identified it with "Kôlâr, in the east of Maisûr". The identity of the two names, Kolâla and Kôlâhala, is probably established by the statement, in the eastern grants, that Kôlâhala was in the Gangavadi *vishaya* (*Inâ Ant*, vol. XVIII, p 170). The identification of the place with Kôlâr may be correct, but I do not know of any conclusive proof of this point. And I notice, in the map, a small village named 'Kolala' close to Dêvarâyadurg in the Kortagiri Tâlukâ of the Tumkûr District, Maisûr, this seems to me to suggest that Kolâla may possibly be the ancient name of Dêvarâyadurg itself. Nandagiri has been identified by Mr Rice (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xlv) with Nandidurg, a fortified hill in the Chikballâpur Tâlukâ of the Kôlâr District, Maisûr. And finally, in the titles of Manalarata, the inscription mentions the town of Valabhî (l 7-8), which is, of course, the well-known Valabhî in Kâthiâwâd. The reference is of interest, as being the only one from Southern India that is known to me, but, whether it may be taken as implying that, like Manalarata, the rulers of Valabhî themselves claimed to belong to the lineage of Sagara, seems not very clear. The addition at the top of the stone first mentions a province called the Ninety-six-thousand. This is undoubtedly the well-known Gangavadi Ninety-six-thousand, which probably included the whole of Maisûr, and is known, from many other inscriptions, to have been the hereditary territory of the Western Gangas, towards the north it extended as far as Lakkundi, near Gadag, in Dharwâd (*Inscriptions at Śravana-Belgola*, No 53). It then mentions a province and four districts which were given by Krishna III to Bûtuga, *i.e.* the feudatory government of which was entrusted to Bûtuga. The province is the well-known Banavase Twelve-thousand, which took its appellation from one of the ancient forms of the name of the modern Banawâsi in North Kanara. Of the districts the

first is the Belvola Three-hundred This district is equally well-known, and its name, being derived from the Kanarese *bele*, 'growing corn, a crop,' and *pola, hola*, 'a field,' means 'the country of luxuriant crops,' with reference to the fertility of the rich black-soil which constitutes one of its chief features It included Gadag in the Dhârwâd District (*Ind. Ant*, Vol II, p. 297), Annigere in Dhârwâd (*Ind. Ant*, Vol XII, p. 220, apparently Annigere was then, A D 866, the capital of the district), Kurtakôti in Dhârwâd (*Ind. Ant*, Vol. VII, p. 218), Nargund in Dhârwâd and Hûli in Belgaum (*Ind. Ant*, Vol XII, p. 47, here the name is written Belvala, and the district is said to be a part of the Kuntala *vishaya*), and Kukkanûr in the Nizam's Dominions (*Ind. Ant*, Vol. IV, p. 275, here the name is written Beluvala, in Nâgarî characters). From the wording of the passage in line 22 of the present inscription it seems not to have included Âtakûr The second is the Purigere Three-hundred This, again, is a very well-known district, taking its appellation from the ancient Kanarese name of Lakshmêshwar in the Miraj State, within the limits of the Dhârwâd District The third is the Kîsukâd Seventy This was in later times one of the divisions of the hereditary territory of the Sindas of Erambarage, and the chief town of it (*Jour. Bo Br. R. As Soc*, Vol. XII, p. 272) was Kîsuvolal or Pattada-Kîsuvolal, which is the modern Paṭṭadakal in the Bijâpur District, near Bâdâmi To the south it included (*id*, p. 257) Kîru-Narayangal, which is to be identified with Kodikop, a hamlet of Naregal in the Rôn Talukâ, Dhârwâd And the fourth is the Bâgenâd Seventy. This is plainly identical with the Bâgadage Seventy, or Bâgadige *nâd*, which was another of the divisions of the Sinda territory I have only recently obtained the means of localising precisely the position of this district, and of determining the town from which it took its name That town is Bâgalkôt in the Bijâpur District It has long been known to me that the rusties call this place 'Bângadikôte,' the popular explanation of which is that some Nawâb assigned it to his wife for pin-money (*lu* for bangles, *bângadî*). And I had a suspicion, but no more, that it might be the ancient Bâgadage or Bâgadige. All doubt has now been removed by my examination of an inscription on a stone which stands in the courtyard of the Tâlukâ Kachêri at Bâgalkôt, and was brought, I understand, from the neighbouring village of Hêrkal, and which mentions "the famous capital, Bâgadageya-kôte," (*śrîma[d-r]âjadhâni Bâgadag[e]ya-kôteya śrî-mûla*)-[*sthân-â*][*dhi*][*pati*] *Nilakantha-panditadêvaru*, lines 9-10) Taken with the rustic appellation, this is quite sufficient to establish the identity of the two names, Bâgadage and Bâgalkôt And finally, in line 22, the addition mentions the village of Kôteyûr of the Belvola country This place I cannot identify with any certainty, but it may possibly be either Kurtakôti in Dhârwâd, or the small village of 'Kotoor,' 3 miles west of Koppal in the Nizam's Dominions (Lat 15° 20' N., Long 76° 10' E).

There can be, I think, no doubt that the Ereyapa of this inscription is the Ganga king Ereyapa or Ereyapparasa, ruler of the Gangavâdi Ninety-six-thousand, of the Bêgûr inscription (edited by me, *ante*, Vol I, p. 346 ff) This record, therefore, fixes the period of the events recorded in the Bêgûr stone, and adds another interesting link in the history of the Western Gangas It shows internal dissensions among them, for Permânadi-Bâtuga, himself a Ganga (see lines 5, 6), acquired the province by killing Râchamalla, the son of Ereyapa; and Ereyapa, though he has been stamped by Mr. Rice as an "usurper" (*e.g. Mysore Inscriptions*, pp xlv, xlv), was most distinctly of the

Ganga lineage (see *ante*, Vol I, p. 349) Also, the construction of the record, and the grant of districts to Bûtuga by Krishna III, distinctly prove that at this period the Gangas were feudatories of the Râshtrakûtas.

Incidentally it may be noted that, as the period of Ereyapparasa is now known to be about A D. 949, it follows that there is some real probability of the Ayyapadêva of the Bêgûr record being identical with the Western Chalukya Ayyana I, whose period was two generations before A D. 973-97.

Among the territory given by Krishna III to Bûtuga was the Banavase Twelve-thousand This point is of interest, because this province was the principal component of the territory of the Kâdambas of Banawâsi and Hângal, and the present record shows that they had not the ancient, or at least the uninterrupted, enjoyment of their possessions, which their inscriptions seem to imply

TEXT⁷

- 1 Svas[t]i Sa(śa)ka-nu(nri)pa-kâl-âtita-samvatsara-sa(śa)tangal=entu-nûr=elpatt-erada-
neya Śau(sau)myam=emba
- 2 samvatsarîam pravartise [I⁸] Svastî Amôghavarisha⁹dêva-śrîprithuvî⁹vallabha-
paramêśvara-paîama-
- 3 bhatt[Ā]raka-padapanhaja-bhramara[m] n[ī]pa-Trî[nê]tran=Âne-vedengam vana-
gaja-mallam kachhegam Kri(kri)shnaiâjam śrîmat
- 4 Kan[n]aiadêva[m] . lû(?)vajam Chôla-Râjâdityana mēle [ba]ndu
Takkôladol=kâdi. kondû bijayam-geyyutt-īdu [I⁸]
- 5 Sva[st]i [S]atyavākya-Kongunivarmma-dharm[m]amahârâjâdhirâjam Kolâla-pura-
var-eśvaram Nandagiri-nâtham
- 6 śrîmat Permmânadigal nanneya-Ganga jaya[d=u]ttaranga Ganga-G[āngē]yu
Ganga-Nârâyaṇa tau¹⁰=ālu
- 7 Svastî Sakala-lôka-paritâp-âvi(?)hata-[pra]bhâv-âvatân[ta]-Ganga¹¹-pravâh-ôdâra-
Sagara-vamśa Va-
- 8 labhi-puravar-êśvaran=udâra-Bhagîrathan=iriva-bedengam Sa[gara]-Trinêtram
senase-mûgarivom
- 9 kadan-aika-Su(śû)drakam Bûtugan-ankakâram śrîmat Manalarata[ng=a]nuvaradol
mechchi bēdi-koll=endo-
- 10 de dayeya mere-vol(?)=emba Kâliyam daye-geyy=endu kondanâ nâya[m]
Kelale-nâda Belatûra padu-
- 11 vana deseya moradiyol piri[dum pa]ndige vittode pandiyum nâyum=oda-
sattuvadarkke-
- 12 y=Atukûrol Challêśvarada munde kallaṇ=nadisi pirîya kereya kelage Maltî-
kâlāngadol=ir-lka(kkba)nduga-
- 13 manna[m] kottar=Â mannan=okkal nâdan=âlvom¹²=ûran=âlvor=î mannan=
alidon=â nâya geyda pâpama[m] kondom-

⁷ From the inked stampages

⁸ Read *varsha*^o

⁹ Read *prithivî*^o or *prithi*^o

¹⁰ We should expect *tann(a)*, with the double *nn* But I

notice that Sanderson's Kanarese Dictionary gives *nana* as a
variant of *nanna*

¹¹ Read *gandā* or *gāṅga*.

¹² Read *âlvon*^o

- 14 n¹³=ā sthānaman=ālvā goravan=ā kallam pūjisad=undar=appode¹⁴ nāya geyda
pāpamam konda[n] [II*] Ōm [II*]
15 Urad¹⁵=idr-ānta Chōla-chaturanga-balangalan=āttī mutti ta|t-iriv-edege=ōrvvar-
appodam=idnechhuva
16 gandan=āmpēv=endu pottaliṣuva¹⁶ bī(vī)raiam nēreṣe kōne(na)me Chōlanc¹⁷
sa(śa)ktiy-āge talt=iridudan=āve(? me) ka-
17 ndev=ene meechador=ār=Ṣsagara-Trinētranam || Nairapati bennoi=iddon=idir-
antudu vairi-samūham=illī
18 machchariṣuvar=ellarum seraguv-ā|dapor=int-ire nendu singad-ant-ire Hari
bī(vī)ra-Lakshmi nerav-āg-ire Chō-
19 la[nā]-kōtey=emba sindhurada śir-āgramam buṣye pāyidam¹⁹ kadan-aika-
Su(śū)drakam [II*] Ōm [II*]

THE ADDITION AT THE TOP OF THE STONE

- 20 Svasti Śrī-Ereyapana magam Rāchamallanam Bātugam kadī kondu tomblatt-
aru-sāsīramumam²⁰ ālutt-icc [I*] Kannaradēva[m] Chōlanam kāduvandu
Bātugam Rājādityanam biṣugeṣe kaḷlan-āgi gurig=iridu
21 kādī kondu Banavase-pannimechhā(? rechehā)śīramum Beḷvola-mūnūrum
Purigere-mūnūrum²¹ Kīśukād-elpattum Bāgenād-elpattuva(ma)m Bātugange
Kannaradēvam meechhu-gottam [II*] Bātuganum²² Manalarata-
22 na munde nind=iridudaiḷke meechhu Ātuk[ū]r-ppanneradum Beḷvolada
Kōteyūrumam bālga[m]
23 [me]²²chhu-gottam [II*] Mangaḷa-mahā-śrī [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! The *samvatsara* named Saumya, (*which is*) the eight hundred and seventy-second (*in*) the centuries of years that have gone by from the time of the Śaka king, being current —

(Line 2) — Hail! When Kṛṣṇnarāja (III), the glorious Kannaradēva, — a very bee at the water-lilies which (*were*) the feet of Amōghavarshadēva (III), the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the *Paramēśvara*, the *Paramabhattachāraka*, a very Trinētra (Śiva) among kings, a marvel in giving support (or, in resistance), a hero against wild elephants, a (*real*) fighter (or, disputant), — having come upon the Chōla, Rājāditya, and having fought and killed (*him*) at Takkōla, was going in triumph —

(L 5).— Hail! (*He who has the hereditary titles of*) the pious Mahāājādhīāja Satyavākya-Kongunivarman, the lord of Kolāla, the best of towns, (*and*) the lord

¹³ Read *kondon*°

¹⁴ This seems to be the reading, but °*appod*=ā would be better

¹⁵ Metre Champakamālā, and in the following verse

¹⁶ The *prāsa* is wrong here, in the third syllable of this word, there ought properly to be *ri*, instead of *li*

¹⁷ This *ne* was omitted, and then was inserted below the line.

¹⁸ Read *pāyidan*=ā

¹⁹ Read °*sāsīramam*, the copulative ending is not required here

²⁰ Read °*mūnūrum*

²¹ Read *bātugam*, here, again, the copulative ending is not required

²² I cannot find the place where this syllable, *me*, stands in the original, perhaps the *alākura* was omitted altogether

of the mountain Nandagnī,— (*viz*) the illustrious Permānadi, the truthful Ganga, the arch of victory, a very Gāngēya among the Gangas, a very Nāīyana among the Gangas,—

(L 7) — Hail !,— being pleased in battle with his follower, the illustrious Manalārata,— who is of the lineage of Sagara, which brought down the stream of the (river) Gangā through (*its*) prowess that was unimpeded in causing the affliction of all mankind, (*who has the hereditary title of*) the lord of Valabli, the best of towns, who is as noble as Bhagiratha, who is a marvel among men who pierce, who is a very Trinētra among the Sagaras, who cuts off noses when he is angry, who is a very Śūdraka (*devoted*) only to war, (*and*) who is the arithmetician of Būtuga,— said “ Prefer a request !” Thereupon, Kāliya, who is called “ the shining river (?) of kindness,” said, “ Do (*this*) favour !” Then they loosed his dog at a [great] boar, on the hill in the western quarter of (the village of) Belatūr of (the district called) Kelale nād And then, having set up a stone in front of the temple of (the god) Challēśvara at Ātukūr, at (*the place where*) the boar and the dog killed each other,²³ he (Permānadi) gave²⁴ land yielding two *khandugas* (*of grain*), at the site called Maltikālānga below the large tank.

(L 13) — Any cultivator (*who destroys*) that land, (*or*) the ruler of the district (*if he does so*), (*or*) any governors of the village who destroy²⁵ this land,— he incurs (*the guilt of*) the sin committed by that dog ! If the *Gorava*, who presides over that locality, eats without doing worship to that stone, he incurs (*the guilt of*) the sin committed by (*that*) dog ! Ōm !

(L 15) — Saying “ We ourselves saw how powerfully the Chōla, like a male buffalo *in contu*, approached and pierced the heroes who were vaunting (*their*) prowess²⁶ in saying ‘ Pursuing and besetting the forces of the army of the Chōla which, blazing (*with wrath*), have opposed (*us*), we will resist the valiant men who confront (*us*), if (*indeed*) there be any (*to make a stand*) at the place of meeting and piercing,’ ”— what people have failed to express approbation of him who is a very Trinētra among the Sagaras ? The king was at (*his*) back, a multitude of enemies opposed (*him*) in front, all the people here, emulously rivaling each other, are bathed (*in perspiration*) to the (*very*) edges of (*then*) garments,— under these circumstances he, a very Śūdraka (*devoted*) only to war, dripping (*with sweat*), with the assistance of (the god) Hari (*and*) the brave Lakshmi, passed on like a lion, cleaving open the forehead of the elephant that was called “ the fortress of the Chōla ”²⁷ Ōm !

THE ADDITION AT THE TOP OF THE STONE

(L 20) — Hail ! When Būtuga, having fought and killed Rāchamalla, the son of the glorious Ereyapa, was governing the Ninety-six-thousand — At the time when Kannaradēva was warring against the Chōla, Būtuga treacherously,²⁸ while (*they*) were taking the air (*together*), aimed at and pierced, and thus fought against and killed,

²³ *lit* “ died together ”

²⁴ *lit* “ they gave (*kottar*), the word is in apposition with *permānadigal* (l 6)

²⁵ *lit* “ who destroys ’ (*alidon*), this sentence illustrates well the change of construction from the singular to the plural, and back again (compare *Ind Ant*, Vol XIX, p 146, note 15) The words “ this land ” are rather unnecessary after the ‘ that land ’ which stands at the beginning of the sentence

²⁶ *poṭṭalāṁba* seems to be some derivative from *pōṭar*, ‘ a brave man, see note 16 above, regarding the *pi āsa*

²⁷ See note 2 above

²⁸ *lit* “ as a thief ”

Rājāditya, and then Kannaradēva gave to Būtuga, in token of approbation, the Banavase Twelve-thousand, the Belvola Three-hundred, the Purige Three-hundred, the Kisukad Seventy, and the Bāgenād Seventy.

(L 21) — Being pleased with the manner in which Manalarata stood out in front and pierced (*his foes*), Būtuga gave (*to him*), in token of approbation, for subsistence, the Ātukūr Twelve, and the village of Kōteyūr of (*the*) Belvola (*country*) (*May there be*) auspicious and great good fortune!

XIII.—KARITALAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF THE CHEDI LAKSHMANARAJA

BY PROFESSOR F. KILLHORN, PH.D., C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN

The stone which bears this inscription¹ was found at Kāritālāi, a village in the Mudwāi Subdivision of the Jabalpur District of the Central Provinces (*Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 89, Latitude 24° 3' North, Longitude 80° 46' East), whence it has been removed to the Jabalpur Museum. And an account of the contents² of the inscription has been given in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, vol. IX, page 81. I now edit the text from a rubbing, supplied to me by Dr. Burgess.

The inscription is only the concluding portion of an apparently much longer inscription the upper part of which is missing. The writing of what remains covers a space of 3' 8" broad by 4' 3½" high, but of this, again, a large piece, about 1' broad by 1' 8" high, is broken away at the lower proper right corner, and a small piece at the upper left corner. Besides, the stone is broken in several pieces, and some *alsharas* have thereby become damaged or illegible in the body of the inscription. The average size of the letters is 1". The characters, well formed and skilfully engraved, are Nāgarī of about the end of the 10th century A.D. The language is Sanskrit, and, excepting the words *yaś=cha*, in line 5, and *him vahurā*, in line 26, the inscription is in verse. In respect of orthography it will be sufficient to state that *h* is throughout written by the sign for *v*, and that the sign of the *jihāmīliya* once occurs in line 9, and the sign of the *upadhmāniya* once in line 30.

The missing introductory portion of the inscription in all probability contained a number of verses eulogising the earlier Chedi (or Kalachuri) rulers of Tripurī, especially Yuvarājadeva and Lakshmanarāja, who are actually mentioned in the sequel. In verses 2-6 of the extant text we are told that in the family of the sage Bharadvāja there was a Brāhman, named Bhakamīśra, who was chief minister of the king Yuvarājadeva, and in verses 7-17 that he had a son, Someśvara (in verse 9 described as *bhatta-Someśvara-dīkshita*), who became minister of the Chedi lord, the illustrious Lakshmanarāja. And the proper object of the inscription is to record that this Someśvara built a temple of Vishnu, at which the inscription evidently was put up, and which is glorified in verses 18-29. Beyond this, verses 1-29 contain nothing of interest.

¹ See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, vol. IX, p. 8, also Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 117.

² This account, which no doubt was furnished by some native assistant, is very incorrect. Here it will be sufficient to say that the word, which was interpreted to denote a place called *Pātangir* is really a name of the planet Saturn, see line 24 of the text.

From verse 30 it appears that near the temple there was a *pura* (or *brahmapura*, as it is more commonly called) for eight learned Brāhmins, and the rest of the inscription enumerates various donations, made for their maintenance and in favour of the temple generally. To the Brāhmins mentioned the king, apparently Lakshmanarāja, gave the village of Dīrghasākhika (verse 30). To the temple he assigned, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, another village, the name of which has not been preserved (verse 31), while his queen, Rāhadā, gave the village of Chakrahradī (verse 32). Another donation was made, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, by the illustrious Śanka[ragana, the king's son(?)], a devout worshipper of Vishnu (verse 33), and at a solar eclipse were given (it is not certain by whom) the village Chhallipataka in the district of Dhavalaharā and the village Antarapata (verse 34). Several fields, and the village Vatagartikā in the Mālā 'group of twelve,' are besides mentioned among the donations to Vishnu, after the founder of the temple called 'the holy *Somasvāmīdeva*, in the mutilated verses 35-37³. And finally verses 38-42 enumerate various taxes and tolls⁴ which had to be paid in favour of the temple.

The kings Yuvarājadeva and Lakshmanarāja, mentioned in this inscription, undoubtedly are Keyūravārsha-Yuvarājadeva and his son Lakshmanarāja, the father of Śamkaragana, of the Bilhari inscription (*ante*, vol I, page 253), and accordingly the present inscription is older than the Bilhari inscription, and must have been composed some time between the middle and end of the 10th century A D.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, none have been identified with certainty, but I suspect Dīrghasākhika to be the village Dighee of the maps, about 6 miles south-east of Kāritalai (or Kareetullae).

TEXT.⁵

L 1⁶

2 'मेस्त्रीणि पदानि वामनमहापात्राय कच्छाद्दौ ।

प्र[त्य]क्षीकृतदान एष तु जनैः प्रादादनभ्यर्त्यितो

ग्रामान्ना(न्ना)क्षणात्तये व(व)हु[तरास्तु]ष्टान्तरा[त्मा] ७ - [॥⁸]-[1]

3 वशाद्भरद्वाजमुनेरननाङ्गणानतो⁹ धर्मं द्रवापरो[भू]त् ।

श्रीभाकमित्र. चित्तिप्रणम्यः शश्वत्कृतार्थीकृतमार्गणौघ. ॥¹⁰ -[2]

कुण्डितधिपणो धिप[णो] . .¹¹

³ The mutilated state of verse 37 makes it impossible to say whether the word *khārivāpa*, which occurs in it, should be explained to mean 'a field sown with a *khāri* of grain', or taken as a proper name. If it were a proper name, we should probably have here the older name of Kāritalai.

⁴ I am unable to explain fully all the particulars stated in the mutilated verses 38-42. Verse 40 again contains the word *desi*, mentioned *ante*, p. 130, note 83.

⁵ From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by the editor.

⁶ Of this line only the lower part of about half the number of *akṣaras*, which it contained, is preserved, but what remains is sufficient to show that this was not the first line of the inscription.

⁷ The last *akṣara* of the preceding line must have been नम्. The poet is speaking of the Daitya Bali, with whom he evidently compares a king (probably the Chedi Lakshmanaraja), who must have been spoken of in the last portion of the inscription.

⁸ Metre Śardulavikrūṭa.

⁹ I should have expected to read here वशे भरद्वाजमुनेरननौ गुणोन्नतो.

¹⁰ Metre Upajati.

¹¹ The *akṣaras*, here broken away, probably were सौम्य, &c. असौम्य.

- L 4 सौम्यो वु(वु)धो न वु(वु)धः ।
 अकवि' कविरपि यस्मादतिग्रहोप्येवमग्रहश्चित् ॥¹² —[3]
 यदनवधिवितानप्रज्वलज्जातवेदस्तततरखरतापोत्तमगात्री धरितो ।
 दिगिभभुज[ग]-
 5 राजानन्तकूर्मैः समूहे कलितदवयुषोडानष्टधैर्यैः कथंचित् ॥¹¹ —[4].
 यच्च ॥
 अचीकरत्कुत्र¹⁴ न देववेशमान्यचीखनकुत्र न वा सरासि ।
 अविव्यधकुत्र¹⁵ न कूपवा[पी]-
 6 ररूपनामवणानि कुत्र ॥¹⁶ —[5]
 अवाप्य य श्रीयुवराजदेवो धराधर प्राचमिवाशुमाली ।
 प्रापोन्नतिं व्यस्तसमस्तदोषा मन्त्रिप्रधान कुलगोत्रचारु ॥¹⁷ —[6]
 न सदग्धे वे-
 7 दे द्रवदवधिवो(वो)दा पदविधेरतर्कस्तर्कैष्वप्यनवममतिस्तन्तुगतिषु ।
 य आद्यो वेदान्ते स्मरणनिपुणः काव्यसरणे¹⁸ स तस्यासीत्सूनुः प्रथित इह सोमेश्वर इति ॥¹⁹ —[7]
 पुस्तै-
 8 नपास्तमतिरप्रतिमश्चरिते तौर्यतिके किमपि यः कुशलो व(व)भूव ।
 हृत्स्थषपालनपरीक्षणकर्मशास्त्रे रत्नत्रयेष्यनुपमो धुरि धीमता च ॥²⁰ —[8]
 एका कला मूर्ध्नि श[शा]-
 9 द्वमौलिरिन्दो, कला' पञ्चदश प्रसिद्धा ।
 श्रीभट्टसोमेश्वरदीक्षितस्य कल्या²¹ कलाङ्गात्तेयितु कृती क ॥²² —[9]
 मेरु सञ्चितकाञ्चनैकानिचय पुष्यत्तुपारोत्करै-
 रुद्धूतो[दुर]जा-
 10 अथ एव हिमवान्नीन्द्रो गिरिः स्फाटिक ।
 अर्थिप्रत्तसमस्तहेमनिवह प्रेक्षकवो(वो)धावधि-
 सोम्योसावुपमीयते कथमिव क्षामृत्तयेणासुना ॥²³ —[10]
 अपा[स्तकु]कुम ये-
 11 न नवनीतमनीयत ।
 वपु प्रणयिता यज्ञे वशिभिर्हु'कर'²⁴ हि कि ॥²⁵ —[11]
 अपास्तकाञ्चिर्धृत[मुज]रज्जुर्गलद्गुली [धृ²⁶]त[दू?]रवासा ।
 अलौकि[कत्वेन][विशे]पचार्य[यो]-
 12 पिता पर्वणि वेप एषः ॥²⁶ —[12]
 अग्नीदग्नीन्विहर विधिवद्गिह होमोपयुक्ता-
 मध्वर्यो गा सुचमपि सम चालयाश सुवेण ।
 तसैर्वाभिर्भवतु सविधे गार्हपत्यस्य प-

¹ Metre Udgiti¹² Metre Mulini.¹⁴ Originally अचीकरत्कुत्र was engraved, but the first aksharas कर are struck out¹⁵ Originally अविव्यध', but altered to अविव्यध'¹⁶ Metre Upendravajra¹⁷ Metre Upajati¹⁸ It is somewhat doubtful whether 'सरणे or 'सरणि was engraved.¹⁹ Metre Sikharini²⁰ Metre Vasantatilaka²¹ Originally कल्या, altered to कल्या²² Metre Indravajra²³ Metre Sardulavikranta²⁴ Read वपुष' and 'हु'कर²⁵ Metre Sloka (Anashtubh)²⁶ Metre Upajati

L 13

लो-

त्येव प्रोचुर्गृहशकगणा यज्वनो यस्य सन्धौ ॥²⁷ —[13].
 अन्तर्वृशिक वासमन्दिरमही गन्धोदकौ चात्यता
 वारस्त्रीजन देहि भास्वरशिखा[नृ]जप्रदीपान्व(न्व)हन् ॥(1)
 त्व से-

14 रेन्ध्र निधेहि गन्धमखिल राज्ञि त्वमप्यादृता
 वेधे स्या इति शा(सा)रिकोदितमभूत्वाय [य]दन्त पुरे²⁸ ॥²⁹ —[14]
 विश्वेपि विश्वजित्कोटिमगमन्सप्ततन्तव ।
 [स*][र्व]स्व ददतस्तस्य श्रीमच्चैदीन्द्र[म]-

15 न्निष्ण. ॥³⁰ —[15]
 [शस्त] ययज्ञभूमौ रणशिरसि सदा शसित होतृसूतै-
 र्गीत पडजादिभेदैरतिमधुरगिरोद्गातृभिर्गार्थकैश्च ।
 अर्ध्वर्धु [क]र्ध्ववर्धु प्रचरति च करो दानससि-

16 क्तहस्त-
 स्तस्य श्रीभट्टसोमेश्वरगुणगणने के वय तुच्छवाच. ॥³¹ —[16]
 यात³² त्वमाधिरोहे [भ]श्यति दोला भृतिश्रमात्किञ्चित् ।

17 श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणराज स्कन्धमदायस्य दोलाया ॥³³ —[17]
 प्रासादोयमकारि तेन कृतिना देवस्य दैत्यद्रुह*
 श्रीमच्चैदिनरेन्द्रमन्त्रितिलकेनाच्छादिताशामुख ।
 यस्तोच्चै [पव]नाहतो ध्वजपट. प्रेङ्गन्वियहामिना(न)³⁴
 सज्ञा [व्या]-

18 घुटने करोत्वविरत रुद्धाध्वनोतिध्रुव ॥³⁵ —[18].
 ऋक्षुरति व(व)हिरन्तरादधान कुटिलतरत्वमध कृतान्यकीर्त्ति* । ।
 [पि] ७ ७ इव समुद्धतो विभाति प्रकटविलङ्घितसर्व्वलोक एष[. ॥*]³⁶ —[19]

19 लक्ष्मीन्दधानोपि पु[रि] ददानो विमुक्तिमादर्शि(र्शि)तविश्वरूप* ।
 [क]चामगाह्यित दानवारैरेषोप्यया[य] ७ ७ [वा]मनत्व ॥³⁷ —[20]
 अलमलसुखश्रान्तससक्तशक्ताशकघटित[श]-

20 रीरेणोच्छितेन ध्वजे[न] ।
³⁸कनक[क]लशरोचिर्हण्डलग्नप्रवाहामरसरिदिह धत्ते केतुतामेव नित्य ॥³⁹ —[21]
 [उ]न्नताना परिष्वङ्गो गुणाय महते यत* ।
 अपि दुर्दृश्यनो भानुर्मवत्य-

²⁷ Metre, Mandākrāntā.

²⁸ The *al shara* in brackets was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line

²⁹ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita

³⁰ Metre, Śloke (Anuṣṭubh)

³¹ Metre, Śragdherā.

³² The exact meaning of this line I do not understand

³³ Metre, Āryā

³⁴ This correction appears to have been made already in the original

³⁵ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita

³⁶ Metre, Pashpitagrā.

³⁷ Metre, Upajāti

³⁸ The *akshara* in brackets was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line

³⁹ Metre, Māhāt.

L 21

त सुदर्श(र्श)नः ॥⁴⁰ —[22]

ध्वजपटविकटान्तभ्रान्तिसर्पत्समीरे मिलदमरसरिल्वेवश्यमस्योत्तमाङ्गे ।
तरणिरननुभूत यामयुग्माभिगम्ये निजरघतुरगाणां वातपृष्ठन्द⁴¹

22.

[दा]ति ॥⁴² —[23]

अस्योत्तुङ्गो[त्त]माङ्गानवरतगमनोद्धृष्टिसीदद्रयाङ्गः
प्रात प्रातर्हिनेशो घटयति युगल चक्रयोर्वीतसख्य⁴³ ।
शङ्खे कूटान्तरालस्थपुटनिपतनोत्था-

23

— — — [द]ण्डः

साय साय जनाना⁴⁴ कलयति नितरामक्षवर्गं समग्र ॥⁴⁵ —[24]
नयति रथममुञ्चेद्दक्षिणेनोत्तरेण स्मरति हि दिवसाना कुञ्चनप्राञ्चनानि ।
त-

21

— — — [मै]रुयातेष्यभिज्ञो ध्रुवमनभिविलघ्न प्राप्य सीदत्यमन्द ॥⁴⁶ —[25]

अलङ्घ्यशिखरयेणिलङ्घनव्यसनादिव ।
पातङ्गिरद्भ्रुव्यापत्तिरमपात्रमभू-

25

— — — [॥*]⁴⁷ —[26]

— — — — [व]राहचरणचोदादुदञ्चत्किणं
पृष्ठ मे तव तत्त[णोडृ]तविसप्राया शिरसन्ततिः ।
मा गाङ्गमिमितोपसर्प्य निदधे तत्तावदेतद्भ्रुव
कूर्मस्यापि [व]-

26

— — — — — — — वाहे भवन् ॥⁴⁸ —[27]

किं व(व)हुना ॥
सर्व्व[प्राप्ता]दराजोय नियत प्रतिभाति न' ।
यदस्य केतुदण्डायलग्नम्कृता(क्ता)यते विधु ॥⁴⁹ —[28]
स्थेयादाकल्पमेतत्सु-

27

— — — — — — — [रसुख्य]-

ब्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डाधारमूर्ध्नी [दृढ]तरजगतीनिश्चलीभावशङ्कोः ।
कल्पस्यावस्थिति स्तान्मुररिपुशरण यावदेतच्चकास्तो-
त्येतच्चाशसन

28

— — — — — — — [क्र]रूप ॥⁵⁰ —[29]

न्यवीविण[त्पुने] चास्मिन्नष्टौ भट्टान्वसूनिव ।
दीर्घशाखिकनामानमेभ्यो ग्रामसदानृप ॥⁵¹ —[30]
योमल्लक्ष्मणराजो ग्राम देवा-

⁴⁰ Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh)⁴¹ Read 'मृता' and 'वातपृष्ठन्द'.⁴² Metre, Malini⁴³ This may have been altered to 'सख्य' in the original⁴⁴ Possibly this has been altered to 'चताना'⁴⁵ Metre, Śragdhara⁴⁶ Metre, Malini⁴⁷ Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh)⁴⁸ Metre, Śardūlavikrīṭita.⁴⁹ Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh)⁵⁰ Metre, Śragdhara⁵¹ Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh)

L 29.

. [1*]

. . . . दादस्मै ग्रहे भानो ॥⁵³ —[31]

नृपातुमत्या भक्त्या च स्वीयया तम्य राहडा ।

ग्राम चक्रहदीमस्मै महादेवी व्यशिश्रणत् ॥⁵³ —[32]

श्रीशङ्क-

30

. स्मै ।

देवाय दानशौण्डो ग्रहणे सोमस्य वेषाव७परमः ॥⁵⁴ —[33]

धवलहारासव(व)हं प्रायच्छच्छलिपाटक ग्राम ।

भानोरन्तरपाट ग्रहणे देवा-

31

. [11*]⁵⁵ —[34].

. [लचेत्र]क ददौ ।

तत्समीपे वराहाय चैत्र द्वादशखण्डिक ॥⁵⁶ —[35].

मालाद्वादशके ग्राम शासन वटगर्त्तिकां ।

स्वकीये शासने श्रीमान्व[ल्ले]

32

. [11*] —[36]

. [यते] ।

श्रीसोमस्त्रामिदेवाय खारीवापमिहागत ॥ —[37]

पुरपत्तनयो स्थान,⁵⁷ शक्तामेकादशी ददौ ।

द्वादशीमपि यात्राया पो-

33

. [11*] —[38]

. का तथा ।

नित्यमेका घटी गोण्या षोडशोद्वितय तथा ॥ —[39]

कपायपञ्चके देशिर्हानमध्ये न्यवेदयत् ।

सार्द्धद्वाविंशमश च वा(वा)ह्य पाद-

34.

. [11*] —[40]

. ।

[वागृ]लिकप्रधानश्च पर्णपञ्चाशत ददौ । (॥) —[41]

पर्णपञ्चाशदपरा दत्ता पायटिभिस्तथा ।

खलभिच्चाश्चतस्रश्च मण्डलं सकल ददौ ॥ —[42]

⁵³ Metre, Āryā
⁵⁴ Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh)
⁵⁵ Metre, Udgīti

⁵⁶ Metre, Āryā
⁵⁷ Metre, from here to the end, Śloka (Anushtubh)
⁵⁸ All this is quite clear in the rubbing.

XIII.—NAGPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE RULERS OF MALAVA.

THE [VIKRAMA] YEAR 1161

BY PROFESSOR F KIELHORN, PH D, C I E., GOTTINGEN

This inscription, which is on a slab of stone in the Nāgpur Museum, was first edited and translated into English, in 1843, by Bāl Gangādhār Śāstri, from a copy sent to him by Dr. Stevenson, who had received it from Mr L R Reid¹ And a few years later it was re-edited, with a German translation, by Professor Lassen² In addition to the previously published text Lassen was enabled to use a copy of the text sent to him by Sir W Erskine, which was reported to have been taken from a copper-plate at Sattārā³ On the value of the two published editions it is unnecessary to express an opinion, but I may say that Professor Lassen once or twice has unjustly censured the Hindu translator for having misunderstood the original, in passages where the English translation, if not altogether correct, shows its author to have had a fairly accurate idea of what the writer of the original meant to say And I must add that, for the proper understanding of some really difficult verses, more help may be derived from the English than from the German translation I now re-edit this inscription from excellent estampages, prepared and supplied to me some time ago by Dr. Fleet and Dr Burgess

The main body of the inscription contains 40 lines of writing which cover a space of 4' 5½" broad by 2' 8½" high, and beneath it, and separated from it by a narrow empty space, is an additional line about 4' 11½" long No part of the writing is entirely lost, but the lower half of the stone has suffered greatly, apparently from exposure to the weather, and in consequence many single *aksharas* and whole groups of words are either badly damaged or only faintly visible I nevertheless hope that, with the exception of about a dozen syllables (in lines 24, 33, and 37) which I have been unable to restore, and a few others which have been marked as doubtful, my transcript may be taken to be an accurate and trustworthy copy of the original text The size of the letters in lines 1-40 is about ⅝", in the separate line 41 about 7⁄8" The characters are Nāgarī of the beginning of the 12th century A D., they include the sign of the *jihvāmūlīya*⁴ in *vāśhpāmbhālīkana*, in line 12 The language is Sanskrit, and, excepting the introductory *om om namo Bhāratya* and the date *sam 1161* at the end of line 40, the inscription is throughout in verse. The whole has been written and engraved with such care and accuracy that the orthography is almost perfect and calls for very few remarks Except in the word *nirbhāra*, in line 13,⁵ the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v* Besides, attention need only be drawn to the wrong spellings °*shanna* for °*shanna*, in lines 6 and 10, *nistrīmśa* for *nistrīmśa*, in line 16, *chakshuhkarnnam* for *chakshushkarnnam*, in

¹ See *Journal, Bombay Asiatic Society*, vol I, p 259

² See *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol VII, p 194

³ According to Lassen his copy was marked on the title page 'Sanskrit No 57,' and he believed it to have belonged to a collection of transcripts of inscriptions at Bombay Having studied Lassen's text as well as his notes, and compared his various readings with my estampages, I feel certain that, what Lassen was told about the origin of the copy sent to him, was incorrect, and that there never has existed such a copper plate as is mentioned by him In my opinion, what he received from Sir W Erskine was simply another transcript of the stone inscription, made by a Pandit and brought to Bombay To prove this in detail would be a waste of time It will be sufficient to say that Lassen's copy furnishes no help wherever the stone is damaged and that its readings in these places are just such as might be suggested by an intelligent Pandit

⁴ This sign of the *jihvāmūlīya* is hardly to be distinguished here from the sign for *sh*

⁵ But not in line 41, where we read *nirbhārau*

line 24, *tagñair* for *tajñair*, in line 35, and *vidhadhvam* for *vidhaddhvam*, in line 41. The language is correct⁶ It contains several uncommon words, but the only word which is used in a sense for which I can find no authority is *brahmāṇḍakhaṇḍa*, apparently denoting 'the vault of heaven' or 'the firmament,' in lines 5, 7, 11, and 13 As regards versification, the author has twice offended against an elementary rule of metrics, in line 3 of verse 28 and line 1 of verse 31 The style of the whole poem is highly bombastic and artificial, and the author has not without reason (in verse 57) exhorted his readers to exert themselves well and to make their intellect sharp as the point of *kuśa* grass

The inscription is a *Prāśasti* or laudatory account of the Paramāra rulers of Mālava, from Vairisimha (II) to Lakshmadeva, the son of Udayāditya and (probably elder) brother of Naravarmadeva, but, compared with its great length, the actual facts reported in it are few indeed Beginning with seven benedictory verses, the poet (in verses 8-15) tells the well-known fable how on mount Arbuda (or Âbū) the sage Vasishtha, when his wonderful cow Nandinī was being carried off by Viśvāmitra, produced from the sacred fire the hero Paramāra, who defeated Viśvāmitra and became afterwards the founder of the royal family here eulogized The first king of this family, mentioned by the poet, is Vairisimha (vv 16-19) He was succeeded by his son Siyaka (vv 20-22), and after him came his son Muñjarāja (vv 23-25), Muñjarāja's younger brother Sindhuraja (vv 26-28), and Sindhurāja's son Bhojadeva (vv 29-31) The description of these five kings is purely conventional and for the historian worthless In verse 32 the poet intimates that Bhojadeva's end was unfortunate, and he relates that, during the troubles which then had befallen the realm, Bhojadeva's relative Udayāditya became king, whose great achievement was that he freed the land from the dominion of (the Chedi) Karna who, joined by the Karnātas,⁷ had swept over the earth like a mighty ocean (vv 32-34) Udayāditya was succeeded by his son Lakshmadeva, the glorification of whom takes up no less than twenty verses (vv 35-54) According to the poet's account Lakshmadeva subjugated the earth in all directions, but the only tangible and probably true facts mentioned are an expedition undertaken against Tripuri (v 39), the well-known capital of the Chedi kingdom, and perhaps some fights with the Turushkas or Muhammadan invaders alluded to in verse 54, which speaks of the king's encampment on the banks of the river Vankshu, and contains a well-known play on the word *kīra*.⁸

To the above laudatory account verses 55 and 56 add, that Lakshmadeva, at the time of a solar eclipse, had granted, it is not clear to whom, two villages in the Vyāpura *mandala*, and that his brother, the king Naravarmadeva, afterwards assigned the village of Mokhalapātaka instead Naravarmadeva, moreover, ordered (the architect) Lakshmidhara to build the temple at which this inscription was put up, and which is said to have been adorned with many eulogies and hymns composed by (the king) himself From this last remark I feel strongly inclined to believe that this *prāśasti*, the author of which is not mentioned, was likewise composed by no less a personage than the king Naravarmadeva

⁶ The use of *udbhavat* in the first compound of verse 20 for *udbhava*, I ascribe to an error of the writer

⁷ As Karna is joined here with the Karnātas, so the lord of Chedi apparently is joined with the Karnātas in the Udaypur *Prāśasti*, ante, vol I, p 235, line 20

⁸ See, *op. cit.*, above, p 15, verse 12

This main part of the inscription closes with the date, the (Vikrama) year 1161 = A D 1104-5. The additional line 41 (vv 57 and 58) appeals to the reader to study carefully and with impartiality and to appreciate properly the poem, here set before him.

The history of the earlier Paramāras of Mālava, down to Udayāditya, has been fully treated of by Professor Buhler, *ante*, vol I, pp 223-233. The names of the later rulers of the same dynasty I have given from their copper-plate grants in *Indian Antiquary*, vol XIX, pp 346-347. All these later records make Naravarman the immediate successor of Udayāditya, and so does the inscription from Madhukargadh, the substance of which is given in *the Transactions Roy As. Soc.*, vol I, p. 226. But from the present inscription it is clear that Udayāditya was succeeded by his son Lakshmadeva, and he by his brother Naravarman, and the dates available show that Lakshmadeva's reign falls between the years A. D. 1080 and 1104.

TEXT °

- L 1 ओ¹⁰ [॥*] ओ नमो भारत्यै ॥
 प्रसादौदार्यमाधुर्यसमाधिसमतादयः ।
 युवयोर्ये गुणा. सन्ति वाग्देव्यौ तेपि सन्तु नः ॥¹¹—[1]
 एक एव भुवनत्रयेपि स श्रीपतिर्भवतु वो विभूतये ।
 यस्य मध्यमपदस्थितोऽप्यसौ भास्करप्रभृतयश्चकासति ॥¹²—[2]
 जाति वृत्तञ्च वि[भ्राणा]¹³ गु-
- 2 णालकारचारव ।
 सरसाश्च प्रसीदन्तु सूक्तयः सूरयश्च नः ॥¹⁴—[3]
 दुर्द्धरारिपुरभङ्गभीषणो भूरिभूतिसविशे[प्रभूषणः]¹⁵ ।
 [रा]जराजकृतसत्क्रियः क्रियाद्वङ्गिवगसदृशः शिवः शिव ॥¹⁶—[4].
 जाता महाएर्णवीत्यन्ने व्र(त्र)ह्माण्डशुक्तिसपुटे ।
 महेश[स्वादि]-
- 3 ता मुक्ता जयन्त्यम्भोजयोनयः ॥¹⁷—[5]
 वैराग्यं च सरागतां च नृशिरोमाला च साल्यानि च
 व्याघ्रानेकपचर्मणी च वसने चाहीय हारादि च ।
 यद्गति च विलेपनं च भजते भीमं च भव्यं च त-
 दिश्याद्रूपसुमारमारमणयोर्भुक्तिं च मुक्तिं च व ॥¹⁸—[6]
 वैश्वरूप्यं सम[भ्य]-
- 4 स्य मीनाद्याकृतिकैतवात् ।
 स्वाभिन्ननिर्मिताशेषविश्वो विष्णुः पुनातु वः ॥¹⁹—[7]

⁹ From impressions supplied to me by Dr Fleet and Dr Burgess

¹⁰ Expressed by a symbol

¹¹ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

¹² Metre, Rathoddhata.

¹³ Read विद्याया. The *akṣharas* in brackets are much damaged, but I believe the reading to be correct. There is no doubt about the words *आदि इत्यर्थः*.

¹⁴ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

¹⁵ The *akṣharas* in these brackets are almost entirely illegible

¹⁶ Metre, Rathoddhata.

¹⁷ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

¹⁸ Metre, Śardūlavikrīḍita

¹⁹ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

अस्ति ग्रस्तगिरीन्दगर्वगरिमा नीलाश्रसानूक्ष-
त्कान्तिव्रातविडम्बि(म्बि)ताम्ब(म्ब)रतलः श्रीमान्नगेन्द्रोर्वु(र्वु)दः ।
यस्य व्योमतलोद्विलङ्घिश्चिरप्राग्भारपद्माकर-
प्रेढत्वद्वपरागचक्रमि-

L 5 तरत्र(त्र)ह्नाण्डखण्डायते ॥²⁰—[8]

देवैरावृतमभ्रमण्डलमिदं सत्त्वं भूमण्डलं
कृत्वा धर्मतुलायमानवमुपो यस्यान्तयोन्वस्य च ।
जाने यावदवैतुमिच्छति विधिं किं शुद्धमित्येतयो-
रुर्द्धं तावद्गादमर्त्यशिखरिस्तम्भान्नभीमण्डल ॥ —[9]

लेभे विभिय जलधिप्र-

6 धिभूमिचक्रमाकाशचक्रमपि येन दिगन्तनेमि ।
ससारवर्त्मनि महाविपमे निपन्न(ण)भग्नोन्नतैकतटविश्वरथाचलक्ष्मी. ॥²¹—[10]
तस्मिन्वेदविदा वर स भगवानाकाशगङ्गापय -

पूरुषावितकान्तकोमलतटेतिष्ठदसिष्ठो मुनिः ।
यस्तेतानलधूमवर्तियमु-

7 ना प्रीत्यै पितुर्ब्र(र्ब्र)ह्मणो
गङ्गामङ्गमसिद्धये समनयद्ब्र(ह्म)ह्नाण्डखण्डं प्रति ॥²²—[11].
विद्यामहासरिदुपान्तविवर्त्तिघोरमसारसैकतविपक्षमसक्तमेति ।
यस्य त्रिलोकरयमुत्पद्यसप्रवृत्तमुत्तारयन्ति शतशोप्युपदेशधुर्याः ॥²³—[12].
आयातस्य कदाचन क्षितिपतेराच्छिन्दत कौशिक-
स्याति-

8. ध्योचितवस्तुजातजननादानन्दिनी नन्दिनी ।
निर्जिता कुपितेन तेन हविषा सहर्षिताह(ह)र्षिणी
वीरः श्रीपरमार इत्यनुपमः सत्याभिधानोभवत् ॥²⁴—[13]
राज्यवर्द्धनविशालधर्मभृत्यल्लोकेतुपृथुकोर्त्तिपार्थिवः ।
वर्द्धतेयमहिमाशुचन्द्रमः सततिप्रतिष्ठातिर्यदन्वय-

9. : ॥²⁵—[14].

वराजरामराजितोनलोद्भवः सभारतः ।
ग्रहेन्द्रचन्द्रयोरिव व्यजायतायमन्वय ॥ ॥²⁶—[15]
नशेस्मिन्वैरिसिद्धः क्षितिपतिरभवद्भूरिभूतिप्रभाव-
प्रागल्भ्यौदार्यशौर्यप्रचयपरिचयप्राज्यसौराज्यसिद्धिः ।
नमस्त्वापालभालस्थलदलितलुलत्कान्तको-

10 टोरकोटि-

बुद्ध्यान्मणिक्यचक्रस्थपुटितमणिमत्पादपोढोपकण्ठः ॥²⁷—[16]
सर्वाशाविजयप्रयाणसमये यस्सेन्द्रनीलप्रभै-

²⁰ Metre of verses 8 and 9, Śardūlavikrīḍita

²¹ Metre, Vasantatilaka

²² Metre, Śardūlavikrīḍita.

²³ Metre, Vasantatilakā.

²⁴ Metre, Śardūlavikrīḍita

²⁵ Metre, Rathoddhatā.

²⁶ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

²⁷ Metre, Śragdhara.

म्यायूरातपवारणैः शुशुभिरं नष्टावकाशा दिशः ।
सर्पन्मत्तकरीन्द्रचक्रचरणप्राग्भारदीर्णस्थिरा-
रन्ध्रोद्भूतवियन्न(ण)शेषसविय-

L. 11

शासावरुडा इव ॥²⁸—[17].

पाताले वडवामुखानलमिपात्युत्थितले च स्फुर-
त्सौवर्णाचलकैतवाहियति च ब्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डखण्डच्छलात् ।
[च]ञ्चत्वाञ्चनचक्रवालवलयव्याजाच्च दिग्गण्डले
यस्याद्यापि समुल्लसत्यविचलीभूतः प्रतापानलः ॥ —[18]

12 स्माराज च रिपुव्रजं च मुरजिन्नागाधिराज च य ।

ऐश्वर्येण च विक्रमेण च धराभारचमत्वेन च
न्यकुर्वीय पराभवंच समतिक्रामय पृथ्वीमपात् ॥ ॐ —[19].
तस्माद्दैरिन्पावरोधनवधूवैधव्यदुःखोद्भव-

हा(वा)प्याम्भ७कणशान्तकोपदहनः श्रीसीयकोभूभृपः ।
13. आविर्भावितनूतनस्थितिरय ब्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डखण्डच्छला-
यस्याद्यापि विलोक्यते विय[द]धोधूमः²⁹ प्रतापानलः ॥ —[20].
अनुगगनमुदस्थः स्थूलसुक्तीचया ये यदसिदलितकुप्यत्कुम्भिकुम्भस्यलेभ्यः ।
सततमपि पतन्तस्तेद्य यावन्न पृथ्वीं पृथुलतरलताराव्या-

14

जभाजो भजन्ते ॥³⁰ —[21].

अत्याचर्यमदृष्टमश्रुतमिदं कर्म्म समाचक्ष्महे
को न्वेतत्प्रतिपद्यते च तदपि प्रस्तूयते कौतुकात् ।
उद्धृत्यापि वसुंधरामसदृशी लब्धा(ब्धा)पि लक्ष्मीं च यः
कुर्वन्कार्यमनेकशः सुमनसामागात्र वैकुण्ठतां ॥ ॐ ³¹ —[22]
तस्माद्दै-

15.

रिवरुयिनीव(व)हुविधप्रारब्ध(ब्ध)[यु]द्धाध्वर-
प्रध्वसैकपिनाकपाणिरजनि श्रीसुम्नराजो नृपः ।
प्रायः प्राहृतवान्पिपालयिषया यस्य प्रतापानलो
लोकालोकमहामहोन्नवलयव्याजान्महीमण्डल ॥ —[23].
यन्निन्सर्पति लीलयापि ललितैः सैन्यैः समुज्ज्व-

16

भित

वाह्व्यूहविसारिधूलिपटलव्यालुप्तदिग्मण्डलैः ।
अत्यद्री[न्द्र]करीन्द्र[सञ्च]यपदमेडोलनोच्छृङ्खल-
प्रेङ्गच्छृङ्खलनादिनिर्व्वरभृतत्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डभाण्डोदरैः ॥ —[24]
यन्निस्तुं(स्त्रि)शनिस्तमस्तकतया लब्धा(ब्धा)न्यथा दुर्लभ
देवत्व स्वकव(व)न्सु[ब्ध]तमघो दृष्ट्वा भटै-

²⁸ Metre of verses 17-20, Śārdūlavikrīḍita²⁹ Originally विद्यधूम³² was engraved, but it has been al-
tered to विद्यधूम³³.³⁰ Metre, Mālinī.³¹ Metre of verses 22-28, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

L 17.

वैष्टित ।

सहर्षात्पततो विमानशिखरादास्त्रिय कण्ठे हठा-

दीरा[स्त्रङ्ग]ररागिणी रुधिरि सभूय सिद्धाङ्गनाः ॥ ❀ ॥ —[25]

तस्यासीदय पार्थिव, पृथुयशा, श्रीसिन्धुराजोत्तुजः

स्फूर्ज्जडाडवपावकस्फुट[म]ह[सौन्द]र्यशीर्यान्ल' ।

य' सग्रामयु-

18. गान्तवलिताभुजादुर्वीतदूरीक्षस-

क्ललोलायितमण्डलाग्रप[ट]लिनामज्यद्भूतः ॥ —[26]

व्रजति जयिनि यत्नामिवजातेन जज्ञे तरलतुरगवेगोद्भूतभूरेश्वराजि' ।

विकटकरटिभारभ्रष्टभूष्टरन्त्रादुदित इव समन्तादन्तकालाग्निधूमः ॥³²—[27]

गाम्भीर्यं प्रल-

19

याणवम्य च व(व)ल कल्पान्तवातस्य च

स्वेमान कमठेशितुच [गुरु]ता [व्र(व)ह्माण्ड]भाण्डस्य च ।

तेजः कालहुतायनस्य च महीयस्व युचक्रस्य च

स्त्रीकृत्येव विनिर्मित यमविदुः प्रत्याजि पृथ्वीभुजः ॥ ❀ ॥³³—[28]

तत्सूनुर्भुवनैकभूषणमभूद्भूपालचूडामणि-

20 च्छायाडम्ब(म्ब)रक्षुम्बि(म्बि)ताञ्जिकमल, श्रीभोजदेवी नृपः ।

यस्याद्या[पि] स[माय]यन्ति चरणौ शक्रासना[धा]सिन³⁴

सर्दाव(व)न्धविनम्रनिर्जरनटलोटीरकोटित्विय' ॥ —[29]

रटत्पटहपाटवप्रकटभङ्गैरस्फूर्ज्जितस्फुरड्डमरुडम्ब(म्ब)रोड्डमरडिण्डिमोड्डामरा ।

स्फु-

21 टत्करटकुञ्जरप्रपदसपतत्सभ्रमभ्रमद्भवन[म]भ्रमज्जग[ति] यच्चनू[रुच]कै ॥³⁵—[30]

घकुण्ड कमलासनाय चतुरास्याय स्वयभू पुन'

पञ्चास्याय हराय शम्भुरपि पङ्कजाय पुत्राय च ।

सनानीरपि दन्दशूकपतयेजस सहस्रानना-

याद्यापि स्पृहय-

22. त्वमर्त्यसमितौ य[त्कीर्ति]मुत्कीर्तयन् ॥ ❀ ॥³⁶—[31]

तस्मिन्वासव(व)न्मुतामुपगते राज्ये च कुल्याकुलि

मग्नस्वामिनि तस्य व(व)नुरुदयादित्योभवद्भूपति ।

येनीदृत्वं महापर्णवोपममिलत्कर्णाटकपर्णप्र[मु]-

सुर्वीपालकदर्शिता भुवमिमा श्रीमद्वराहायित ॥ —[32].

य-

23 स्मादुग्रतरप्रताप[पवनो]पारूढदुर्दृशता-

सादृश्योत्थरविभ्रमादभिमुखैः प्रापच्च यैः पञ्चता ।

³² Metre, Mahul.³³ Metre of verses 28 and 29, Śardulavikrādita The third line of verse 28 has no caesure after the 12th syllable³⁴ The akshara in brackets looks as if originally श्री had been engraved.³⁵ Metre, Prithvi³⁶ Metre of verses 31 37, Śardulavikrādita Here, again, the first line of verse 31 has no caesure after the 12th syllable

मन्त्रे सोयमिति प्रतीतिविततामर्षप्रकर्षेण ते
भि[क्षा] भास्करमण्डलं रिपुभटा. प्रापुः परां निर्वृति ॥ —[33].
एकस्या समितौ विलोक्य विजय य-

L 24.

स्यापरस्या स्तुव-

[न्स्त्री?] — — [वक्ष?]ता समर्थयति दृग्जिह्वासहस्रद्वये ।
कित्वानन्दनिमीलितेक्षणतया श्रौते सुखेर्व्वच्चित-
³⁷श्चक्षुःकर्णमकर्णमप्यहिपतिः स्वीय वपुर्निन्दति ॥ ❀ ॥ —[34].
पुत्रस्तस्य जगत्तयैकतरणेः सम्यक्प्रजापालन-
व्यापारप्र-

25

वणः प्रजापतिरिव श्रीलक्ष्मदेवोभवत् ।

नीत्या येन मनुस्तथानुविदधे नासी न वैवस्वतः
सर्व्वत्रापि सदाप्यवर्द्धत यथा कीर्त्तिर्नैवैव स्वतः ॥ —[35].
संभूय ध्रियता गुरुर्व्व(र्व्व)लभराङ्गः कूर्मराजादयः
सद्यो नश्यत [वा द्रु]त नमत वा प्रत्य-

26

रिपुष्वीभुजः ।

चक्षुर्मक्षु पिधीयतामनिमिषा पांसुः पुरा पूरय-
त्येवं व्याहरति प्रयाणपटहो यस्य स्वनच्छद्मना ॥ —[36].
यस्मिन्सर्प[ति] वा(वा)न्यवोपि विधुरै पूर्व्वैः परित्यज्यते
कल्याणस्य कथापि कातरतया नापेक्ष्यते दक्षिणैः ।
आशावन्निरस-

27.

त्कलेति विकलैर्निश्चीयते पश्चिमै-

र्मर्त्तु केवलमुत्तमैर्नृपतिभिर्हेमाप्ययोध्यास्यते ॥ —[37].
प्रयाति यस्मिन्प्रथमं दिश हरेर्जिह्वापयानन्यसमानदन्तिनां ।
यथाविशङ्कोडपतेः पुर दर[स्तथा]ग्रशङ्के सहसा पुरदरः ॥³⁸—[38].
उत्साहोन्नतिसन्निमित्तजनि-

28.

ताजस्रप्रयाणक्रमे-

- णाक्रम्य त्रिपुरीं रणैकरसिकान्वि[ध्वं]स्य विद्वेषिणः ।
येनावास्यत विन्ध्यनिर्भरमरुत्तचारचारुत्तस-
ल्लोलोद्यानलतावितानवसती रेवोपकण्ठ[स्य]लि ॥³⁹—[39]
जातानि जन्यग्रममार्जनानि वीजानि यत्कुञ्जरमज्जनानि ।
तटाचलो-

29

चाटनतत्पराया रेवाप्रवाहोर्मिपरपरायाः ॥⁴⁰—[40].

ये व्यालोलकरालनिर्भरकरा. कुम्भायमानोद्गम-
त्कूटान्ताः कटकान्तभागविगलहानायमानाभ्रस ।
प्रायस्तेपि विरोधिसिन्धुरधिया यद्वाहिनीवारणै-
रुन्मीलनमदमेदुरं(र्व्वि)(र्व्वि)भिदिरे विन्ध्यस्य

³⁷ Read यक्ष³⁸ Metre, Upendravajra.³⁹ Metre, Śardulavikrūṣita⁴⁰ Metre, Upajati.

L. 30.

पादाचलाः ॥१॥⁴¹—[41].

स्फार[त्वक्ता]रवारस्थगितगुरुतटीकूटकुट्टाकटङ्क-

प्रायप्रेङ्गत्तुरायत्वरित[ह]रिचसूचक्रच[ङ्ग]म्यमाणाः ।

येनालङ्घ्यन्त सेनाकरिकरटतटोद्दामदानाम्बु(म्बु)गन्ध-

व्याविडागण्यवन्धद्विपकुलपटलध्यामला विन्ध्यपादा ॥⁴²—[42]

ये द्विविधसुरव(व)-

31.

न्धव' जयमरुल्लोलाद्रिस[त्ता]भृतः

क्रीडाक्रीडकुटुम्ब(म्ब)का[न्ति]जलमुक्ताम्र(म्र)ह्यचर्याजुपः ।

यत्सेनानृपगन्धसिन्धुरमरुन्मैत्रीविहस्तीकृतै-

स्तैरप्यङ्गकलिङ्गकुञ्जरकुलैर्युद्धा[य] व(व)डोञ्जलिः ॥⁴³—[43].

देवामौ पुरुषोत्तम स भगवानाश्रित्ये य' श्रिया

32 येनेदं व(व)लिवैरिव(व)न्धविधिना विश्व समाख्यासितं ।

येनाधारि वसुन्धरेति दधत सानन्दमन्दाक्षता

यस्य प्राच्यपयोनिधौ वु(वु)धजनैर्व्याजस्तुति प्रस्तुता ॥ —[44].

ये कल्याणलधूममण्डलनिभा. कादम्बि(म्बि)नीविद्विष

सवर्त्तोद्भसितान्वकारसुहृदस्तुव्य-

33.

द्वियद्वा(डा)न्धवाः ।

[व] — — उ उ [आहव]यमनुदे पा[यो]वगाहोद्यतै-

र्यत्सामन्तमतङ्गजेरधरितास्तेष्वम्बु(म्बु)धेरुर्मय' ॥ —[45].

कुम्भसम्भवसोदर्यं यत्पापाचीमुपा[र्च्छ]ति ।

चोलाद्येत्री[च]कै[र्भूत्वा] विन्ध्यवा(वा)न्धवतादधे ॥⁴⁴—[46]

ली[ला]म्भ प्लवने यदीयष्टतनासासन्त-

34

सीमन्तिनी-

त्रोणि[त्रे]णि[विशी]र्यमाणर[ग]नामुक्ताः पतन्ति स्म याः ।

ताभि सप्रति पप्रयेनु पृथिवी यत्ताम्रपर्णीपयः

पश्याद्यापि तदेव पाण्डुरनृपते[र्त्ती]वातवे [जा]य[ते] ॥⁴⁵—[47]

स्वामिन्नेप स सेतुरवभवतो रामस्य यो मारुति-

प्रायोपाहृत-

35

शैलशृङ्गरचितो वर्द्धि[ष्णुविन्ध्या]यते ।

इत्वा[दृ]त्त्व कुतूहलेन कथित तज्जै(ज्जै)रवज्जाय यः

सेनाहास्तिकसेतुनैव विदधे द्वीपान्तरोपक्रम ॥ —[48]

अथावभव्योभयथा यमाशा यस्या[नधे] सर्पति सैन्यसङ्घे ।

अभूत्स्वकीया ककुभ व्यपायाहो-

36

पायितु पाशभृदप्यपाशः ॥⁴⁶—[49]

मैनाकप्रमुखा वसन्ति कुहचिक्कालाग्निरास्ते क्वचि-

त्वन्ति क्वापि तिमिगिलप्रभृतय. कुत्वापि शेते हरिः ।

⁴¹ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁴² Metre, Sragdharā⁴³ Metre of verses 43-45, Śārdūlavikrīḍita⁴⁴ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)⁴⁵ Metre of verses 47 and 48, Śārdūlavikrīḍita⁴⁶ Metre, Upajati

एतर्देत्ति न कोपि यत्र जत्तधौ [त]स्याप्य[शेष] पय[ः]

[पीत्वा] यत्करिभिः कृतैकचुलुकैस्ते-

L. 37

रगस्यायित ॥⁴⁷—[50].

यै सभूय तिमिङ्गिलप्रभृतिभि संसर्पिणस्त[न्व]ति

पोताधानसव(व)भुतां शिखरिणो मैनाकमुख्या अपि ।

भ्राम्यन्मन्दरडम्ब(म्ब)राणि दधिर⁴⁸ तैरप्यशेषेभ्यु(भ्यु)धौ

यत्सेनागजराज[पीव]रकरा — — नोच्छृङ्खलैः ॥ —[51].

अथातितित्तोरिव राज-

38.

राजमन्य तदाशां प्रति यस्य यातुः ।

द्विधापि भोत्युज्जितवित्तपाशैर्भूयै प्रतीपैर्विभयैर्व(र्व)भूवे ॥⁴⁹—[52]

आरासाः समरा मरावपि तदा युन्नागपूगादिम-

हुत्मान्तर्वनदेवतायितजयत्रीमद्यशःपादपाः ।

यस्यासन्भुजदण्डच[ण्डि]मलसल्लोलासिलचीकृत-

क्षोणीपालक-

39.

पालमण्डलगलत्कीलालकुल्याकुलाः ॥⁵⁰—[53].

खेलोत्खाततुरुष्कदत्तविलसद्वाहावलोवेक्षण-

क्ताभ्यलुङ्गुमकेसराधिकमृदौ वंचूपकण्ठस्थले ।

येनावास्य सरस्वतीसविधतासाधिव्यवाकपाठव-

द्याटूनुत्कट[प]तिपञ्चरगतः कीराधिपोध्याप्यत ॥ —[54].

तेन व्यापुरमण्डले सुकृति-

40

ना यस्मै ग्रहेन्द्रग्रहे

यद्ग्रामद्वयमग्नियेण विधिना यित्राणित ग्रहया ।

तद्ग्राता नरवर्म्मदेवनृपतिः पद्यात्परीषर्त्त त-

द्ग्रामं मोखलपाटकाख्यमदिशदेशत्रयस्येच्छया ॥ ॐ ॥ ⁵¹—[55].

तेन स्वयकृतानेकप्रशस्तिस्तुतिचित्रित ।

श्रीमल्लक्ष्मीधरेणैतद्देवागारमकार्यत ॥⁵²—[56]

स ११६१ ॥

41.

श्री

हृहो वु(वु)धाः साधु समुत्सहध्व कुशाग्रकक्षां च धियं विधध्व⁵³ ।

मध्यस्थभाव च समाग्रयध्व सुखं च नः सूक्तिसुधासुपाध्व ॥⁵⁴—[57]

वन्दनीयावुभौ सूक्तियोतारौ तौ विपद्यितौ ।

यावश्च सुचत सान्द्रमानन्दालभ्यनिर्भ(र्भ)रौ ॥ ॐ ॥ ⁵⁵—[58].

⁴⁷ Metre of verses 50 and 51, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁴⁸ Originally धिधरे seems to have been engraved

⁴⁹ Metre, Upajāti

⁵⁰ Metre of verses 53-55, Śārdūlavikrīḍita

⁵¹ Originally "देशेय" was engraved

⁵² Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

⁵³ Read विधध्व

⁵⁴ Metre, Upajāti

⁵⁵ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

TRANSLATION

Om !

Om ! Adoration to Bhārati!⁶⁸

(Verse 1) O goddess of speech and divine Durgā ! Let simplicity,⁶⁷ force, sweetness depth, harmony, and whatever other qualities you possess, let them all be shared by us !

(2) May Lakshmi's husband, that sole lord of fortune in all the three worlds, grant you prosperity,—he from whose middle stride even⁶⁹ the sun and the other luminaries yonder shine forth !

(3) May good utterances, clad in *jāti* and *vṛtta* metres,⁶⁹ pleasing by their style and by figures of speech, and expressive of poetical sentiment, be gracious to us ! And may sages be so, men of taste, of noble birth and good conduct, who charm with the qualities that adorn them !

(4) May Śiva grant whatever is auspicious,—he who, terrific when he destroys the irresistible foe Pura, singularly embellished with copious ashes, and revered by the lord⁶⁹ of the Yakshas, resembles this fire-born race,⁶¹ which is terrible when it breaks the strongholds of irresistible foes, is exquisitely adorned with abundant good fortune, and paid homage to by the kings of kings !

(5) Glory be to the lotus-born Brahman who, engendered in the mundane egg which was produced in the great ocean, and, when set free, an object of reverence for Śiva, is like the pearls which grow in the oyster-shells of the sea, and are prized by great lords !

(6) May that form⁶² of the husbands of Umā and Lakshmi grant you both enjoyment and salvation, which, both passionless and passionate, wearing both a wreath of human skulls and flower-garlands, clad both in tiger and elephant skins and in costly garments, adorned both with serpents and with pearl-strings and other ornaments, and both smeared with ashes and anointed with perfumes, is fearful as well as auspicious !

(7) May Vishnu purify you, who, in the guise of a fish and other creatures having assumed one after another all forms, made the whole universe not differing from himself !

(8) Well-known is the glorious mount Arbuda, which utterly humbles the pride of the noblest of mountains, and rivals the firmament with the rich splendour radiating from its sapphire crest The circle of the pollen of the lotuses that swing to and fro in the pools on its broad sky-piercing top looks as if it were indeed another vault of heaven

(9) I fancy, it was when the creator, wishing to know whether the gods or the mortals were purer, attached the round of heaven, filled with the former, and this orb of

⁶⁸ *Ie*, the goddess of speech or eloquence

⁶⁷ For the exact definitions of *prasāda*, *audārya*, *riḍdhurya*, *saṁādhi* and *saṁatā*, denoting certain qualities of style see, e.g., *Kāvyādarśa* I, 45, 76, 51, 93, and 47 But these terms should be understood here, not only in their technical, but also in their ordinary senses, 'serenity of disposition,' etc.

⁶⁹ The *madhyamaṁ* 'Vaishnavam' *padam*, 'Vishnu's middle stride,' is the air The idea which the poet intends to convey apparently is, that, if Vishnu's *madhyama-pada* already is so high, his *uttama-pada* must be infinitely higher still

⁶⁰ See *Indische Studien*, vol. VIII, pp. 180 and 192

⁶¹ *Ie*, the god Kṛvera

⁶² *Ie*, the Paramāra family which will be enlogised in the following

⁶³ *Ie*, the form of Hari-Hara or Vishnu Śiva, see *ante*, vol. I, p. 311, note 47

the earth, filled with the latter, to the two extremities of this mountain, using it as a balance of virtue, that the round of heaven rose higher even than the top of mount Meru ¹⁶³

(V 10) Piercing with one end the ocean-surrounded orb of the earth, and with the other the horizon-encircled round of the sky, this mountain has assumed the glorious appearance of an axle of the chariot of the universe, one side of which lies down, broken on the rugged road of this world, while the other is lifted upwards

(11). On this mountain, whose slopes, bathed by the streams of water of the heavenly Ganges, are pleasant and soft, dwelt that chief of those versed in the Vedas, the venerable sage Vasishtha, who, to delight his father Brahman, led the Yamunâ, enveloped in the smoke of the three sacred fires, up to the vault of heaven, to effect her junction with the Ganges.

(12) His hundreds of precepts, like horses, extricate the chariot of the three worlds, so that it may proceed without hindrance, when, turned into a wrong road, it has stuck fast in the terrible quicksand of worldly affairs, bordering on the great stream of knowledge

(13) Once upon a time, when the royal descendant⁶³ of Kusika visited him and took by force the cow Nandinî, which caused delight by yielding all things suitable for hospitable entertainment, Vasishtha, enraged, pleased the fire by an oblation, and from that fire sprang, to conquer Viśvâmitra, the unparalleled hero, the illustrious Paramâra, rightly so named.⁶⁵

(14) Ever prosperous is his family here, which, made up of rulers illustrious for having increased the realm, who were supporters of the law, whose banner was truth and whose fame is widely spread, is an image of the solar and lunar lines, in which there were the princes Râjyavardhana, Viśâla, Dharmabhrit, Satyaketu, and Piithukîti.

(15) This family, unsurpassed by the blessed never-aging immortals, sprung from fire, and taking delight in the assemblies of the learned, has been propagated like those of the Sun and the Moon, which are adorned by the eminent Aja and Râma, gave birth to Nala, and include the descendants of Bharata

(16) In this race there was the king Vairisimha, whose rule was supremely prosperous, because he was abundantly endowed with good fortune, might resoluteness, generosity and bravery, while the ground around his jewel-inlaid foot-stool was made uneven by the mass of rubies, broken from the edges of the tremulous handsome diamonds which fell from the foreheads of kings who bowed down before him.

(17). When he set out to conquer all the quarters, the regions of space, withdrawn from view, were beautified by his umbrellas of peacocks' feathers, shining like sapphires, so that they seemed enveloped in the poisonous breath of the distressed serpent Śesha, rising up through the fissures of the earth, rent as it was by the massive feet of the arrays of his marching ruddy elephants

(18) Not to be interfered with, the fire of his prowess shines forth even now, in the lower regions under the guise of the fire proceeding from the mare's mouth, on the earth under that of the glittering golden mountain, in the sky as the starry firmament, and near the confines of space as a range of mountains of quivering gold

⁶³ Literally, 'higher than the pillar-like mountain of the immortals'. What the poet wishes to convey is, the mount Arbuda is higher even than the fabulous mountain Meru

⁶⁴ I.e., Viśvâmitra

⁶⁵ Viz., 'the slayer of enemies'. See ante, vol I, p 236, verse 6

(V 19) He ruled the earth, humbling Indra in heaven by his majesty, defeating host of enemies in hostile lands by his valour, and surpassing Vishnu's lord of serpents in his serpent-home by his ability to uphold the earth.

(20) From him sprang the illustrious king Sîyaka, the fire of whose wrath was extinguished by the tears, caused by the pangs of widowhood, of the royal ladies of hostile princes, while the fire of his prowess even now is perceived here, in the guise of the starry firmament, presenting a novel appearance inasmuch as the smoke, in the guise of the atmosphere, is beneath it

(21). The clusters of big pearls, which flew up into the air from the frontal globes of furious elephants cleft by his sword, though constantly falling down, have, disguised as they are as large sparkling stars, not even now reached the earth.

(22) To whom shall we tell this great unseen and unheard-of wonder? Or who will understand it? Yet for curiosity's sake we report it. Although he delivered the earth, although he wedded the unique goddess of fortune, although again and again he did the work of the gods, he never was Vaikuntha⁶⁶

(23) From him was born the illustrious king Muñjarāja, who alone, with the bow in his hand, put an end to many a fight commenced by hostile armies, as Śiva did to (Dakṣha's) sacrifice,⁶⁷ and the fire of whose prowess, to protect the orb of the earth, used to envelop it under the guise of the belt of the lofty Lokāloka mountains

(24) Even when he was marching for mere pleasure, his frohesome soldiers turned out in such numbers that the horizon was obscured by the clouds of dust, raised by the squadrons of his cavalry, and that the cavity of the universe was completely filled with the excessive noise of the trembling chains, swung to and fro by the feet of the arrays of his huge elephants, taller than the hugest mountains.

(25). When, having their heads struck off by his sword, heroes had obtained the rare fortune of being transformed into divine beings, and when, proudly viewing their bodies below surrounded by champions, eager for the fray, they were throwing themselves from the aerial cars, they were joyfully embraced and forcibly held back by the Siddha women, clustering round them

(26) After him his younger brother, the far-famed illustrious Sindhurāja, became king, the fire of whose bravery bore the brilliant beautiful lustre of the roaring submarine fire. As the mass of waves, raised by the fierce blast which springs up at the destruction of the world, submerges the mountains, so the broad scimitar, brandished by his arm, when it was lifted in war, dealt out destruction to princes

(27). When this prince marched forth victoriously, the cloud of dust raised by the onset of his fleet horses appeared to the host of his enemies like the smoke of the all-devouring fire rising all round from the fissures of the surface of the earth, broken by the weight of his formidable elephants

(28) In every battle princes found out that the creator had as it were combined in him the depth of the ocean and the might of the wind, as they are at the destruction of the world, the firmness of the lord of tortoises, the weight of the whole universe, the splendour of the all-destroying fire, and the magnitude of the celestial vault

⁶⁶ Vaikuntha, i.e., Vishnu, uplifted the earth, obtained Lakṣmī, and did the work of the gods, the king freed the earth from troubles, secured fortune, acted for the benefit of well minded people, and never indeed showed dullness or indolence (*dgān na vai kunṣhatām*)

⁶⁷ See the first verse of the first act of Kālidāsa's *Sākuntala*, and Sir M Monier-Williams note on it

(V. 29). His son was the unique ornament of the world, the illustrious king Bhojadeva, whose lotus-feet were richly adorned with the lustre of the crest-jewels of kings, and on whose feet rests even now, while he is occupying Indra's throne, the vivid splendour of the edges of the diadems of the immortals, bowed down with envy.

(30) His army, distinguished by the sharp sound of roaring kettle-drums, by the thunder of loud *gharjharas*,⁶⁹ by a multitude of shrill *damarus*, and by tabors heard above the tumult, roamed, filling the world with its noise, over the whole earth, thrown into confusion under the footsteps of his ruddy elephants.

(31). Even now, when they recite his fame in the assembly of the gods, Vaikunṭha is ever jealous of the four-mouthed Brahman, Svayambhū again of the five-mouthed Hara, Śambhu too of his six-mouthed son Kārttikeya, and this leader of the divine hosts of the lord of serpents with his thousand mouths

(32) When he had become Indra's companion, and when the realm was overrun by floods⁷⁰ in which its sovereign was submerged, his relation Udayāditya became king. Delivering the earth, which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Karna, who, joined by the Karnaṭas, was like the mighty ocean, this prince did indeed act like the holy Boar⁷¹

(33). The hostile champions who met their death facing this king, similar to the sun and confounded with it because the terrible fire of his valour made him difficult to look at, I fancy that they became supremely happy, when, their fury heightened by the belief that the luminary was their opponent, they split the orb of the sun.⁷¹

(34) The lord of serpents, having in battle witnessed his victory and eulogizing it in an assembly, shows that his thousands of eyes and tongues indeed serve a purpose, but, cheated of the pleasure of listening when he has closed his eyes with delight, he scorns his body because, bereft of ears, it must use the eyes in their stead.

(35). A son of that sun of the three worlds was the illustrious Lakshmadeva, resembling the lord of creatures in his eagerness properly to rule his subjects, who verily in his conduct so allowed himself to be guided by that son of Vivasvat, Manu, that everywhere and at all times new fame grew up for him of its own accord.

(36) This is what his marching-drum proclaims, under the pretence of resounding. 'Join together, you king of tortoises and ye others, in upholding the earth, heavy with the load of this army! Either perish at once or bow down speedily, ye opposing princes! Quickly shut your eyes, O gods, before the dust fills them!'

(37) When he marches, the princes of the east, bewildered, forsake even their relatives, those of the south in their perplexity take no note even of good news, the princes of the west find out to their sorrow that the creeping-plant of hope bears no good fruit to them, while those of the north throw themselves on their swords, and thus court death as the best and only fate left to them⁷²

(38) When, desirous of capturing matchless elephants, he first proceeded to Hari's

⁶⁹ *Gharjharas* and *damarus* are names of certain kinds of drums

⁷⁰ *Kulyāṅkula* would also mean 'crowded with nobles'

⁷¹ *I.e.*, Vishnu in his boar-incarnation, in which he raised the earth from the bottom of the sea with his tusks

⁷² See the *Parāśara smṛiti*, Calcutta ed., p. 626 *Dudā imau puruṣau loke sūrya maṇḍala bhedinau, parivṛṭṭa yogayuktas cha rane chābhimukho hatah*

⁷³ I take the words *dvedhāpy ayodhyāsyate* to mean, that the princes of the north did what is expressed by *ayodhyāsyate*, in the two senses which these words are capable of conveying. *Ayo*, *i.e.* *ayaḥ*, may be taken as the nominative of either the neuter *ayas*, 'iron, steel,' or the masculine *aya*, 'favourable fortune' Compare below, verses 49 and 52

quarter,⁷³ then, just as dread entered the town of the lord of Gauda, so Purandara even was of a sudden filled with apprehension

(V 39) When in the course of an unchecked expedition, undertaken in the height of power and under favourable auspices, he had attacked Tîpuri and annihilated his warlike spirited adversaries, he encamped on the banks of the Revâ, where his tents were shaded by the creeping-plants of pleasure-gardens, gently set in motion by the breeze from the torrents of the Vindhya mountains

(40) The bathing of his elephants, which allayed the fatigue of battle, produced in the stream of the Revâ a succession of waves, bent upon undermining the steep river-banks

(41) Often and often the elephants of his army, thickly covered with streams of rutting-juice, demolished even the hills at the foot of the Vindhya mountains, taking them for the elephants of the enemy because their tremulous broad torrents appeared like trunks, then projecting peaks like frontal globes, and the water flowing from their ridges like rutting-juice

(42) He traversed the hills at the foot of the Vindhya mountains, which were frequently trodden by the squadrons of his fleet horses the quick sharp hoofs of which acted like chisels in cutting up the extensive, bamboo-clad, massive table-land, and which were black with herds of countless wild elephants, excited by the odour of the rutting-juice which thickly covered the broad cheeks of the elephants of his army

(43). Even the troops of elephants of Anga and Kalinga, kindred to the elephants of the quarters and bulky like mountains set in motion by the storm at the destruction of the universe, and swelling rain-clouds, dark like herds of hogs kept for pastime,—even they had to sue for mercy, when they were bewildered⁷⁴ by the union of the storm-wind with the powerful elephants belonging to the princes of his army

(44) Near the eastern ocean clever men thus artfully proclaimed his praise, while he, pleased, looked on bashfully ‘O lord, it was the holy Purushottama to whom Fortune resorted, who relieved this universe by subduing the enemy Bali, and who supported the earth’⁷⁵

(45) The elephants of his feudatories, eager to plunge into the water to get rid of the fatigue of battle, wrested even those ocean-waves which resemble the circle of smoke of the all-consuming fire, and rival a bank of clouds, and are befriended with the darkness that spreads at the universal dissolution, when they harbour the down-breaking sky

(46) When, like the pitcher-born Agastya, he directed his steps towards the south, the Cholas and other tribes, bowing low before him, acted the part of the Vindhya mountains⁷⁶

(47) The water of the Tâmrarnî which is famed all the earth over for the pearls which the wives of the feudatories in his army, while they mirthfully bathed in the stream, dropped into it from the breaking girdles on their hips, behold, even to this day that water affords a livelihood to the Pândya chief⁷⁷

⁷³ *I.e.*, the east

⁷⁴ The word of the original would also mean ‘deprived of their trunks’

⁷⁵ The words translated by ‘it was the holy Purushottama’

and ‘the enemy Bali’ would also mean ‘glorious is that chief of men and ‘powerful enemies’

⁷⁶ See Mr S P Pandit's note on Kalidasa's *Raghuvamśa*,

VI, 61

⁷⁷ See *ib.*, notes on verses IV, 49 and 50

(V. 48) Respectfully informed by the people, that the dam before him, which looked like the growing Vindhya range, was the bridge of the holy Râma, constructed of many mountain-peaks which were feteled by Mâruti, he listened attentively, but scornfully crossed over to the opposite island simply on the elephants of his army.

(49) When his army afterwards, having reduced both the quarter and the expectations of Yama, continued its march unscathed, the noose-bearing Varuna despaired of guarding his own quarter from destruction ⁷⁸

(50). It is surely in some ocean or other that the Mainâka and the other mountains rest, that the all-devouring fire dwells, that the Timingilas and other monsters live, and that Hari sleeps, but where this is, nobody has discovered at any of the oceans at which his elephants, in swallowing all the water at a single draught, have severally acted the part of Agastya ⁷⁹

(51) By those same Timingilas and other monsters of the sea, floating about in company with which the Mainâka and other mountains appeared like shoals of young fish, by them, unchecked . . . in the whole ocean, the massive trunks of the lordly elephants of his army were made to assume the marvellous appearance of revolving Mandara mountains

(52). Afterwards when, impatient that there should be another king of kings, he was marching towards the quarter of the lord of Yakshas, the princes opposed to him got rid of fear when, terror-stricken, they abandoned not merely their wealth of riches, but also the quarter of Kuvera ⁸⁰

(53) And all the time even in the wilderness his wars were pleasure-gardens, the trees of which were his fame, reared in the midst of multitudes of distinguished warriors as among Punnâga and betel-nut creepers, and attended by the Fortune of victory who acted as a forest-deity in the thicket of his troops, gardens which were irrigated by the streams of blood flowing down from many skulls of princes, aimed at by the flashing sword which was fiercely wielded by his strong arm.

(54) Being encamped on the banks of the Vankshu,⁸¹ which were even softer than nature made them because the saffron-filaments on them were withering under the rolling of the teams of frisky horses, presented by the Turushka whom he had eradicated with ease, he taught the Kira chief to utter most flattering speeches, who on account of the proximity of the Sarasvatî was eloquent beyond measure, and who was like a parrot shut up in a big cage

(55) This blessed (king), on the occasion of a solar eclipse, piously gave⁸² with due rites two villages in the Vyâpura *mandala* Afterwards his brother, the king Naravar-madeva, has instead assigned the village of Mokhalapâtaka, at the request of the three places

(56) And he has ordered the illustrious Lakshmîdhara to construct this temple, which is adorned with many eulogies and hymns, composed by himself

⁷⁸ Yama, the ruler of the dead, is the regent of the south, and Varuna the regent of the west

⁷⁹ Agastya is fabled to have swallowed the ocean

⁸⁰ Kuvera, the chief of the Yakshas, is the regent of the northern quarter

⁸¹ According to Sir M. Monier Williams dictionary, a small arm or branch of the Ganges

⁸² The original does not say in whose favour the donation was made, but contains only the relative *yasmai*, in reference to which the demonstrative *tasmai* would have to be supplied in the second half of the verse

The year 1161

Om !

(V 57) O ye learned ! Exert yourselves well, and make your intellect sharp as the point of *luśa* grass ! Try to judge with impartiality, and with pleasure do homage to the nectar of our poetry !

(58) Blessed are both those wise men, the poet and who listens to him, who completely overcome with delight shed plentiful tears of joy

XIV—FURTHER JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURĀ

By G. BUHLER, PH D, LL D, C I E

The impressions of the subjoined inscriptions have all been furnished to me by Dr A. Fuhrer. Nos 1—VIII, X—XXI, XXIII—XXXVII and XXXIX—XLI belong to the splendid discoveries which Dr Führer made in the Kankālī Tīla at Mathurā during the period from November 1890 to March 1891¹. No 1X comes from the same site, but was discovered during the working season of 1889-90. No XXII is identical with Sir A. Cunningham's No 19 (*Arch Surv Rep*, vol III, plate xv), and No XXXVIII with Mr. Growse's No 5 (*Indian Antiquary*, vol VI, p 218). No. XLII is a Buddhist inscription, brought by Dr Fuhrer from Kāman or Kādambavana. I have added it, because it helps to interpret more correctly a sign used in one of the Jaina inscriptions, and possesses some interest in other respects.

The earliest among these inscriptions, which probably cover more than 1,200 years, is without doubt No 1, which shows exceedingly archaic characters. Its letters do not differ very much from those of Aśoka's edicts, and they look somewhat older than those in Dhanabhūti's inscription on the gateway of the Bharhut Stūpa which is dated in the reign of the Śungas (*Indian Antiquary*, vol XIV, p 138). It may, therefore, be assigned to the middle of the second century B C. Its language is pure Prakrit of the Pālī type, which shows a few peculiarities, partly traceable in other ancient documents. The genitive in *āsa* from *a*-stems, instead of *assa*, occurs in one of the older votive inscriptions at Bharhut². It may be explained by the substitution of the long vowel and a single consonant for the short vowel and a double consonant. The lengthening of the initial *a* of *āmtevasī*, which is also found in *āmtevasīm*, No 1V, finds an analogy in the curious *paryāntam*, which occurs twice in Āpastamba's *Dharmasūtra*, I 3, 9, 23 and I 3, 11, 33, and has been explained in the Introduction to the second edition of that work (p v, note 4). The use of the nominative at the end of the first part of the compound *pāsādotoranam* is well known from the inscriptions of the Indo-Skythic period, see *ante*, vol I, p 375 and below. Possibly it is found also in one of the votive inscriptions from the Sānchi Stūpa, No i, see *ante*, p 90.

Next in age comes No 11, the inscription from the reign of the Mahākshatrapa Śodāsa. The existence of this ruler was first made known by Sir A. Cunningham, who found another inscription with his name in the Kankālī Tīla, (see *Arch Surv Rep*,

¹ Dr Führer has sent me during the period mentioned altogether 74 inscriptions, among which 64 are new Jaina inscriptions from the Kankālī Tīla. Those not given in this paper are either very small fragments of no particular interest or not readable with any certainty.

² See Dr E. Hultzsch's article *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Bd XL, p 60ff, No 145,

vol. III, p 30, and plate xiii, No 1) On the evidence of his coins, which resemble those of Azes, Sir A. Cunningham placed Śodasa about 80—70 B C, and conjectured that he was a son of Rajubula, another Satrap of Mathurā. The latter conjecture is confirmed, as he has stated of late, by a passage on Dr Bhagvānlal's lion-pillar, where Śodasa is called the son of Rajula.³ Though the precise date assigned to Śodasa may be doubted, still he must have ruled at Mathurā in the first century B C, before the time of Kanishka and his successors. I do not dare to offer for the present any conjecture regarding the era which Śodasa uses. Sir A. Cunningham (*loc cit*) is inclined to identify it with that used by the Mahārāja Moga and other foreign rulers of Northern India. The inscription No 11 is also in pure Prakrit of the Pali type. The next inscription, No 11, mentions also a Mahakshatrapa, whose name seems to have begun with Ma. It is to this circumstance that it owes its place. Its appearance indicates that it is much later than No 11, and as it is incised on a sculpture cut out of the back of that on which No x is found, it must be later than the latter. Still its date will fall before the time of Kanishka, as the Mahakshatrapas of Mathurā must have passed away before the Kushanas reigned there. The *mangala* of the inscription, the only portion fully preserved, is in pure Sanskrit.

The next seven inscriptions, Nos iv—x, which have been grouped under the name "archaic," all belong in my opinion to the period before Kanishka. But I am not able to say anything regarding their relative position towards each other or towards Nos 11 and 11. The chief differences which separate them from the documents of the Kushana-period are the use of the tripartite subscribed *ya*, the want of the loop on the left side of the ordinary *ya*, the *da*, slightly open to the left (which occurs in Nos iv and ix), and the well developed vertical stroke and symmetrical shape of the *ta*. The *va* has a very curious shape in the word *Śivayaśā*, No. v, l 2a, as it consists of two triangles with the apexes joined. The language of most of them is pure Prakrit of the Pali type, but No iv shows one Sanskrit form and No. vii is apparently in pure Sanskrit. With respect to No ix I must add that I am inclined to identify the Gotiputra Īdrapāla or Īdrapālita with Gotiputra, "the black cobra for the Śakas and the Pothayas" mentioned in No. xxxiii of the collection, published *ante*, vol I, p 396. If that is correct, the document must go back to the times before the consolidation of the foreign rule at Mathurā.

The next group, Nos xi—xxiv, consists of the dated inscriptions which in my opinion all belong to the time of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva. Not one shows the name of a king. Nevertheless, I believe that nobody, who carefully compares them with the dated documents, mentioning the three kings, will come to a different conclusion. The dates range within the well-known limits from Samvat 4 to Samvat 98. The characters and the language are of the same mixed types described in the introduction to my first paper, *ante*, vol I, p 371ff. I have nothing to add to the remarks made there on the alphabet and the spelling. As regards the language, I will only call attention to a few points. The few verbal forms, *bhavatu*, No. xiii, *astu*, No. xviii, and *nirvarlayati*, No xx, are pure Sanskrit. No xxii, where we have *śishyasya gamasya*

³ *Academy* of April 25th, 1891, p 397. On an impression of the inscriptions on the lion pillar, which I owe to the kindness of Dr Burgess, I, too, read *Rajulasa putra Sudasa chhatrava*. But I do not feel quite certain that *Rajula* and *Rajubula* are the same person, nor that the words given above, which stand in two consecutive lines with other signs in between, are really connected.

Nandīye, furnishes an exact analogy to the curious form *Haganamdīa* in No. 1x of the collection in vol I, and shows that masculine *i*-stems really take the terminations of the feminine. Possibly No xxix, which shows *ganīsyā uggahīniyā*, furnishes a third instance. Very interesting, too, are the numerous cases where the nominative takes the place of the crude form, both in this and in the next group. Among the remarkable words I note *asma* or *asmī kshune*, "at that moment," in Nos xv, xxiv and xli, *pana* "fifty" in No xvii and *dvāpanā* "fifty-two" in No xviii, among which the latter possesses some interest on account of the Mahārāshtrī *bāvanna* and the *bāvan* or *bāvan* of various modern vernaculars.

After this group have been placed thirteen inscriptions, Nos xxv—xxxvii, which in my opinion, likewise belong to the period of Kanishka and his successors, though it is impossible to exactly fix their dates. With respect to Nos. xxv—xxvii, which show the names of Devaputra Huvishka and Devaputra Huksha, as well as the titles *māhārāja rājātīrāja*, the correctness of my view is evident. It can also be proved or made probable for some others, *e.g.*, No xxxiv, which mentions the venerable Balatrāta and his pupil Sandhi. Both names occur in No. v of the earlier collection (*ante*, vol I, p 384), which is dated in the year 25. Again, No. xxxvi certainly did bear a date, which may have been Samvat 50, and the teacher Jeshtahastī, mentioned in No xxxvii, is known from No. xiv of the earlier collection, where the name of his pupil, looking like *Mahalo*, has to be read *Mihilo*, on the evidence of the new inscription. With respect to these two inscriptions, as well as to Nos xxviii, xxix and xxxiii, the close resemblance of the letters to those of the inscriptions, showing the names of the three kings, must be allowed its due weight. I must, however, admit that Nos xxx and xxxi are somewhat doubtful, and that they may possibly have to be transferred to the archaic group, belonging to the time before Kanishka. The characters of some of these thirteen inscriptions show a few peculiarities worthy of note. In *pratimā* No xxix, the *ā*-stroke has been undoubtedly placed below the consonant to which it belongs. This is quite in keeping with the "anyhow-style" of the Indian writers and masons. In No xxix of the earlier collection (*ante*, vol I, p 395, fourth plate), the same vowel has been attached to the lower right limb of *ta* in the word *arāhamtāna*, and similar instances occur in later inscriptions. In No xxxiv, l. 2, the looped *ta* of *Navahastīsyā* is remarkable, especially as the same sign is used for *na* in *bhrātīnam* (l. 3). The looped form of *ta* is common enough in the southern inscriptions, where it first appears in those of Siryañña Sātakani⁴. But I have not observed it on any document which comes from the northern half of India. Another curious sign is the *va* which looks, owing to a continuation of the two side-strokes beyond the apex, almost exactly like *ma*. It is quite distinct in the word *vadhūye*, No xxxii, l. 1, likewise in *vihāre*, No xli, and in *Huvishkasya*, No xxv. As regards the spelling, I would call attention to the tachygraphic abbreviation of the word, *siddha*, discussed in the remark on No xxvii, in note 2 on No xxxvi, and note 2 on No xli. Among the linguistic peculiarities, I would point out the phrase *bahavo[to] vachaka cha ganīno cha*, "of the great preacher and *ganīn*," No xxxvi, which affords another illustration of the principle discussed in the introduction to the earlier collection, *ante*, vol I, p 375. Another amusing instance of the

⁴ *Arch. Rep. West Ind.*, vol IV, plate IV, No 22, compare also No 20

utter absence of all feeling for grammatical forms is furnished by the description of the *donatrix* in No xxxiv, *Navahastasya dhātā, grahasenasya vadhu . . Sivasenasya . bhātrīnam mātū jāyāye*, where two nominatives are co-ordinated with two genitives

The next three inscriptions, Nos xxxviii—xl, belong, in my opinion, to the Gupta period. This is, of course, indisputable with No. xxxix, which is dated in the reign of Kumāragupta. The shape of the letters, and especially the peculiar method of marking the long and short *z*, by turning the former to the right of the consonant and the latter to the left, makes it, I think, impossible to assign No. xxxviii to an earlier period. If my conjecture is accepted, its date, the year 57, is the earliest Gupta date yet found. No. xl may perhaps be a little later than the Gupta period. With respect to the remaining two documents it will suffice to say that No. xli clearly belongs to the eleventh century A D, and that No. xlii, the Appendix, dates from the Indo-Skythian period.

Short discussions of the historical results, obtainable from these inscriptions, have been given already in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol V, p. 59ff, and p. 175ff, and a fuller one will appear in this publication. Here I content myself with giving a brief resumé of the chief points. First, as regards the political history, we have now, through No. ii, actual proof that the Kshatrapas of Mathurā used a particular era, different from that of Kanishka and his successors. The importance of this fact will probably become still greater when Dr Bhagvānlāl's paper on his Lion-pillar will appear. For the history of the Kushana kings, we gain through No. xxvi the certainty that the name Hushka, which the *Rājataranginī* has preserved and which still survives in the name of the Kashmirian village Ushka-Hushkapura, was actually used in ancient times for Huvishka. Secondly, with respect to the history of the Jaina sect, we learn through No. i that the Jainas were settled in Mathurā in the second century B C, and through No. xx that an ancient Jaina Stūpa existed in Mathurā, which in A D 167 was considered to have been built by the gods, *z e*, was so ancient that its real origin had been completely forgotten. The inscriptions further furnish the new names of the Vachekhalīya *kula* (No. xiii) and of the Vidyādharī *Śākhā* (No. xxxix) for the Kottiya or Kotika *gana*, as well as those of the Nātika, or perhaps Nādika *kula* (No. xxviii) of the Aryyabhyista or perhaps Aryyanista *kula* and of the Sa[mkāsīyā] *Śākhā* (No. xxxvi) for the Vārana *gana*. The schools connected with the Kottiya *gana* offer no difficulty, as they agree with the corresponding names of the *Kalpasastra*. The Nātika or Nādika *kula* may be considered to correspond to the Mālījja *kula* of the *Sthavirāvalī*, and there is just a possibility that the last name may be an abbreviated spelling for *Aryya-Aniyasa(to)* and correspond to a Prakrit corruption of *Ārya-Kanīyasa*, another equivalent for which, *Aryya-Kanīyasa*, occurs in the inscription No. xxiii of the earlier collection (see note 1 to No. xxxvi).

No. I *

समनस माहरखितास आतिवासिस वक्षीपुवस सावकास उतरदासक[र]स पासादीतीरन [॥*]†

TRANSLATION

"An ornamental aich for the temple' (*the gift*) of the lay-hearer Utaradāsaka

* Incised on a large ornamented rectangular slab, measuring 4' 2"—9'

† According to the impression the reading सावकास is perhaps possible. Possibly उतरदासक is to be read

Regarding the irregular compound, see above the introductory remarks

(*Uttaradāsaka*),⁸ son of the Vachhī (*Vātsī mother and*) disciple⁹ of the ascetic Māharakhita (*Māgharakshita*)”

No II¹⁰.

L 1 नम अरहतो वर्धमानस ।¹¹

2 स्व[र]मिस महचक्षपस शोडासस सवत्सरे ४० (?) २ हेमन्तमासे २ दिवसे ८ हरितिपुत्रस पालस
भयाये समसाविकाये¹²

3 कोष्ठिये अमोहिनिये सहा पुत्रेहि पालघोषेन पोठघोषेन धनघोषेन आयवती प्रतिस्थापिता
प्राय—[म]—

4 आर्यवती अरहतपुजाये [॥]

TRANSLATION.

“Adoration to the Arhat Vardhamāna! In the year 42 (?) of the Lord, the Mahākshatrapa Śodāsa, in the second month of winter, on the 9th day, an Āyavatī (*Āryavatī*), was set up by Amohinī (*Amohinī*), the Kochhī (*Kautsī*), a female lay-disciple of the ascetics (*and*) wife of Pāla, son of a Haritī (*Haritī or Hārītī mother*), together with her sons Pālaghosha, Pothaghosha (*Prosthaghosha and*) Dhana-ghosha . the Āryavatī (*is*) for the worship of the Arhat.”

No III¹³.

L 1 सिद्धम् । नमोस्त्वर्ह्यज्ञः¹⁴

2 महाराजमहाचक्षपस — —¹⁵

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration be to the Arhats! . . . Mahārāja, Mahākshatrapa-Ma . . .

No IV¹⁶

L 1 भदतजयसेनस्य आतेवासिनीये

2 धामघोषाये दानो पासादो [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

“A temple, the gift of Dhāmaghoshā (*Dharmaghoshā*), the female disciple¹⁷ of the venerable Jayasena.”

⁸ Compare the Buddhist name *Uttarasena* . . . *Uttara* probably stands *bhīmasvat* for Uttarahālgnni or Uttarabhadrapada

⁹ Regarding the form *अतिवासि* see above the Introduction. The term means here no doubt that Māharakhita was the spiritual director of Uttaradāsaka, for the latter was, as the description shows, a layman, not an ascetic.

¹⁰ Incised on a slab measuring 3' 2" by 3' 8" and bearing the representation of a royal lady, surrounded by attendants one of whom is holding up a parasol

¹¹ Possibly नमो, as the ends of the upper strokes of *na* are somewhat thickened

¹² The first figure of the date may possibly be 70 The Anuvāsa of जेसत् is not certain Read समसाविकाये

¹³ Incised on the top of a small statue set out on the back of the panel, which bears the inscription No. X.

¹⁴ The second vowel of नमो is expressed by two abnormally short strokes An accidental scratch gives to ०ह्यज्ञ the appearance of ०ह्यज्ञ —

¹⁵ The last syllable may have been नमो —

¹⁶ Incised on the back of a broken sculptured Torana, measuring 1' 2" by 8"

¹⁷ I suppose आतेवासिनी means here, like अतिवासि in No. 1, that Jayasena was Dhāmaghoshā's spiritual director, not that she was an ascetic

No V¹⁹.L 1a नमो अरहतानं फगुयशस¹⁹

2a नतकस भयाये शिवयशा-

3a — — ि — ि — — — ि — काये

1b आयागपटो कारितो

2b अरहतपुजाये [॥^x]

TRANSLATION

“Adoration to the Arhats! By Śivayaśā (Śivayaśas), wife of the dancer Phaguyaśa (Phalguyaśas), . . . a tablet of homage (āyāgapata)²⁰ was caused to be made for the worship of the Arhats”

No VI²¹

भगवा नेमैसो भग — —

TRANSLATION.

“The divine Nemesa (Nai gamesha), divine . . . ”²²

No VII²³

L 1. य — च

2 — र[क्तव]स्य च यो मनो

3 —ायतन धनस्य सहित

4 — — [चिष्य]क्षयं [न] कि²⁴

The fragment admits of no continuous translation. It would seem that we have in line 2 the beginning of a verse in the Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre, and in line 3 the middle portion of another. The whole was no doubt a metrical Prasasti written entirely in Sanskrit.

No VIII²⁵

नमो अरहतो महाविरस । मायुरक — — लवाडस [सा] —

भयाये — — व — —िताये [आयागपटो] [॥^x]

TRANSLATION

“Adoration to the Arhat Mahāvira (Mahāvīra). A tablet of homage (āyāgapata the gift) of . . . itā, wife of lavāda (?), an inhabitant of Mathurā”

¹⁹ Incised on the base of a mutilated tablet measuring 2' 4" by 1' 9", and bearing the representation of a stūpa with rails and gate, as well as of two naked dancing women in the same posture as those on Dr Bhagvanlal's slab, *Actes du sixième Congrès, Int. Or.*, pt. III, sect. II, p. 142

²⁰ Possibly फगुयशस, but I believe the apparent 1-stroke to be accidental

²¹ Regarding the meaning of आयागपटो, see *ante*, vol. I, p. 396

²² Incised on a small sculptured frieze measuring 2' by 10", and bearing the representation of a large seated figure with a goat's head, of a small naked male and several large female figures, one of whom holds a child in her lap

²³ The inscription seems to be intended to explain the meaning of the sculpture, regarding which see a subsequent article on sculptures from Mathurā.

²⁴ Incised on a fragment of a large slab, measuring 1' by 8"

²⁵ The bracketed letter looks almost like *ka*, but the lower part of the vertical is faint, and the top so damaged, that the apparent 1-stroke may have been only a serif. The Anusvara of कि is doubtful

²⁶ Incised on the base of a beautifully sculptured square panel (an āyāgapata), measuring 2' 10" by 2' 10"

No. IX.²⁰L 1. मा भरहत्पुजा [वि]²⁷2. गोतीपुत्रस ईद्रपा[ल] — —²⁸

TRANSLATION

An image of for the worship of the Arhats . . . of Īdrapāla (*Idrapāla*),²⁹ the son of the Gotī (*Gauptī mother*).

No X³⁰

— वे जीवनादाये — —

TRANSLATION

“Of Jīvanādā (*Jīvanandā*).” . . .

No. XI³¹A सिंह स ४ यि १ दि २० वारणाती गणाती अर्यहाट्टकियाती कुलती वजणगरित[ि शा] — —³²B. पुश्यमित्रस्य शिशिनि सविसिहाये शिशिनि सिंहसितस्य सदचरि — — —³³C दाति सहा ग्रहचेटेन ग्रहदासेन — —³⁴

TRANSLATION.

“Success! In the year 4, the first (*month* of) summer, the day 20,— . . . of the female convert³⁵ (*sadhachari*) of Sihamitra (*Simhamitra*), the female pupil of Sathisihā (*Shashitisimhā*), the female pupil of Puśyamitra . . . out of the Vārana gana, out of the Ārya-Hāttakīya (*Ārya-Hāttakīya*) kula, out of the Vajanagarī (*Vājanagarī*) śākhā . . . the gift . . . , together with Graha-cheta (*and*) Grahadāsa”

No. XII³⁶

— — — स्य व ५ गृ ४ दि ५ कोट्टिया — — — — —
त[ि] शाखात [ि] वाचकस्य अर्थ — —

TRANSLATION

“In the year 5 of , in the fourth (*month of*) summer, on the fifth day,— of the preacher (*vāchaka*) Āryya . . . (*Ārya* . . .) out of the Kottīya (*gana*) , out of the śākhā

²⁰ This inscription belongs to Dr Führer's collection of 1889-90. It is incised on the pedestal of a small squatted Jina measuring 1' 6" by 1' 2".

²⁷ Restore *pratimā*

²⁸ As the right half of the *la* has been lost the name is not certain. It may have been *Idrapālita*.

²⁹ Regarding the person meant, see above the Introduction.

³⁰ Incised on lower border of a sculptured panel, see inscription No. III.

³¹ Incised on the base of a squatted Jina, 1' 1" by 1' 7".

³² The 2 stroke of *siddham* has been lost, the Anusvara is not certain. The 2 stroke of *aryahāttakīyāto* is faintly visible on the impression. Below the *ga* of *rajanagarito* a letter, probably another *ga*, has been lost. Restore *śākhāto*, but more syllables have probably been lost.

³³ At the end of the line, the name of the nun has been lost, and probably also the word *nirvartanā*.

³⁴ The line is mutilated both in the beginning and at the end: the name of the donor or donatrix and the description of the gift being certainly lost.

³⁵ This translation is, of course, merely tentative, the Sanskrit equivalent is *śrāddhachari*.

³⁶ Incised on base of a squatted figure of Jina measuring 2' by 1' 0".

No XIII.³⁷

- A स १० ८ ग ४ दि ३ [अस्या पु] — [य] — — [या]तो गण[तो] — — — —³⁸
 B सभोगातो वच्छलियातो कुलातो गणि — — — — —³⁹
 D. 1. — — — वासि जयस्य — तु मासिगिये (?) दानं सर्वत[?]भ[?] — — — —⁴⁰
 2 — [सर्वस]वा[?] सुखाय भवतु ।⁴¹

TRANSLATION.

"The year 18, the fourth (*month of*) summer, the third day,—on that (*date specified as*) above a fourfold [*image*], the gift of Māsīgī(?) (mother of) Jaya [*at the request*] of . . . a *gan* out of the [Kottī]ya *gana* . . . , out of the . . . *sambhoga*, out of Vachchhalīya (*Vātsalīya*) *kula*. May it be for the welfare of all beings ! "

No. XIV⁴²

- A. — — — प १० [८] व २ दि १० १⁴³
 B धितु मि[तशि]रिये भगवती अरिष्टणमिस्य [विवर्त?]? — —⁴⁴

TRANSLATION.

"The year 18, the second (*month of*) the rainy season, the day 11
 [*the gift*] of Mita-Siri (?) *Mitrakri*, the daughter of
 a of divine Arishtanemi (*Arishtanemi*)

No. XV.⁴⁵

- A. स ३० १ व १ दि १० अस्म चणे
 B 1 — — यातो गणतो [अ]र्यविरितो शास्वतो [ठा]णियातो कुलातो वह[तो] । कुटुम्बि-
 णिये [य]ह⁴⁶
 2. — — — — [अर्य] — दासस्य निवर्त्तना बुद्धिस्य धितु देवि लस्य । शिरिये दाण ।⁴⁷

³⁷ Incised on the base of a quadruple image of four standing naked Jinas, 1' by 8' The section C has been cut away

³⁸ Read *asyā* The restoration *koffiyāto* is highly probable At the end of the line the name of the Sambhoga has been lost

³⁹ Indistinct remnants of *aya* are visible after *gan* The lost piece C must have contained the name of the Ganin and the greater portion of the description of the donatrix which is very imperfect

⁴⁰ The impression point to *mātu* For *māsiye* it is possible to read *māsiye* or *maseniye*, but none of these forms, admits of an explanation May it be *Mosiniye* for *Moshiniye*? See below No xxxvii Restore *survatobhadrika pratimā*

⁴¹ Read *sarvasatvānam*

⁴² Incised on base of small standing Jina, measuring 2' by 10'

⁴³ Perhaps *varsha* is to be restored

⁴⁴ The third syllable of the proper name is not certain

⁴⁵ Incised on base of small squatting Jina, 2' by 1' 1'

⁴⁶ Restore *koffiyāto gandto, vahato* (= *brikato*) Before *kutumbiniye* the impression shows a faint vertical stroke, which apparently indicates that in reality the line is at an end, and that one must read on from the beginning of B 2 the last words, which would give no sense, must be read at the end of the second line

⁴⁷ Probably *ganasya* is to be restored in the beginning As only one syllable has been lost between *arya* and *dāsasya* the restoration *godāsasya* seems certain The name occurs in the *Kalpasastra* (p 79 ed Jacobi) After *devlasasya* stands again a faint vertical stroke, exactly corresponding to that in the upper line The proper order of the words is therefore — कोट्टियातो [ग]ण[तो] अर्यविरितो शास्वतो [ठा]णियातो कुलातो वह[तो] (?) [गणिस्य] अर्य [गो]दासस्य निवर्त्तना बुद्धिस्य धितु देविलस्य कुटुम्बिणिये यहशिरिये दाण ।

No 1 Early undated inscription

MATHURA JAINA INSCRIPTIONS (NEW SERIES) NOS I-VII



No 2 Of Sod'asa

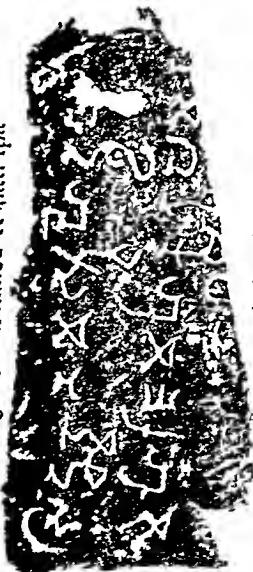
Inscriptions of the Kshatrapas of Mathura.

Scale 1-4th



No 3 Of unnamed Kshatrapa

Scale 3-10ths



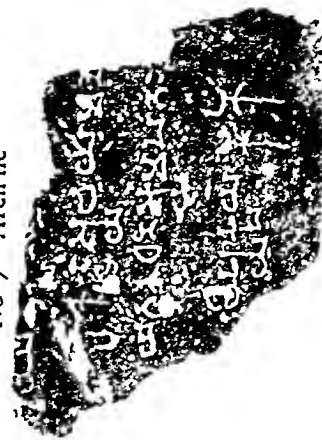
Scale half the original

Archaeic Inscriptions No 1



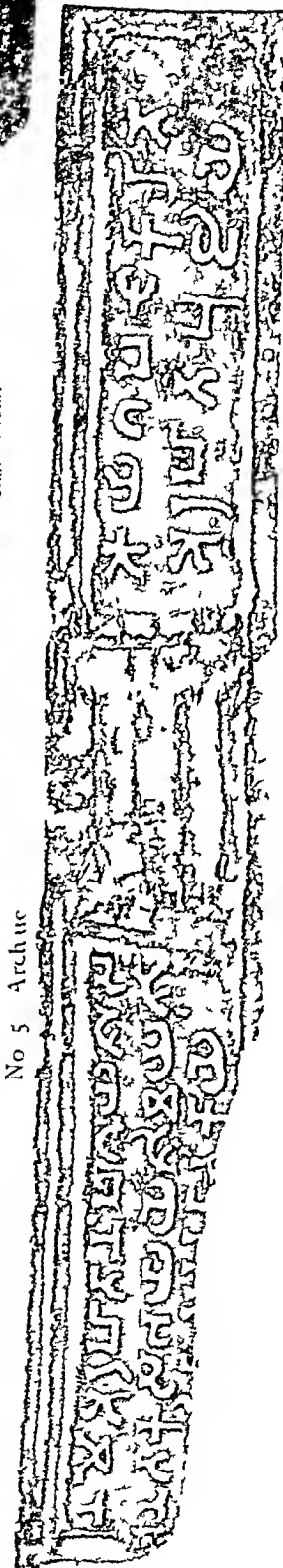
Scale 1/10th

No 7 Archaeic



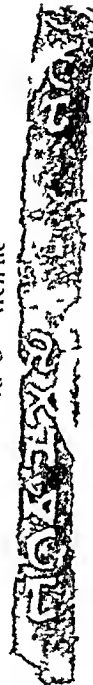
Scale 1/4th

No 5 Archaeic



No 6 Archaeic

Scale 1/3rd



Scale 1/10th

No 8 Archaic

MATHURA JUNA INSCRIPTIONS (NEW SERIES) NOS VIII-XXV

Scale 1-10th

No 9 Archaic

Scale 1-4th

No 11 Dated Inscription, Sam 4

Scale 1-10th

No 10 Archaic

Scale 1-4th

No 12 Dated Sam 5

Scale 1-3rd

Scale Half the original

No 13 Dated Sam 18, grishma

Scale 1-3rd

No 14 Dated Sam 18, varsha

Scale 1-3rd

Scale Half the original

No 15 Dated Sam 31

Scale 1-3rd

A Fuhres, Ph D impress

Scale 1-3rd

TRANSLATION

"The year 31, the first (*month of the*) rainy season, the tenth day,—at this moment a gift (*was made*) by Grahastī (Grahastī), daughter of Buddhī (*and*) wife of Devīla at the request of the great (?) [Gann] Aiyya [-Go-]dāsa, out of the [Kottī]ya (*gana*), the Aiyya-Verī (Aiyya-Varī) śākhā, the Thāniya (Sthāniya) kula"

No XVI⁴⁹

A 1 सिद्धम् । सव[त्स]रे ३० । २ हेमन्तमासे ४ दिवसे २ वारणातो गणा — — —
यातो[कु]() ⁵⁰

2 — — — — —

B 1 — णि अर्यनन्दिकस्य निर्व्वर्त्तना जितामित्रय [रितु]नन्दिस्य धीतु बुद्धिस्य कुटुम्बिनिये
प्रा—⁵⁰

2 रिकस्य — नी — णि मातु गन्धिकस्य अरहन्तप्रतिमा सर्व्वतोभद्रिका ।⁵¹

TRANSLATION

"Success ! In the year 32, in the fourth month of winter, on the second day, a fourfold image of the Arhat (*was dedicated*) by Jitāmītiā, daughter of Rītanandī (*Rītanandī*), wife of Buddhī (*and*) mother of the perfumer . . . , at the request of *gani* Aya-Nandika (*Ārya-Nandika*), . . . out of the Vāiāna *gana*, the . . . ya kula . . . "

No XVII⁵²

L 1 पण ५० हेमतमासे प — — —

2 आर्य्यचरस्य — — — —⁵³

3 ये युधदिनस्य

4 धित

5 पृष्वुधिस्य — — —

No continuous translation of the fragment is possible The date is "the year 50 and the first or fifth (?) month of winter"

No XVIII⁵⁴

L 1. सिद्ध सवत्सर द्वापना ५० २ हेमन्त[मा]स प्रथ—दिवस पचवीश २० ५ अस्म च्छे क[री]
द्वियातो गणान[री]⁵⁵

2 वेरातो शखतो स्थानिकियातो कुलात[री] श्रीगृहतो सभोगातो वाचकस्थार्य्यधस्तुहस्तिस्य⁵⁶

3 शिष्यो गणिस्यार्य्यमगुहस्तिस्य पटचरो वाचको अर्य्यदिवितस्य निर्व्वर्त्तना शूरस्य अम-⁵⁷

4 एकपुत्रस्य गोदिकस्य लोहिकाकारकस्य दान सर्व्वसत्त्वान हितसुखायास्तु ।

⁴⁹ Incised on base of a quadruple image of four standing naked Jinas, measuring 8' by 11'

⁵⁰ Possibly *ganāto kottīlyto* is to be restored

⁵¹ Restore *gani, ritu* is uncertain

⁵² Perhaps *prātavikasya* to be restored, which might mean 'a ferryman See below No XVIII

⁵³ Incised on base of large squared Jina measuring 1' 5" by 1' 10"

⁵⁴ Perhaps *Āryya kharasya*

⁵⁵ Incised on the base of a broken image measuring 8' by 1' 6"

⁵⁶ The Anusvara of *samītsara* is doubtful

⁵⁷ Read *śākhāto*

⁵⁸ *Shadhacharo* stands no doubt for *sadhacharo*, possibly *detetarya* or *divetasya*

TRANSLATION

"Success! the year fifty-two, 52, the first month of winter, the twenty-fifth day, 25—at that moment (*was dedicated*) the gift of the worker in metal⁵⁸ Gottika, the Śūra,⁵⁹ the son of Śramanaka, at the request of the preacher Aryya-Divita, (*who is*) the convert of the *gana* Aryya-Manguhastī (*and*) the pupil of the preacher Aryya-Ghastu-hastī out of the Kottiya *gana*, the Veṛiā (*Vajrā*) śākhā, the Sthānīkiya *kula* (*and*) the Śrīgriha *sambhoga* May it be for the welfare and happiness of all creatures!

No. XIX⁶⁰.

L. 1 सिद्ध स ६० २ व २ दि ५ एतस्य पुत्रय वाचकस्य आयकर्कुहस्य[स]⁶¹

2 वारणगणियस शिषो ग्रहबलो आतपिको तस निवर्तना

"Success! the year 62, the second (*month of the*) rainy season, the day 5, on that (*date, specified as*) above, the pupil of the preacher Āya-Karkuhastha (*Āya-Kar kaśa-ghaṣṭha*)⁶² of the Vārana *gana*, was the ālapika Grahabala, at his request

No XX⁶³

A. 1. सं ७० ८ व ४ दि २० एतस्यां पुर्व्वाय कोट्टिये गणे वइराया शाखाया — —⁶⁴

2 को अयवृषहस्ति अरहतो णन्दि[आ]वर्तस प्रतिम निर्वर्तयति ।⁶⁵

B — — — भार्य्ये आविक्काये [दिनाये] दान प्रतिमा वोद्धे थुपे देवनिर्मिते प्र — — —⁶⁶

TRANSLATION

"The year 79, the fourth (*month of the*) rainy season, the twentieth day—on that (*date, specified as*) above, Āya-Viṛḍḍhahastī (*Āya-Vṛiddhahastin*), a preacher in the Kottiya *gana* (*and*) in the Vārīā (*Vajrā*) śākhā, gave the advice to make an image of the Arhat Nandīāvarta (*Nāndyāvarta*)⁶⁷ . . . the image, the gift of the female lay-disciple Dīnā (*Dattā*), wife of . . . , was set up at the Vodva Stūpa, built by the gods"

No XXI⁶⁸

L 1 स ८० १ व १ दि ६ एतस्य पुत्राय [अ]यिकाजीवाये अते-

2 वासिकिनिये दत्ताये निवतना । [अ]हशिरिये — — —

⁵⁸ Compare *ante*, vol I, p 391, No XXI

⁵⁹ I take Śūra, as the name of the family or the clan

⁶⁰ Incised on the upper part of the base of a sitting Jina 2' 8" by 1' 8", the lower part has been destroyed

⁶¹ On further consideration, I read the numeral sign, which I formerly believed to possibly stand for 40, always as 60

⁶² The persons named here are probably the same as those in Sir A. Cunningham's inscription, re edited in the *Vienna Or Jour*, vol I, p 172

⁶³ Incised on the left portion of the base of a large standing figure of Jina, measuring 2' 3" by 1' 8", the right portion is missing

⁶⁴ I now recognise that the second figure is 9, not 8, as I read it formerly. Possibly the apparent *ra* stroke above *ra* may be accidental. Possibly *kolīye* to be read. At the end of the line the two syllables *vācha* have certainly been lost, because the syllable *ko* in 1 2 stands exactly under *sum* and 1 2 is, therefore, complete

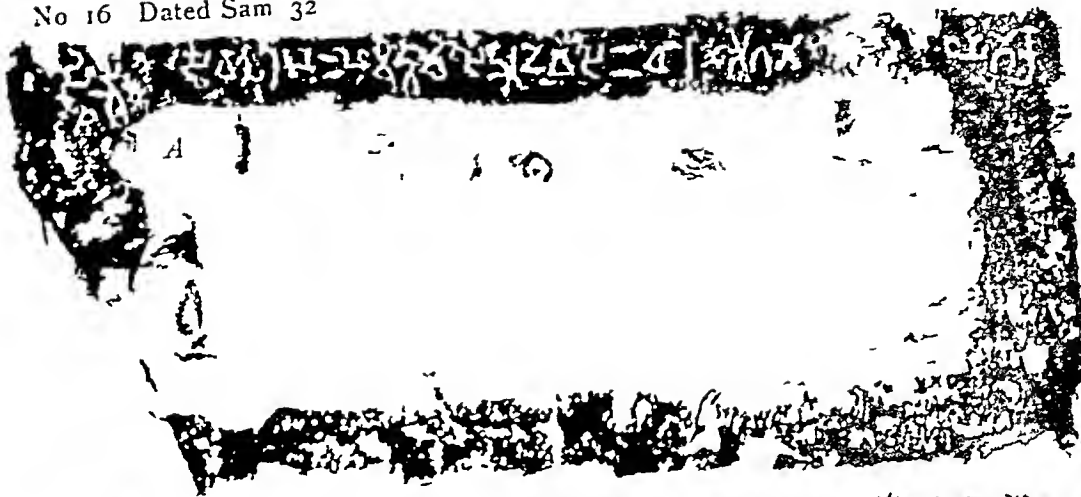
⁶⁵ The *na* is abnormal, and so is the marking of the length of *ā* by a stroke going upwards

⁶⁶ It is possible to read *iko votte*, which, however, is unsatisfactory as *vodve*. Perhaps *voddhe*, *ve viddhe* "ancient," is meant. Professor E. Leumann proposes to divide *pratimāvo dve* and to take this in the sense of *pratime dve* (two images). This exceedingly ingenious explanation becomes difficult, because in A only *one* statue is mentioned. Restore *pratishthāpitā*. At the beginning of the line stood the name of Dinnā's husband, as a small remnant of a *śya* is still visible on the impression

⁶⁷ The Arhat Nandīāvarta, *i.e.*, he whose mark is the *Nandīāvarta* symbol, is Aru, the eighteenth Tirthamkara

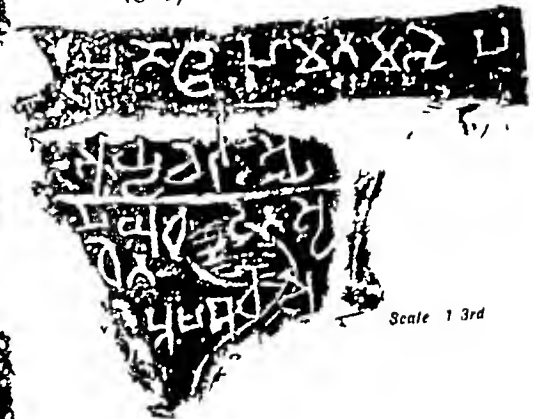
⁶⁸ Incised on the upper part of the base of a seated figure, 2' 5" by 1' 10", lower part destroyed

No 16 Dated Sam 32



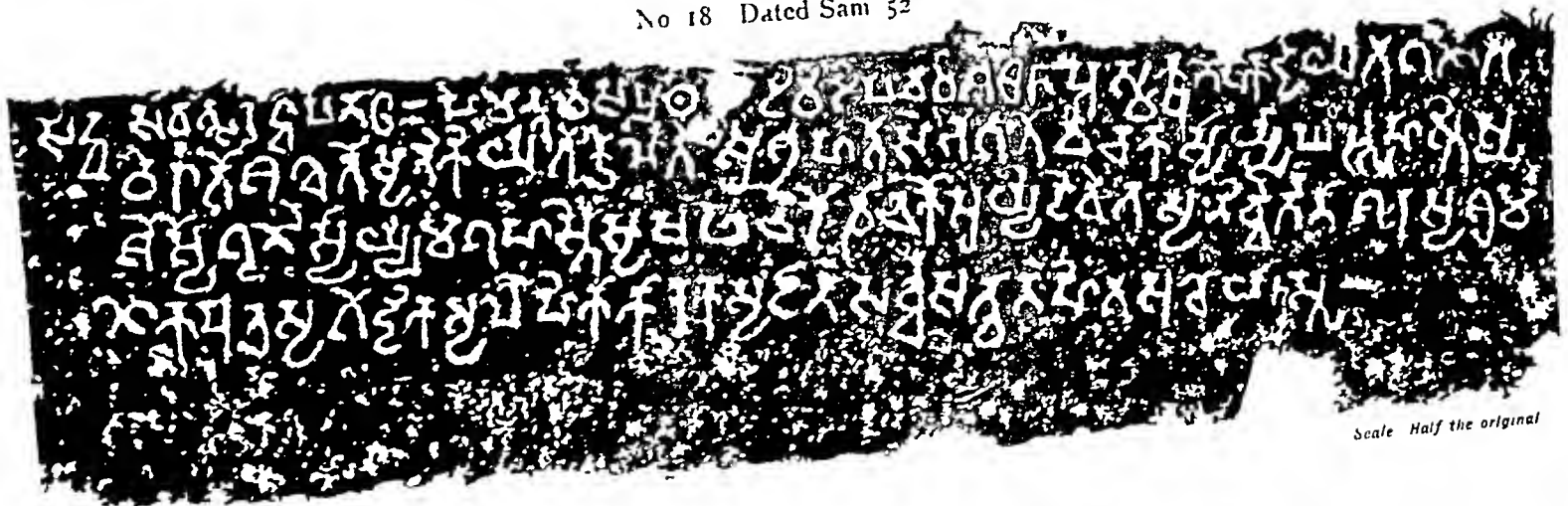
Scale Half the original

No 17 Dated Sam 50



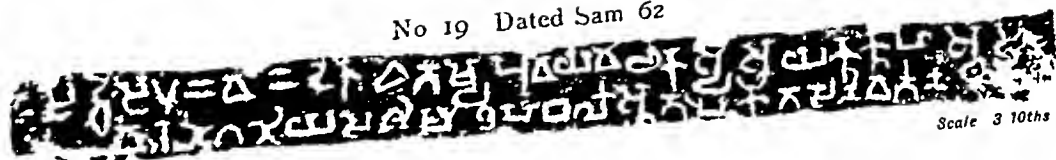
Scale 1 3rd

No 18 Dated Sam 52



Scale Half the original

No 19 Dated Sam 62



Scale 3 10ths

No 20 MATHURA JAINA INSCRIPTIONS (NEW SERIES) NOS XX XXVI
Inscription dated Sam 79



No 25 Huvishka



Scale 1-3rd



No 26 Huvishka



Scale 1-3rd

No 21 Dated Sam 81



Scale half the original

No 22 Dated Sam 90



Scale 1-3rd

No 23 Dated Sam 93



No 24 Dated Sam 98



Scale 1-3rd

TRANSLATION

"The year 81, the first (*month of the*) rainy season, the sixth day—on that (*date as specified*) above at the request of Datā, the female pupil⁶⁹ of Ayikā-Jivā (*Āyikā-Jivā*)—Grahāsiri (*Grahaśiri*)

No XXII

- L 1 सव [८० व] — — — — — टुवनिए दिनस्य वधुय
 2 को — — तो ग[ण]तो प — व[ह] — [क]तो कुलातो मभमातो शाखा[तो] — —
 सनिकय भतिवलाए—भिनि

This inscription is Sir A. Cunningham's No 19 (*Archæological Survey Reports*, vol III, pl xv) It seems to have suffered since the time when the first facsimile was prepared The date, which I have given according to Sir A. Cunningham, has disappeared, and several letters at the end of line 2 have become indistinct Its chief value consists in the mention of the *Majhamā śākhā* and the *Pa-vaha-ka kula*, which latter I have formerly identified with the *Prasnavāhanaka* or *Pankavāhanaya kula* of the Jaina tradition Dr Fuhrer's impression shows pretty clearly that the first letter is *pa*, which is not equally certain according to Sir A. Cunningham's facsimile It also makes it probable that the third letter of the name is not *hu*, but *ha* The name of the *gana* was without a doubt Kottiya, as the first syllable *ko* is tolerably distinct

No XXIII⁷⁰

- A नमो अर्हतो महाविरस्य स ८० ३ [व] — — —
 B 1 गिष्यस्य ग[णि]स्य [न]न्दिये [नि]र्वर्तना देवस्य हैरस्यकस्य धितु — — — — —¹
 2 — — — ि — [भ] — वतो वर्धमानप्रतिमा प्रति — — — — —² — पुजा[ये] [॥]⁷²

TRANSLATION

"Adoration to the Arhat Mahāvira (*Mahāvira*) ' The year 93, the . . . (*month of*) the rainy season . . . at the request of the *gani* Nandi (*Nandi*) pupil of an image of divine Varddhamaṇa was set up by . . . , the daughter of the goldsmith Deva, for the worship [*of the Arhat*]"

No XXIV⁷³

- स ८० ८ हे १ दि ५ अस्म क्षुणे क[रे]द्वियात [रे] गणातो उचनग — — —⁷⁴

TRANSLATION

The year 98, the first (*month of*) winter, the fifth day, at that moment,—out of the Kottiya *gana*, the Uchanagarī (*Uchānagarī*) [*śākhā*]

⁶⁹ *Amlerāsikini*, as well as *ayikā*, are properly diminutives Compare *pavayitikā*, which is common in the Buddhist inscriptions

⁷⁰ Incised on the base of a sitting Jina, 1' 8" by 2' 2"

⁷¹ Regarding the form *nandiyē*, which is indisputable, see above, the Introduction

⁷² Restore *bhagavato* and further on *pratiśṣāpīte arhato* or *arhata*

⁷³ Incised on the base of a squatted Jina 1' 10" by 2' 4"

⁷⁴ Restore *uchanagarito śākhāto*

No XXV.⁷⁵— — — — [व]पुत्रस्य हुविष्कस्य स — — —⁷⁶

TRANSLATION

“In the year . . . of Devaputia Huvishka . . . ”

No XXVI.⁷⁷

- | | | |
|---|---------------|--------------|
| A 1 एकुनती [श] | B 1 अ[र]ह[तो] | C. 1 — — — |
| 2 वा — — | 2. — [ह]रवल | 2 प्रतिस — — |
| D 1 स्व स — र — स्व देव[पु]त्रस्य[हु]चस्य — — — ⁷⁸ | | |
| 2 [वा]सि[क] नगदतस्य शिषो मि[ग क]— — ी स — — | | |

I am not able to give a certain connected translation of this fragment. It is only evident that D 1—2 gives us the names of the Mahārāja Devaputra Huksha, (*Hushka* or *Huvishka*), and of a monk named Nagadatta (*Nāgadatta*). It may also be suggested that the inscription begins with D 1, because that line contains the group *sdha*, an abbreviation of *śiḍham*, and the name of the king. The continuation may possibly be looked for in A 1, where the word *ekunatīśa*, the twenty-ninth, seems to belong to the date. The year 29 would fall in the reign of Huvishka.

No XXVII.⁷⁹

- L 1 मिहम् महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य — — — — —
 2 ओहनन्दिस्य शिष्येण से — न — — — — — ि⁸⁰

TRANSLATION

“Success! Of the great king, the supreme king of kings by Sena, the pupil of Ohanandi (*Oghanandin*)”⁸¹

No XXVIII.⁸²

- A — — भगवती उसमस वारणे गणे नाडिके कुले — — — — — खा [य] — —⁸³
 B दुक्स वायक्स सिसिनिण सादिताए नि — — —⁸⁴

TRANSLATION

“[Adoration] to divine Usabha [*Rishabha*]¹ At the request of Sādītā, female

⁷⁵ Incised on the base of a standing Jina, measuring 3' 6" by 2' 6"

⁷⁶ Restore *devaputrasya* and *samvatsare*

⁷⁷ Incised on the base of a broken standing Jina, measuring 1' 8" by 1' 1"

⁷⁸ The bracketed letters are all more or less uncertain. *hukshasya* looks, because the first letter is blurred, like *puksha*

^{79a} But two impressions show a small curve at the extremity of the top of the right hand vertical stroke

⁸⁰ Incised on the base of a sitting Jina, 1' 6" by 2' 1"

⁸² Restore *senena* according to C No 10 (republished *ante*, vol I, p 396, No xxx), where *Sena*, pupil of *Ohanandi*, is mentioned. The last *na* is faintly visible on the impression. It is important to note that in this inscription the initial letter of *Ohanandi*'s name is unmistakable and that the reading *Deha*⁸ is impossible

⁸¹ As the other inscription is dated Sam 47, the king, whose name has been lost, must be Huvishka

⁸² Incised on the base of a squatted Jina, measuring 2' by 1' 8"

⁸³ Restore *namo* before *bhagavato*. Possibly *nātīke* or *nādīke* to be read. Restore *śākāyām*

¹ Restore *śāraṇatānā*

pupil of . . . dbuka, a preacher⁵⁵ in the Vârana *gana*, Nadika *kula* and . . .
śākhā . . .

No XXIX.⁵⁶

स्य[र]निकिये कुले गनिस्य उगहिनिय शिषो वाचको घोषको आर्हतो⁵⁷ पर्वस्य प्रतिमा — —

TRANSLATION

. "The preacher Ghoshaka, pupil of the Uggahini,⁵⁸ a *gani* (*ganin*) in the Sthānikīya (°*liya*) *kula*, an image of the Arhat Parśva (*Pārśva*) " . .

No XXX⁵⁹

L 1 नमो अरहतान सिहकस वानिकस पुत्रेण कोशिकिपुत्रेण⁶⁰

2 सिंहनादिकेन आयागपाटो प्रतिष्ठापितो अरहतपुजाये [॥*]

TRANSLATION

"Adoration to the Arhats! A tablet of homage (*āyāgapāta*) was set up by Sihanadika (*Simhanādika* ? °*nandika* ?), son of the Vānika⁶¹ Sihaka (*Simhaka*) and son of a Kośikī (*Kauśikī* mother), for the worship of the Arhats "

No XXXI.⁶²

नमो अरहताना शिवघो[षक]स भरि[या] — — — — ना — — — — ना — —

TRANSLATION.

"Adoration to the Arhats! . . . the wife of Śivaghoshaka . . . "

No XXXII⁶³

L 1 नमो अरहतान [मल] — एस धितु भद्रयशस वधुये भद्रनदिस भयाये⁶⁴

2 अ[चला]ये आ[या]गपाटो प्रतिष्ठापितो अरहतपुजाये [॥*]⁶⁵

TRANSLATION

"Adoration to the Arhats! A tablet of homage (*āyāgapāta*) was set up by Achalā (?), daughter of Mala-na (?), daughter-in-law of Bhadrayaśa (*Bhadrayaśas*), and wife of Bhadranaḍi (*Bhadranaḍin*), for the worship of the Arhats "

⁵⁵ *Vāyaka* is the Jaina Prakrit form for *vāchaka*

⁵⁶ Incised on the left side of the upper part of the base of a squatted Jina, 1' 2" by 1' 9", the right side being broken off

⁵⁷ Read *arhato*

⁵⁸ The word looks like a female name, and might correspond with Sanskrit *udgrahinī*. But the difficulty is that it is joined with the title *gani*, which is given to males alone

⁵⁹ Incised on the base of a beautifully sculptured square panel measuring 2' 1" by 1' 11", the central figure of which is a seated Jina

⁶⁰ *Ārahamta* is a mistake for *arāhamta* and *āyāgapāta* may be a mistake for *pato*, but, as the Sanskrit has *pata* and *pato*, the form *pāta* is not impossible

⁶¹ This might be a corruption or misspelling for *vānyaka* or *vānīyaka*. But, as Sihanadika receives the epithet *kośiki-putra*, I suspect that he was a Kshatriya, not the son of a merchant, and that *Vānīka* is the name of his clan

⁶² Incised on the base of a sculptured square slab, measuring 2' 10" by 3' 1"

⁶³ Incised on the base of a sculptured square slab, measuring 2' 7" by 2' 4"

⁶⁴ The bracketed letters are uncertain. The first may be व

The second and third letters of this line are uncertain

No. XXXIII.⁶⁵

- A वधेमानपटिमा वजरनद्यम्य धिता वाधिगिय — — — —
 B1 — ि— म्य — कुटीविनि⁷ दिनाये दाति वडिम[गि] ये — — — —
 2 — — — — — — — — — —

TRANSLATION

"An image of Vardhamāna, the gift of Dinā (*Dattā*), daughter of Vajaranadya (*Vajranandin*), [daughter-in-law]⁶⁶ of Vādhiśiva (*Vṛddhiśiva*⁶⁷) house-wife of
 1, Badimasi's (²)"

No XXXIV⁶⁸

- L 1 उचेनगरितो गखतो अर्यवलचतम्य गिमिणि अर्यवच — — — —⁶⁹
 2 अर्यवलचतम्य गियो अर्यसन्धिस्य परिग्रहे नवहस्तिम्य धिता अहमेनम्य वधु — — — —
 3 गिवसेनम्य देवसेनम्य गिवदेवम्य च भ्रातिनं मातु जायये प्रतीमा प्र — — — — —
 4 [मा]नम्य सर्वसत्त्वान हितसुखय ॥

TRANSLATION

"For the acceptance' of Aryya-Sandhi (*Ārya-Sandhi*), pupil of Aryya-Balattrata (*Ārya-Balatrāta*) [and of ²] Aryya-Bahma, . . (*Ārya-Brahma* . .), the female pupil of Aryya-Balattrata (*Ārya-Balatrāta*) out of the Uchenagari (*Uchchānagarī*) *śākhā*, Jayā, daughter of Navahasti (*°hastin*), daughter-in-law of Grahāsena . . . , mother of the brothers Śivasena, Devasena and Śivadeva, has set up an image of [Vardha]māna for the welfare and happiness of all creatures"

No. XXXV⁴

- A तिये निर्वर्तना
 B 1 तो गखतो गिरिकतो संभोक्तो अर्य
 2 ि—धराये नियतना गिवट[त] —⁶
 3 — — लनम्य मतु ङ्गि[स्ति] — — —

Remark.

If the two fragments, which admit of no connected translation, belong to one inscription, the occurrence of the words *nirvartanā* and *nivatana* is very remarkable. There is no other instance of the kind.

⁶⁵ Incised on the base of a squatted Jina, measuring 1' 11" by 1' 6"

⁶⁶ The *ba* of *kutibini* is abnormal, being made round and not perfectly closed

⁶⁷ The restoration proposed may be safely made according to the analogy of the other inscriptions

⁶⁸ Incised on the base of a large slab, measuring 2' 10" by 2' 1"

⁶⁹ Read गखतो Restore अर्यवचटसिये or °सिदाये

¹ The apparent *ā* stroke after the *la* of *Balattrata* is an accidental scratch, not visible on the reverse. The same remark applies to the apparent *ra* stroke above the *va* of *Navahastisya*. According to the reverse of the impression the real reading is *parigrahe*, not *parigraho*, as the obverse seems to show. At the end of the line, five or six letters have been lost probably *bhaya* or *bhaya*, preceded by a male name in the genitive

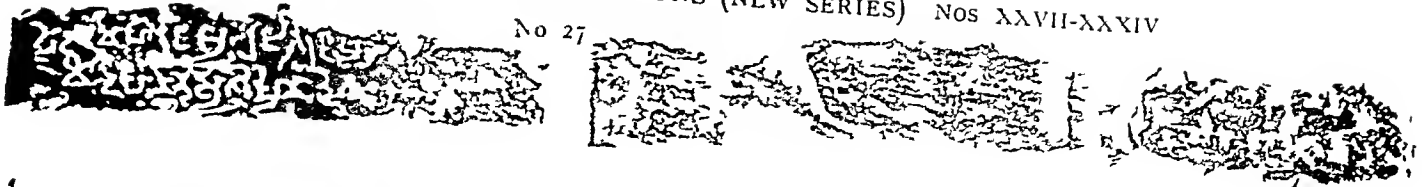
² Read *śivasenasya*. Restore *pratishthāpitā vardha*

³ *Parigrahe* 'for the acceptance' is common on the Buddhist inscriptions of the first and the following centuries of our era. Here it indicates that the ascetics named exhorted *Jayā* to make the donation and that the spiritual merit is made over to them, for, the image itself could, of course, be of no use to them

⁴ Incised on the base of a quadruple image of four standing naked Jinas, measuring 2' by 8", sections C and D being cut away

At the beginning पणतिधराये : c प्रज्ञप्तिधराया has probably to be restored, compare below No XXXVI

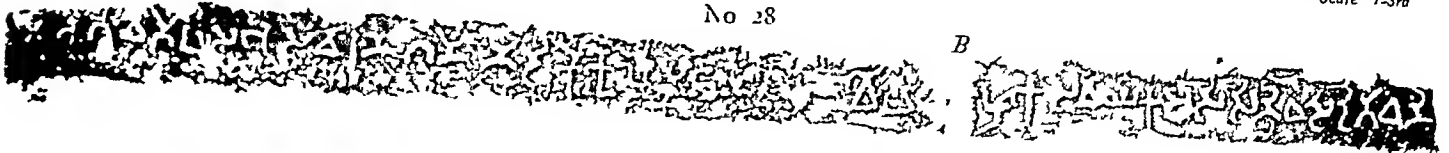
No 27



Scale 1-3rd

No 28

B



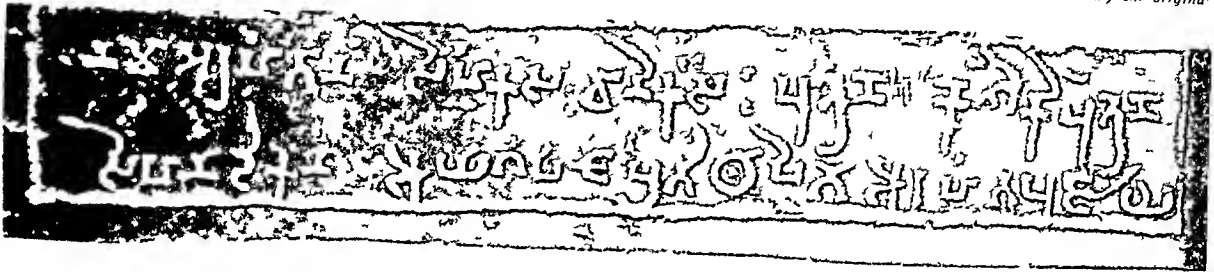
Scale 3 10ths

No 29



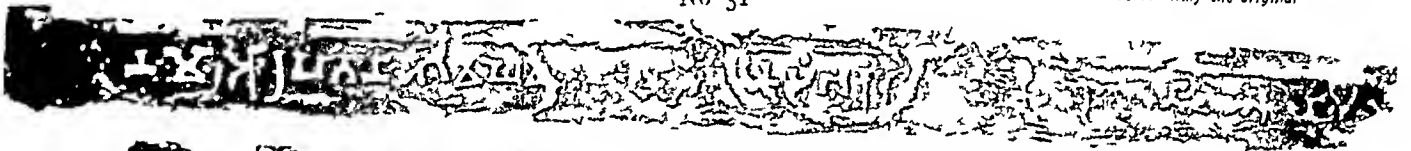
Scale Half the original

No 30



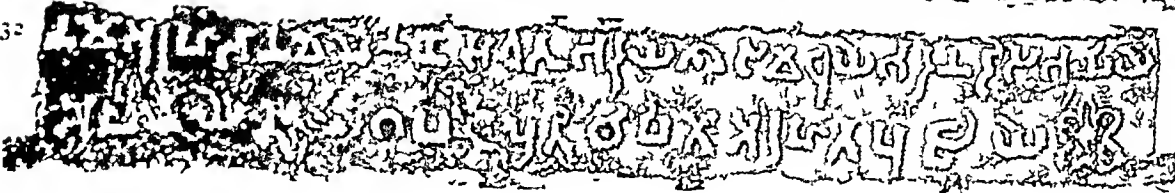
No 31

Scale Half the original



No 32

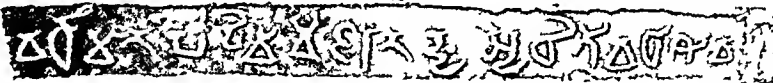
Scale 1-4th



Scale 1 3rd

No 33

A

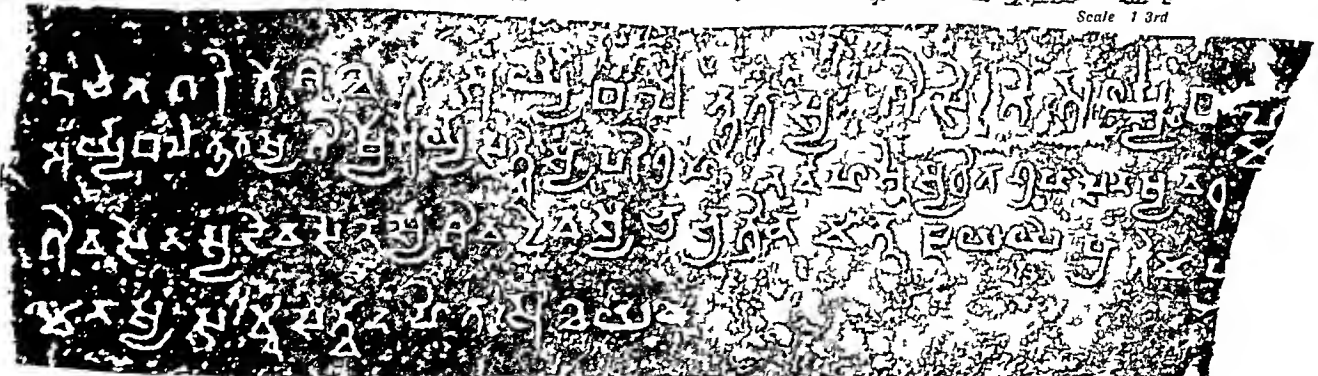


B



Scale 1 3rd

No 34

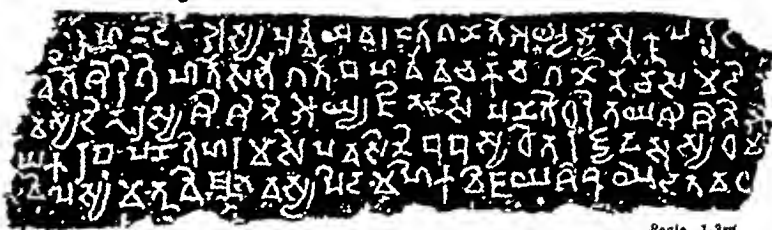


Scale 3 10ths



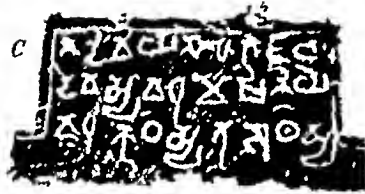
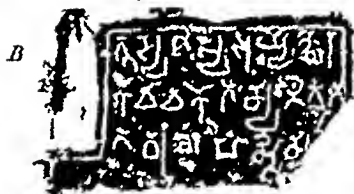
Scale Half the original

No 36



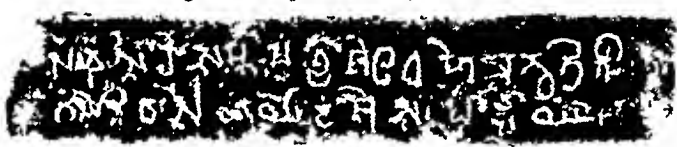
Scale 1-3rd

No 37



Scale 1-3rd

No 38 Inscription of Gupta period, S 57



Scale Half the original

No 39 Inscription of Kumāragupta, S 113

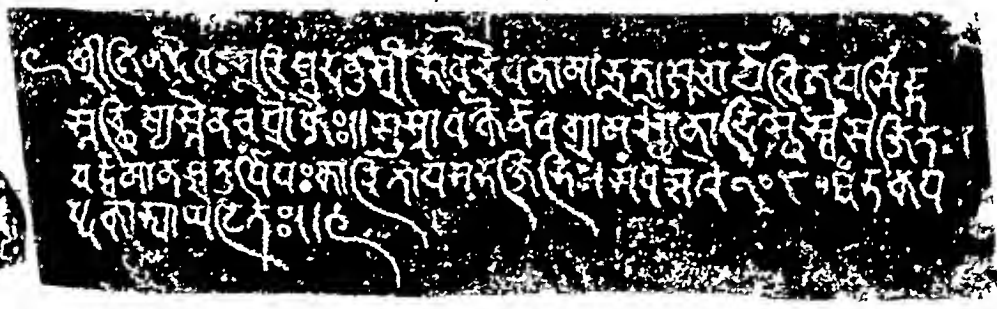


Scale 3 10ths

No 41 S 1080

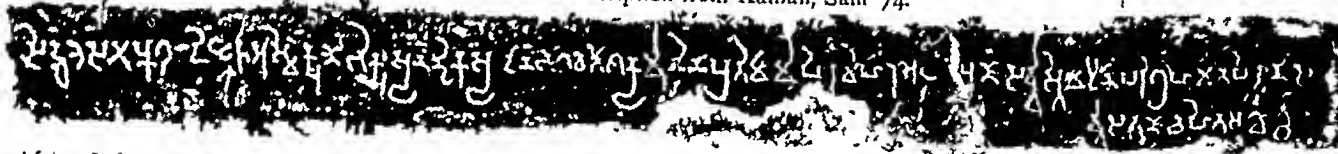


Scale 1-3rd



Scale Half the original

No 42 Buddhist Inscription from Kāman, Sam 74.



A Fuhrer Pt D impress

Scale 1-3rd

No XXXVI⁶

- L 1 — — ५० (२) हे २ दि १ अस्य पुर्व्वय वरणतो गणतो अय्यभ्यस्तकुलतो [स] — — —⁷
 2 — खतो गिरिप्रिष्ठतो सभोगतो वरुवो वचक च गणिनो च समदि[अ]—⁸
 3 — वस्य दिनरस्य गिरिगिर्नि अय्यजिनटमिषणतिधरितय गिरिगिर्निअ — —⁹
 4 घकरवपणतिहरममोपयमिनि बुबुस्य धित रव्यवसुस्यधर्म — —¹⁰
 5 [ट]विनस्य मतु विष्णु[भ]वस्य पिदमहिक विनयशिरिचि दन वध — —¹¹
 6 — — — — — — — — — — —

TRANSLATION

" . . . 50, (-) second month of winter, first day, on that (date, specified as) above, [on image of] Vadha[māna] (*Vaidhamāna*), the gift of Vijayaśiri (*Vijayanasi*), daughter of Bubu, first wife of Rājyavasū (*Rājyavasū*), mother of *Devila* (*Devila*) paternal grandmother of Vishnubhava, who fasted for a month" (and) obeys the command" of A[yya] . . . ghak naba (-) (who is) the female pupil, obeying the command" of Ayya-Jinadasa (*Āra-Jinādāsa*), (who was) the female pupil of Samada . . . va Dinara, the great (-) preacher and guru out of the Varana (*Vārana*) gana, the Ayyabhyista (-) *Iula*, the Sa[mkasiyā] *śālā*, and the Śingriha (*Śīgrīha*) *śarbhāna*"

No. XXXVII¹²

- A 1 सिद्ध को[टि]यतो गणतो उचैन-
 2 गरितो गणतो वनादामिप्रतो
 3 बुलतो गिरिप्रिष्ठतो सभोगतो
 4 अय्यजिनटमिष्य गिष्यो अ[र्य]मि[टि]लो]
 B 1 तस्य गिष्य[ो] अर्यचेर'
 2 को[राचको] तस्य निर्येत-
 3 न पर[ग]मि[स्य]

⁶ L 1 = 1 on the base of a broken image, measuring 10" by 1' 1"

⁷ The first four letters possibly have been 7. In the transcript, I have given the apparently plain, but inexplicable, reading *ayyabhystakulato*. It is, however, possible that the third syllable may be intended for *ayy*. If this were the case, and if we might assume that we had to deal with a combination of the consonants and a partial omission of the vowels, as in *adha* for *adha* (see No. 23), the first four syllables might be a kind of tachygraphic representation of *ayyānyasato* and correspond to *devilāna* *śālā*. The *śālā* of the Varana *gora* is mentioned in No. 23, *ante*, vol. I, p. 392. The *śākhā* was probably a *śālā* (see *Kāṇvaśāstra*, p. 80 (ed. Jacobi)).

⁸ *Devila* *śarbhāna* *śālā*, read *śālā* *śarbhāna* and *śālā*, the last bracketed letter is very doubtful.

⁹ *Devila* *śarbhāna*.

¹⁰ *Devila* *śarbhāna*.

¹¹ Read *devilāna* *śarbhāna* *śālā* or perhaps *śālā*, as the inscription does not mark the *ś* stroke. The last three syllables no doubt stood in line G, which has been completely destroyed with the exception of the tops of a few letters.

¹² A Jain ascetic, who fasted for a month, is mentioned in the large Narāghat inscription, *Arch. Sur. Rep. IV* I vol. v p. 6).

¹ *Panatilidhāna* corresponds with Sanskrit *dhāritaprajñapti*.

² *Panatilāna* is in Sanskrit *prajñaptidhāna*.

³ Inscribed on base of a large quadruple image, consisting of four standing naked Jinas, measuring 1' 7" by 9".

⁴ Read *lakṣma*.

⁵ Read *lakṣma*.

⁶ *Nirratana* is, no doubt, meant for *nirratandā*.

C 1 [च] देविय च धित जय-

2 देवस्य वधु मोपिनिये

3 वधु कुठस्य कसुयस्य

D 1 धम्मप[ति]ह स्थिरए¹⁹

2 दन शवदोभद्रिक²⁰

3 सर्वसत्वन हितसुखये²¹

TRANSLATION

"Success! The pupil of Ayya-Jeshtahasti (*Jyeshthahastin*) out of the Kottiyā gana, the Uchenagari (*Uchchānagarī*) *Śākhā*, (and) the Bamhadāsia (*Brahmadāsika-kula*) (was) Aryya-Mihila (*Ārya-Mihila*), his pupil (was) the preacher (*vācaka*) Arya-Ksheraka (*Ārya-Ksharaka*?), at his request a fourfold (image was dedicated as) the gift of Sthnā, daughter both of Varanahasti (*°hastin*) and of Devi, daughter-in-law of Jayadeva (and) daughter-in-law of Moshinī (and) first wife of Kutha Kasutha for the welfare and happiness of all creatures"

No XXXVIII²²

सवत्सरे सप्तपञ्चाश ५० ७ हेमन्वत्तिती —²³

—सि [दि]वसे त्रयोदशे अ—पूर्वाया —²⁴

TRANSLATION.

In the fifty-seventh, 57, year, in the third month of winter, on the thirteenth day, on that (date specified as) above

No XXXIX.²⁵

L 1 सिद्धम् । परमभट्टारकमाहाराजाधिराजश्रीकुमारगुप्तस्य विजयराज्यस्य [१०० १०]

३ क — — — — न्तमा — — [दि]— स २० अस्या पृ[र्व्या]कोटिया गणा-²⁶

2. द्विधाधरी[तो] शाखातो दत्तिलाचाय्यप्रज्ञपिताये शामाद्याये भट्टिभवस्य धीतु ग्रहमिस्रपा-
लि[त]प्रा[ता]रिकस्य कुटुम्बिनोये प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापिता ।²⁷

TRANSLATION

"Success! In the year 113, in the victorious reign of the supreme lord and supreme king of great kings, the illustrious Kumāragupta, on the twentieth day [of the winter-month] Kārttika]—on that (date, specified as) above an image was set up by Śāmādhyā (*Śyāmādhya*), daughter of Bhattibhava (and) house-wife of the ferry-

¹⁹ *Dhamrapatiha* seems to be a misspelling of *dharmapatiye* with *dharmā* for *dharm*. Compare the forms of the Girnār version of Aśoka's rock edicts *ārabhiptā* for *ārabhiptā*, *tisamti* for *tistamti*, and so forth.

²⁰ Meant for *dānaṃ sarvatobhadrikā viṣ pratimā*

²¹ Meant for *sarvasatāna hitasukhāye*. The spelling *sarva* for *sarva* is not uncommon in bud MSS.

²² This is Mr. Growse's No 5 (*Indian Antiquary*, vol VI, p 219). It is incised on the base of a small statue, now preserved in the Mathurā Museum.

²³ Read *hemanta*, restore *tritiya* or *tritiye*

²⁴ Restore *māse* and *asyām*

²⁵ Incised on the base of a large sitting Jina, measuring 3' 8" by 2' 7"

²⁶ Read *-mahādīya-*, restore *kārttikahemantamāsasya divase*

²⁷ Read *dattilācāryya*—Possibly *pāṭhārīkasya* is to be read.

man (?) Grahamittapālita,²³ who had received the command (to make the dedication) from Datilāchāyya (Dattilāchārya) out of the Kottiya gana (and) the Vidyā-dharī Śākhā "

No XL²⁹

- L 1 —प्रेक[रच त]³⁰
 2 चन्द्रावदाता भवतु
 3 तारयिष्यो. ॥ गोविन्दस्य
 4 र वडभेरस्या विनि —
 5 भ्रतलोत्तेषि सुनेस्तेनेद

This fragment, of which no continuous translation is possible, belongs to a longer metrical Praśasti, which apparently recorded the building or restoration of a temple. For the remnant of line 5 says —“ By him this . of the sage, which touches the sky ” It is evident that a word like गृहम् or आयतनम् has been lost. The verses to which the pieces in lines 2, 3 and 5 belong, seem to have been in the Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre

No. XLI³¹

- L 1. ओ श्रीजिनदेव सूरिस्तदनु श्रीभावदेवनामाभूत् ।
 आचार्यविजयसिद्ध-
 2 स्तच्छिष्यस्तेन च प्रोक्ते. ॥ [१॥³²
 सुसावकीर्णवग्रामस्थानादिस्त्रै स्वसक्तिः ।
 3. वर्धमानयतुर्विव कारितोय सभक्तिभिः । [१२॥³³
 सवत्सरे १०८० वभकप-
 4 पकाभ्या घटित ॥ श्री³⁴

TRANSLATION.

“Om ! The illustrious Jinadeva (was) a Sūri, after him was he who is named the illustrious Bhāvadeva. His pupil (is) the Āchārya Vijayasīṃha (Vijaya-sīṃha). Exhorted by him the virtuous laymen, who reside in Navagrāma, Sthāna and other (towns), caused to be made, full of devotion, (and) in accordance with their means, this fourfold Vardhamāna, it was fashioned in the [Vikrama] year³⁵ 1080 by Thambhaka and Pappaka. Om ! ”

²³ The translation of *prātārīka* by “ferryman” seems to be justified by the use of *prāṭi*, which frequently means “to carry over in a ship or boat”

²⁹ Incised on the back of a large broken slab, the surface of which is beautifully carved

³⁰ Only the lower portions of the bracketed syllables are visible

³¹ Incised on the base of a quadruple image of four sitting Jinas, measuring 2' 5" by 1' 3"

³² Read श्री Both here and at the end of the inscription, the word is expressed by the symbol resembling the figure 9 Read -vijayasīṃha

³³ Read suśrāvakaṃ, sthāṇ, svasaktitāḥ

³⁴ Read सवत्सरे

³⁵ It is evident from the characters, which show the common Nāgarī of the eleventh century A D, that the era must be the Vikrama Samvat, and that the date corresponds to A D 1022—24, accordingly as the year was expired or current and a northern or a southern one. This donation was, therefore, made within five years after Mahmud's expedition against Mathurā (A H 409) during which the temples of the town are said to have been burnt (Elliot, *History of India*, vol II, p 456ff). Probably the Jaina temples of the Kaunkī Tila escaped destruction, for, it seems hardly likely that they could have been rebuilt so quickly

No. XLII³⁵

L 1. सिंहं । स ७० ४ गृ १ दि १० ५ अस्मि क्षुणे भिक्षुस्य नन्दिकस्य दान भगवतो शक्यमुनिना
प्रतिमा मिहिरविहारे अ[चार्या]णां सर्वस्तिवादीना परियहे मातपितृणां स-³⁷

2 वस[त]णा च हितसुखार्थं ।³⁸

TRANSLATION.

"Success! The year 74, the first (*month of*) summer, the fifteenth day,—at that moment, a statue of divine Śakyamuni (*Śākyamuni, was set up as*) the gift of the monk Nandika in the Mihiravihāra, for the acceptance of the Sarvastivādi, (*Sarvāstivādin*) teachers, for the welfare and happiness of (*the donor's*) parents and of all creatures "

XV—SAMGAMNER COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE YADAVA
BHILLAMA II

THE ŚAKA YEAR 922

BY PROFESSOR F KIELHORN, PH D, C I E, GOTTINGEN.

I edit this inscription from excellent impressions prepared by Mr H. Cousens Superintendent of the Archæological Survey of Western India The original plates belong to an inhabitant of Samgamner, in the Samgamner Sub-Division of the Aḥmadnagar District of the Bombay Presidency

The inscription is on three plates, the first and last of which are inscribed on one side only, and which are held together by a ring, bearing a Garuda as seal.¹ Each plate measures about 8½" broad by 13½" high. The first plate contains 28, and the last 22 lines of writing, on the front of the second plate are 37, and on the back 29 lines. Below the writing on the third plate, in the proper right corner, the figure of a conch-shell is engraved, and the same plate, in line 110, contains an ornamental device, shaped like an open flower. The plates are on the whole well preserved, but in the upper part of the second plate the writing on both sides has suffered slightly from corrosion, and in consequence a few *aksharas*, of no great importance, have become illegible. As may be inferred from the numbers of lines on the several plates, the writing, though done by one and the same writer, is wanting in uniformity. The size of the letters is about ⅕" on the first and last plates and on the lower part of the back of the second plate, but only between ⅜" and ¼", on the front and at the top of the back of the second plate. The characters are those of the ordinary Nāgarī alphabet of the period to which the inscription belongs. The language is Samskrit, but the names of the Brāhmins, men-

³⁵ Incised on the base of a large seated Buddha, found in the town of Kāman

³⁷ The curve open to the left with a small horizontal bar in the centre is, as now appears, a peculiar form of the full stop. It occurs also in No. ix of the collection, published *ante*, vol I, p. 387. There I failed to recognise its value (see note 5), because I misread the preceding sign as *śū*. The latter is, as I now recognise, *śha*, the abbreviation for *śidha*, which occurs also in No. xxiv of the earlier collection as *śdh*, and as *śdha* in No. xxvi of the present one. The first numeral sign may also be read as 40. The vowels of the bracketed syllables are not certain. Possibly the stone has *mātd*, which has to be restored in any case. The long *ri*-vowel in *pitrinām* is plainly expressed on the impression by a curved stroke slanting to the left, to which a second stroke is attached.

³⁸ The third sign of *sarvasatvānā* is so badly injured that it is impossible to say if it was not *tvā*. The vowel of the last sign is perfectly plain on the impression.

I owe this information to Mr Cousens

tioned in lines 66-77, and the name of the writer in line 114 are given in their vernacular forms (*Kṣatrapādhyāyena* for *Keśaropādhyāyena*, in line 114, *Nāṇanapādhyāyā* for *Nārāyanopādhyāyā*, in line 66, *Vidyādharaṇṇāyā* for *Vidyādharaṇṇāyā*, and *Śrīdharaṇṇāyā* for *Śrīdharopādhyāyā*, in line 67, etc.) Besides, attention may be drawn to the term *Ṭhaṣṭevādhā*, in line 88, which is equivalent to the expression *khaṭrāvādhā* of the Siyadōnī inscription, *ante*, vol. I, p. 165, and to the title or *brūda sellavidega*, which does not look like Sanskrit and which I am unable to explain, in line 51. Excepting the words *om namah Śivāya* and a date in lines 1-2, the first part of the inscription which treats of the genealogy of the grantor, up to line 45, or perhaps 47, is in verse. The formal part of the grant, beginning with line 48, is in prose, but quotes a large number of benedictive and imprecatory verses,² in lines 55-61, 89-98, 102-106, and 109-110, and another verse, asking the reader's indulgence for any clerical mistakes which the writing may be found to contain, is given in lines 114-116. As regards orthography, the letter *ḥ* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, the dental sibilant is often used for the palatal, e.g., in *Śivāya*, l. 1, *īśah*, l. 6, *viślah*, l. 26, and the palatal occurs instead of the dental in *śamsāra*, l. 60, and *śakala*, l. 82. Besides, the vowel *u* is employed instead of *ru* in *Ahu*, l. 10, and *trigrāmī*, l. 84, and *ru* in the place of *ri* in the word *rishayah*, l. 95. Altogether the inscription has not been written carefully, and, though corrected in several places, it is by no means free from serious mistakes. The rules of *sandhi* are frequently disregarded, the verses of the genealogical portion are only partially numbered or have wrong numbers appended to them, single *akṣharas* and whole words or groups of words are either given quite wrongly or left out, and I hope to prove below that even one or more whole lines have been omitted by the writer.

The inscription is one of the *Mahāsāmanta* Bhīllama II, and it is the earliest record, hitherto discovered, of the Yādava dynasty (of Devagiri). After the words 'om, adoration to Śiva', it gives (in lines 1-2), both in words and in figures, the date—the Śaka year 922. It then has (in lines 2-7) two verses, one of which glorifies Śiva (Chandramauli), while the other invokes the god's blessing on Bhīllama, the donor of this grant. The genealogy of Bhīllama forms the subject of lines 7-47. Of these, lines 7-22 are of no importance because, beginning with the god Śambhu, they merely contain an account of the descent of the mythical prince Yadu, the reputed founder of the Yādava family,—the intermediate beings mentioned being Brahman, Marīchi, Atri, Indu, Purūravas, Āyus, Naghusha, and Yayāu. Nor do the following lines, from 23 to 34, record anything that was not known before.³ The first historical prince spoken of is Seunachandra (lines 22-26), who here as elsewhere is reported to have called his dominion (*mandala*) and the people of it after himself. His son was the prince Dhādī[yappa]⁴ (lines 26-28). After him came, evidently his son, the prince Bhīllama I (lines 28-33).⁵ And he again was succeeded by his son, the prince Rājan or Rāja, called elsewhere Śrīrāja or Rājagī.

² The inscription resembles in this the Kalas Bṛhukh grant of Bhīllama III, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 121.

³ Compare, in addition to the Kalas Bṛhukh plates of Bhīllama III, the Bassein grant of Seunachandra II, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 119, and Professor Bhattacharya's *Early History of the Deccan*, pp. 75-77.

⁴ See note 10 below.

⁵ Bhīllama provided the god Somanatha (or Śiva), at the place where this inscription was composed, with a valuable head-dress or turban.

From the end of line 34 our inscription becomes more interesting, but also presents some serious difficulties. According to the Kalas-Budruk plates of Bhīllama III and the Bassein grant of Seunachandra II., Śrīrāja was succeeded by his son Vaddiga, and he again by Bhīllama II, who married Lakshmi or Lachchhiavvā, a lady born in the Rāshtrakūta family.⁶ The present grant first tells us (in lines 34-40) that from Rājan or Rāja sprang the prince Vandiga (the Vaddiga of the other plates), a great warrior, who was a follower or feudatory of the illustrious king Krishna or Krishnarāja, and that this Vandiga married the lady Voddīyavvā,⁷ a daughter of the great prince (mahānripa), the illustrious Dhorappa. It then has to be referred, as the text stands, to the same Vandiga, two verses (in lines 40-45), the first of which glorifies (as it seems) Vandiga for having in battle destroyed the fortune of the great prince Muñja,⁸ and for having thereby made the goddess of fortune observe the vow of a chaste woman in the house of the illustrious king Ranarangabhīma, while the second verse, among the advantages or blessings which he enjoyed, besides recording that Sindinagara was his residence, somewhat pointedly enumerates the fact that Lakshmi incarnate, or in visible shape, always dwelt in his house, full of joy. After these verses, what may be called the poetical part of our inscription contains three more lines (45-47), which read like fragments of verses or like verses turned somehow into prose, in praise of a new Śiva-temple, called *Vijayābharananātha*, but there is no indication as to who created this temple or why it is mentioned here at all, an omission which must appear the more remarkable because this temple is poetically described as the collected fame, or the fame in bodily form, clearly of its founder who is not named.

The grant recorded in this inscription was made by Bhīllama II., and there can be no doubt that the genealogy given in the introductory *prāśasti* should have been continued to, and that the author who composed it did bring it down to, that Bhīllama. Moreover, I consider it to be perfectly certain that the Lakshmi, spoken of in line 43, is the Lakshmi or Lachchhiavvā of the other grants, the wife of Bhīllama, the donor of this grant, and I feel almost as sure that the temple, spoken of in lines 45-47, which, or the god worshipped in which, was named *Vijayābharananātha*, was founded either by Bhīllama himself one of whose titles or *brūdas*, as we learn from line 51, was *Vijayābharana*, or by his wife. I am thus driven to the conclusion that the writer, who copied this inscription, has omitted at least two verses, one verse, before the words *svenā-āt* in line 40, recording that Voddīyavvā bore to Vandiga a son, named Bhīllama, and another, after the word *-mahasah* in line 45, stating that Bhīllama or his wife Lakshmi erected the temple eulogised in lines 45-47. And accordingly, what is stated in the verse in lines 40-42, must in my opinion really be referred, not to Vandiga, but to his son, and it was Bhīllama II who defeated the great prince Muñja, and who thereby secured uninterrupted fortune for his sovereign lord, the illustrious king Ranarangabhīma. The question then arises, who were these kings Muñja and Ranarangabhīma, and who was the king Krishna or Krishnarāja, to whom Bhīllama's father Vandiga owed allegiance?

Our grant being dated in Śaka 922=A. D. 1000, it is clear that Bhīllama II.

⁶ According to the Bassein grant Lachchhiavvā was the daughter of Jhañjharāja.

⁷ This lady built a Śiva temple, the exact name of which I am unable to make out.

⁸ See note 32, below.

lived during the last quarter of the 10th century A. D. The only great prince Muñja known to us, who could have been his contemporary, was Vākpatirāja-Muñja of Malava,⁹ and it is undoubtedly this Muñja whose defeat by Bhīllama is recorded in line 41 of this inscription. From this it follows that the king named Ranaranga-bhīma in our grant, as whose general or feudatory Bhīllama was acting, was an adversary of Vākpatirāja-Muñja, and I believe that he was really no other than the Western Chālukya Tailapa,¹⁰ by whom Muñja was utterly defeated and taken prisoner, and at whose orders he was finally beheaded. Tailapa ruled from A. D. 973-997, we know him to have also been called Āhavamalla, and Ranaranga-bhīma is little less than a synonym of Āhavamalla—Bhīllama's father Vandiga or Vaddiga may reasonably be supposed to have lived during the third quarter of the 10th century A. D., and, such being the case, the king Krishna or Krishnarāja, whose follower he is represented to have been in this inscription, can only have been the Rāshtrakūta Krishna,¹¹ for whom we have the dates Śaka 867 and 878 = A. D. 945 and 956, the son of Amoghavarsha-Vaddiga. Evidently, down to Vandiga, the Yādavas were feudatories of the Rāshtrakūtas, after the overthrow of this dynasty by the Chālukyas, which took place in A. D. 973, their allegiance was transferred to the Chālukyas—As the father-in-law of Vandiga our inscription mentions another great prince, the illustrious Dhorappa. About this prince I am unable to speak with confidence, but I will not suppress a conjecture on the probability of which I leave others to judge. Dhorappa is only a Prākṛit equivalent of the Samskrit Dhruva, and we know that one of the earlier Rāshtrakūta kings was named Dhruva or Dhora, or Nirupama. Now Krishnarāja, the sovereign lord of Vandiga, had a younger brother likewise named Nirupama, the father of Krishna's successor Kakkala, and it seems to me not at all improbable that this Nirupama, like his ancestor Nirupama, may too have been called Dhruva or Dhora, and that it is he whose daughter was given in marriage to Vandiga.¹² The description of Dhorappa as *mahānripa* would thus, I believe, be well accounted for—I will only add here that, if, as we apparently are obliged to do, we place Vandiga in the third quarter of the 10th century A. D., the rise of the Yādava family and the date of Seunachandra (or his predecessor Drīdhaprahāra) can hardly be put earlier than A. D. 850.

The proper object of our inscription is, to record that Bhīllama, the king (as he is called), granted certain lands, described in lines 78-84, to twenty-one Brāhmins who are enumerated in lines 64-77. The general meaning of the passage (in lines 48-86) which contains this information is clear enough, but the construction, changing as it does from the active to the passive, and again to the active construction, is altogether ungrammatical.

Omitting what is of no importance, the illustrious Bhīllamarāja is described in lines 48-52 as a *mahāsāmanta* or great feudatory who had obtained the five *mahāśabda*, the supreme lord of the city of Dvāravatī, . . . born in Vishnu's family, eager to worship Śiva, . . . and rendered illustrious by such royal titles as *Arāti-nishūdana*, 'the destroyer of enemies,' *Samgrāma-Rāma*, *Kandukāchārya*, *Sellavidega*, and

⁹ See *ante*, vol. I, pp. 226-227.

¹⁰ See Professor Bhandarkar, *loc. cit.*, p. 59, and Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 41.

¹¹ See Professor Bhandarkar, *ib.* pp. 54-57, and Dr. Fleet, *ib.*, pp. 37-38.

¹² It may be noted that Bhīllama III married 'Hamma, the daughter of Jayasimha and sister of Āhavamalla, the Chālukya emperor.' See Professor Bhandarkar, *ib.*, p. 78.

Vijayābharana. Professor Bhāndārkar has already pointed out that,¹³ since Vishnu Krishna is represented in the *Purānas* to have belonged to the Yadava family, even the later princes of Devagiri called themselves *Vishnuvamsodbhava*, and that, as Krishna and his immediate descendants reigned at Dvārakā, they assumed the title of *Dvāravatīpuravarādhīśvara*, 'the supreme lords of Dvāravati, the best of cities'. As regards the titles or *virudas* of Bhīllama, the term *Samgrāma-Rāma* is applied to him also in line 8 of the Kalas-Budrākh plates. *Kandukāchārya* apparently means 'a master in playing at ball', and *Sellavidēga* seems to be a Prākṛit expression, the meaning of which I do not understand. The title *Vijayābharana* has already been referred to above.

The names of the twenty-one donees, given in lines 64-77, it is unnecessary to repeat here. From line 64 it would seem¹⁴ that they lived at Sindinagara, which according to line 43 was the place of residence of Bhīllama, and which has been identified¹⁵ with the modern Sinnar, the chief town of the Sinnar Sub-Division of the Nāsik District. All were Brāhmins, some students of the *Rigveda* or *Sāmaveda*, and others members of the Kāṇva or Mādhyandina śākhās of the Vājasaneyin branch of the *Yajurveda*, or of the Maitrāyaṇīya śākhā of the black *Yajurveda*. Some belonged to the Gautama, Kaundinya, Bhāradvāja, or Kauśika gotras. And one (in line 72) is described as *īājā-dauvārika*, 'the king's doorkeeper'.

To these Brāhmins Bhīllama gave¹⁶ (lines 78-80) the village of Arjunondhikā, situated on the banks of the river Mātulingī, and some land between the two villages Laghu-arjunondhī and Laghu-vavvulavedra. The boundaries of the village were (lines 83-84), to the east, Samgamanagara, to the south, the village of Chikhalī, to the west, the village of Jamvalenimva, and to the north, the group of three villages named Vavvulavedra. On the maps at my disposal I find no name similar to Arjunondhikā, but Dr. Burgess has suggested to me that the village granted may be the modern Rājapur, on the Mālūngī river of the Samgamner Sub-Division of the Ahmadnagar District, which perhaps may have received this name in consequence of this grant. And judging from the position, this identification would suit very well indeed. The Samgamanagara of the grant would of course be the town of Samgamner of the Ahmadnagar District, which is about three miles east of Rājapur. Chikhalīgrāma would be the village of Chikhalī on the river Ārdalā, about two miles south of Rājapur, and Jamvalenimvagrāma the village of Javlekardak, which is about 2½ miles west of Rājapur. And the group of three villages named Vavvulavedra would be represented by the village Velhāle (not marked on the G T S Map, sheet 38) on the Mālūngī river, about two miles north of Rājapur, and two deserted "wādis" not far from it.

Lines 86-110 in the usual terms admonish future rulers to protect the donees and their descendants in the possession of this grant and warn them not to resume it. Lines 110-113 add that the illustrious Bhīllamarāja made the donation here recorded on the new-moon *tithi* of the month Bhādrapada of the year Śarvarin, on the occasion of a solar

¹³ See *ib.*, p. 85, compare also *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 121, and this inscription, lines 21-22.

¹⁴ I am not sure about this, for after the word *Sri-Sindinagar-āntahpātī* one would certainly expect the name or names of one or more villages, situated in the district of Sindinagara.

¹⁵ See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 118.

¹⁶ In the formal part of the grant the only unusual term is *śākhādaśaprakṛitīyopetam* in line 80. I can only compare with it *śākhādaśaprakṛitī* in line 14 of the inscription published in the *Proceedings, Beng. As. Soc.*, 1877, p. 73, but am not able to explain the term properly.

eclipse, at the holy bathing-place of the confluence of the Arunâ¹⁷ (and Godâvari) at Nasik. And line 114 gives the name of the writer of this *śāsana-patta*, Keśava-upādhyāya, who (in lines 114-116) asks the indulgence of the reader for any mistakes, and winds up with the remark that no verbal deficiencies of this document will affect its validity.

The date of this inscription does not work out satisfactorily. The Jovian year Śārvarin, mentioned in line 110, correctly corresponds, by the southern luni-solar system, to the expired Śaka year 922, given in lines 1-2, but there was no solar eclipse on the new-moon *tithi* of either the *pūṇmānta* or *amānta* Bhādrapada of that year,—the 2nd and 31st August, A D 1000. There was a solar eclipse a month later, on the 30th September, A D 1000, but it was not visible in India.

TEXT ¹⁸

First plate.

- L 1 ओ [नम] सि(शि)वाय । स्वस्ति शकनृपका[ला]तीतसवत्सरशतेषु नवसु द्वाविंश-
 2 [त्य]धिकेष्वकतोपि सवत्सरा ८२२ ॥ त्वयमपि¹⁹ भुवनानामीषदुन्ने-
 3 [प]मात्राप्रभवति लयशेष यन्निमेषादुपैति [1*] अतिशयि-
 4 तचरितो योगिनामप्यगम्य स इह जयतु देव²⁰ चारुच-
 5 [न्द्राङ्ग]मौलि ॥ १ ॥ भुव[न*]भवनहेतु दुष्कृताभोधिते तु विहितम-²¹
 6 दनमाय पार्वतीप्राणनाथ ॥ (1) निहतमरुदरोस(श) पातु भिल्ल-
 7 ममोश ।²² करतलकृतशूल मर्वदा चन्द्रचल ॥ युगस्यादौ²³
 8 श[म्भु ?]भुवनमसृजद्भवन्मूर्तिस्त्रेधा सुररिपुविरिचप्रभवत ॥ (1)
 9 वि[रि]चे सभृत सकलमरुता योनिरमलो मरीचिर्यो(यं)क्ती-
 10 [र्त्ति]भ्रमति भुवने कुन्दविशदा । ३ ।²⁴ अतृ(त्रि)नामाभवत्तस्मात्सूनुष-
 11 त्वपरायण । तत्सूनुरिन्दुराख्यातो जगदानन्दमन्दिरम(म्) । ४ ।
 12 ततोभवन्निर्मलमौमवशजो विशालभूपालगुणालय हि
 13 य [1*]पुरुषा भूपतिरर्द्धमासन सदा सुरेन्द्रस्य व(व)भाज लीलया
 14 । ६ ।²⁵ अभूदायुस्तस्मात्पतिरमरैर्वन्द्यचरितो हठाक्रान्तारा-
 15 तिप्रणतचरणाभोजयुगल [1*] ततो जातो यास्मिन्नुषष्ट-²⁶
 16 पतिर्ल्लाच्छ(छ)नमिषास्त्रिलिख स्वस्या[ख्या ?]²⁷ स्वभुजविजयो चन्द्रफलके । ७ ।
 17 अजनि²⁸ नघपभूपाङ्गुमिपालो ययातिस्त्रिदशमहितकी-
 18 र्त्तिर्वीरलक्ष्मीर्विलास²⁹ [1*] किमिव³⁰ गुणगणोसौ व[रण्य]ते³¹ त-
 19 स्य सान्ध्याजगदवननिमित्त यादवाना प्रसूतिः ॥ ८ ॥ अ-

¹⁷ See the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol XVI (Nasik), p 521. Aruna tirth is where the Aruna joins the Godavari near I am s Pool.

¹⁸ From an ink impression, prepared by Mr H Consens.

¹⁹ Metre, Mālinī, and of the next verse.

²⁰ Here and in other places below which it is unnecessary to point out separately the rules of *amānta* have not been observed.

²¹ The *akshara* त was originally omitted and is engraved above the line between वि and हि.

²² This sign of punctuation is superfluous. In the preceding the metre is incorrect.

²³ Metre Śikharinī. In the first half of the verse five syllables have been omitted, and the words given, though

their general sense is apparent, do not admit of a proper construction.

²⁴ Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).

²⁵ Metre Vamśastha.

²⁶ From here the numbers of the verses are wrong.

²⁷ Metre Śikharinī.

²⁸ Read यस्मात्.

²⁹ The two *aksharas* स्या[ख्या?] were originally omitted

and are engraved above the line.

³⁰ Metre, Mālinī, and of the next verse.

³¹ I believe the reading intended to be क्वीतिवीरलक्ष्मी-चास, although this would offend against the metre.

³² Here I would propose reading किमिव गुणगणोसौ वर्यते तस्य यस्मात्.

³³ The *akshara* in brackets, as engraved is दस्य

- L. 20 भवदिह ययातिः सज्जनानन्दकारी यदुत्पतिरयेपाका-
 21 न्तदाय(या)दचक्रः [1*] सकलविबु(वु)धहृन्देर्वन्दितोसौ सुरारिर्ज-
 22 गदवननिमित्त यस्य वशे प्रसूतः ॥ ८ ॥ ³¹एतस्माद्यदुव-
 23 शतः³⁵ समभवद्भूपालचूडामणिभूपाल,³⁶ कलिकाल-
 24 कल्म[प*]लवैर्नीलोक्तितो भूतले । ख्यात, सेडणचन्द्र एव स-
 25 हसा नाम्ना निजेनाह्वय³⁷ यो लोकं निजमण्डलं च समदा-
 26 रातीभकण्ठीरवः । १० । प्रख्यातोसौ³⁸ सद्गुणैर्यो विसा(शा)न
 27 संग्रामीयद्दुर्हमारातिकालः । ³⁹जात स्तस्मादष्टमोचन्द्र-
 28 भालः सन्तु [.*] श्रीमान्धाडिख्यो⁴⁰ नृपालः ॥ ११ ॥ ⁴¹तदनु विबु(वु)धह-

Second plate, first side.

- 29 [न्दान]न्दसन्दोहसीमा समदमदन — — [मानि]नीमानचौर [1*] अममम ८ ८ —
 30 — योरिकालानलोभूतत इह ८ ८ [रि]न्दो भूतले भिन्नमाग्यः ॥ १२ ॥
 31 [ननु] किमिह कवीना तस्य वगर्थे हि न स्यात्कुमुदविम(ग)दकीर्त्तिभू-
 32 [तले]द्यापि यस्य । रुचिरकनकभासोद्गामिनोमाववन्⁴² प्रति-
 33 दिनमिह देव, पट्टिका [सो]मनाय⁴³ ॥ १३ ॥ ⁴⁴तस्माज्जातः सुतो रा[जा] रा-
 34 जा राजीवलोचन [1*] राजिव राजते योत्र प्रजानन्दकर सदा ॥ १४ ॥ तस्मा-⁴⁵
 35 इन्दिगभूपति, समभवद्भूपालचूडामणि य. सौभाग्यमहोदधि-
 36 मृगदृशा कन्दर्पदर्पोदित । राजा दीर्घभुजह्वय[*] पृथुलसहचस्य-
 37 लः सगरि ।⁴⁶ क्रूरारिप्रमदेभदर्यदलन, श्रीकृष्णराजानुग ॥ १५ ॥
 38 श्रीधो[र]प्यमहानृपस्य दुहिता श्रीवोद्वि[ब्वा]भिधा⁴⁷ शभो मे[मै]ल-
 39 सुतेव कैटभरिपो लक्ष्मीरिव⁴⁸ प्रेयसी [1*] यस्यासीत्कुमुदा[व]दातयशम स्तूपायमा[न] यया
 40 [ना]मावेष्टरमीशवेश्म⁴⁹ विहित केलासलीलाहरम्⁵⁰ ॥ [स्ते]⁵¹नारातिकरालकालर[च]ना-
 चण्डा[सि]-
 41 दण्डेन यो हत्वा सुज्जमहानृपप्रणयिनी⁵² सग्रामरगागणे [1*]लक्ष्मीमस्तु(स्तु)धिमिखलावल-
 42 यित[स्मा]वर्त्तिनोभ्रापयद्भूपथीरणरगभीमभवने साचात्कुलस्त्रीव्रतम् ।(॥) अधि-⁵³
 43 छान सिन्दोन[ग]रसर्परस्वर्गवदिद⁵⁴ सदा मूर्त्ता लक्ष्मीर्वसतिभवने यस्य मुदिता ।
 44 मन. स(श)भो. पादास्तु(स्तु)रुहयुगले ध्याननियत यदोर्वशे भूपाचरितमभव⁵⁵ चा[रु १]-
 45 महस. ।(॥) ⁵⁶हिमगिरिमि(शि)खरसदृशमिह राजति सुरपुरवर्त्मसन्निभ⁵⁷ हतपुर[म]-

²¹ Metre, Śardūlavikrīḍita

²² Originally °शती, but altered to °शत

²³ Originally °मणि भू°, but altered to °मणिभू°

²⁴ Read °द्वययो, this correction may have been made already in the original

²⁵ Metre, Śahini

²⁶ Read जातम्

²⁷ The intended reading most probably is धाडिख्यो

²⁸ Metre, Śahini, and of the next verse

²⁹ Read °ववन्

³⁰ The akshara in brackets is rather than सो

³¹ Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh)

³² Metre, Śardūlavikrīḍita, and of the next two verses

³³ This sign of punctuation is superfluous

³⁴ The akshara in brackets looks very much like द्य

³⁵ Read °रिपोल्लक्ष्मी°

⁴⁰ The consonant of the first akshara of this line is slightly damaged, and it may possibly be त, the following aksharas are quite clear

⁴¹ Originally °हर was engraved

⁴² Of this akshara, again, only the superscript vowel is quite certain, and the whole akshara might possibly be read ये.

⁴³ Read सुज्ञ°

⁴⁴ Metre, Śikharini

⁴⁵ Read सिन्दोनगरमपरस्व°

⁴⁶ Read °भवन्

⁴⁷ This passage, from here to the end of line 47, looks as if it were intended to be in verse or contained fragments of verses, but I cannot recognize in it any of the known metres

⁴⁸ Read °सन्निभ.

- L 46 धननियतकैलासगिरिस्थहम[शु]मसखभम्⁵⁹ ॥ पुजितयश इवेन्दुकुन्द[द्यु]-
 47 ति भूतलतिलकसुन्दर विजयाभरणनाथाभिधमभिनवगिरि[श]मन्दिरम् ॥
 48 समधिगतपचमहाशब्द(ब्द)महामामन्तहारवतीपुरपरमेश्वरैकशखध्वनिव(व)-
 49 धिरितदिगन्तरालविजयतूर्यारवसत्तासितजितरिपुसमूहविष्णुवशीङ्ग-
 50. वभवचरणाराधनैकतत्परमनस्विनीमानोन्मूलनकन्दर्पदप्योदिताराति-
 51 निपदनसग्रामरामकदुकाचार्यसेल्लविडेगविजयाभरणेत्यादिसमस्तुरा-⁶⁰
 52 जावलीविराजितश्रीमङ्गलमराजा⁶⁰ ॥ अन्त शून्य कदलीगर्भवदसारः
 53 ससार । व्याधिजराभरणसाधारण शरीर । प्रव(व)लपवनकम्पितनलि-⁶¹
 54 नोदलगततुषारतरले च धनायुषी यौवन च । तथा च । कृतव्रतहापर-
 55 युगेभ्यो अत्यर्थ⁶² दानफल ।⁶³ कलौ युगे पुन⁶⁴ शसति । न⁶⁵ तथा सफला विद्या
 56 न तथा सफल धन [x] यथा तु सुनय. प्राहुर्दानमेक कलौ युगे ।(॥) अग्नेरपत्य⁶⁶
 57 प्रथम सुवर्ण भूर्वैष्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च गाव । लो[कx]त्रय तेन भवेत्प्रदत्तं य[]
 58 काचन गा च मही च दद्यात्(त्) ॥ आस्फोटयन्ति⁶⁷ पितरः प्रवल्भ(ल)न्ति पिताम-
 59 हा [x] भूमिदोष्मकुले जात. स नः सन्तारयिष्यति ।(॥) भूमिदानसुपात्रेषु सु-
 60 तीर्थेषु सुपर्वणि । अगाधापारश(स)सारसागरीत्तारण⁶⁸ भवेत्(त्) ॥ धवलान्यातप-
 61 [त्राणि] दन्तिनचि(श्च) मदीदता । भूमिदानस्य पुण्याणि फल स्वर्गै पुरन्दरः⁶⁹ ॥ इ-
 62 [ति] पराशरवत्सकुलो(त्वा)ङ्गिरसगीतममनुयाज्ञवल्क्यमुनिवचनान्वधा]-
 63 [र्य] मया [दृ]ढतरविरक्तबुध्या⁷⁰ मातापितोरात्मनश्च श्रेयोधिना हि मया⁷¹ [त्रा(त्रा)]-
 64 [ह्यणा ?]ना ग्रा[मो] दत्त । श्रीसिन्दीनगरान्त पाति । वाजिकाखसा(शा)खिने⁷² गीत-
 65 मगोत्राय — —

Second plate, second side.

- 66 — होपाध्याय⁷³ नारणैउपाध्यायसु[ताय] तथा वाजिकाखशाखाय कौण्डिन्यगीताय [विद्या ?]-
 67 [ध]रैआय श्रीधरैउपाध्यायसुताय तथा व(व)हृचशाखाय भरद्वाजगीताय म[हल ?]-
 68 [पै]आय वि[ह ?]पैयसुताय तथा वाजिमाध्यदिनशाखाय कौण्डिन्यगीता(त्रा)य [महल ?]-
 69 पैत्राय इन्द्रपैयसुताय तथा व(व)हृचशाखाय देवपैयाय अल्लपैसुताय तथा [ह ?]-
 70 [दो ?]गप्रभाकरदीक्षिताय तथा मित्रायणीवच्छपैय⁷⁴ तथा अन्नप्रमथ्यैय
 71 [त]था माध्यदिन[शु]हिसपैय तथा च्छन्दोगगल⁷⁵ सोमैयसुत तथा माध्य-
 72 दिनमहलपैय. तथा व(व)हृचराजदौवारिकमहलपैय तथा व(व)हृचसग[ल].
 73 तथा करहाटवप्पल तथा वाजिकाखनिस्वैय. तथा व(व)हृचनेवपैय तथा
 74 व(व)हृचशाखा[यx]कौशिकगीताय विक्रपैयाय श्रीधरैसुताय तथा

⁵⁹ Read 'सगुप्तसप्रभम्'

⁶⁰ The *akshara* चा of कदुकाचार्य was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line

⁶¹ Read 'राज' Some of the following signs of punctuation are superfluous

⁶² The *akshara* प of पवन was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line

⁶³ Read 'त्यय'

⁶⁴ This sign of punctuation is superfluous, and may have been struck out already in the original

⁶⁵ Instead of पुन one would have expected सुनय

⁶⁶ Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh)

⁶⁷ Metre, Indravajra

⁶⁸ Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh), and of the two next verses

⁶⁹ The *akshara* री was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line

⁷⁰ Read 'सुहृत्'

⁷¹ Read 'सुहृत्'

⁷² This word is unnecessarily repeated here

⁷³ Originally साविनि was engraved, see below, line 75

⁷⁴ One would expect 'ध्यायाय'

⁷⁵ Read 'मैत्रायणीय'

⁷⁶ The writing is quite distinct here, but must be faulty

- L. 75. [धी?]पलाय कौशिकगोत्राय व(व)हृचसाखिनि⁷⁶ । ताया व(व)हृचशाखा-
 76 य अण्णलैत्राय तथा व(व)हृचशाखाय दन्दपेत्राय कालपैसुताय
 77. तथा पौम्बदेव. अल्लपैसुताय । एवममीपां द्विजाना पितृपै-
 78 तामहोपाज्जित⁷⁷ मातुलिङ्गीतटसमावासित अर्जुनोखि-
 79. काग्राम तथा लघुअर्जुनोखीग्रामलघुवव्वुलवेदग्राम-
 80 [ह]याभ्यतर सहचमालाकुलं चा(च)तु सीमापर्यन्त साष्टा-
 81. दशप्रकृत्योपेत वापोक्पतडागारामसहित सतृणका[ष्ट]-
 82. पाषाणीपेत श(स)कलसमस्तोपेत [1^{*}] ग्रामस्थाघाटा⁷⁸ लिप्यन्ते [1^{*}]
 83 पूर्वत. सगमनगर दक्षिणत. चिखलीग्राम पश्चिम-
 84 त. जम्बलेनिम्बग्राम उत्तरत वव्वुलवेदतृ(त्रि)ग्रामी [1^{*}] एव चा(च)-
 85 तुराघाटविशुद्ध सर्वाभ्यन्तरसिद्धा⁷⁹ पुत्रपौत्रादिमन्तल्योपे-
 86 तानां चद्रार्कं यावत्प्रतिपालनीय । एवमन्वयजा वन्धूनांमपि⁸⁰
 87. [भुञ्जानानां भो]जयता⁸¹ कृपता कर्पापयताम्बा⁸² यद्येष्ट प्रतिदिशतां प्रति-
 88 देशयता⁸³ केनापि खयेवाधा⁸⁴ न करणीया । उक्तं च सुनिभि⁸⁵ [1^{*}]
 89 यानीह⁸⁶ दत्तानि पुरा नेरेन्द्रेईनानि धर्म्मार्थयगस्कराणि [1^{*}]
 90 निर्म्माल्यमालाप्रतिमानि तानि ।⁸⁷ को नाम साधु पुनराद-
 91. दोत ।(॥) व(व)हृभिर्व्वसुधा⁸⁸ भुक्ता राजभि सगरादि-
 92. भि । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
 93. फल ।(॥) सद्यो दान निरायास सायास तस्य पाल-
 94 नम् ॥(॥)

Third plate

95. एव हि रिपय⁸⁹ प्राहुः दानाच्छेयोनुपालनम् ॥ दत्त्वा⁹⁰ भू[मि] भाविन.
 96 पार्थिवेन्द्राः भूयो भूयो याचतै रामभद्र । सा-
 97 मान्योयं धर्म्मसितुर्नृपाणा काले काले पालनी-
 98 यो भवद्भिः ।(॥) इत्यर्थितोपि य कलिकालवस(श)क्तीभा-
 99 भिभूतो य.⁹¹ पूर्वदानमपहरिष्यति ।⁹² स पचम-
 100 ह्यापातकैरुपपातकैर्युतो रौरवाद्विषु नरक्षेपु
 101. पचमानो दुष्कृतमनुभविष्यति⁹³ । तथा च ।⁹⁴ व्यासभट्टार-
 102 क प्राह । स्वदत्ता⁹⁵ परदत्ताम्बा⁹⁶ यो हरेत वसुन्धराम(म्) [1^{*}]

⁷⁶ Read °शाखिने तथा

⁷⁷ Read °सहोपा°

⁷⁸ Read °घाटा

⁷⁹ Read °भ्यन्तरसिद्धा

⁸⁰ Read °जाना वन्धूनामपि

⁸¹ Originally only सुञ्जयता was engraved, but three or four *aksharas* were afterwards engraved above the line, which, together with the former, appear to me to yield the reading given in the text

⁸² Read °सर्पा वा

⁸³ This sign of punctuation is superfluous

⁸⁴ The second *akshara* might also be read ये, but compare

शशावा, ante, vol. I, p 165

⁸⁵ Metre, Upajati Read नरे°

⁸⁶ This sign of punctuation is superfluous

⁸⁷ Metre, Sloka (Anushtubh), and of the next verse

⁸⁸ Read सपय प्राहुर्वा°

⁸⁹ Metre, Salini Read दत्ता, °वेन्द्रान्, and याचन्

⁹⁰ This word is superfluous

⁹¹ These signs of punctuation are superfluous

⁹² The *akshara* नु was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line

⁹³ Metre, Sloka (Anushtubh), and of the two next verses

⁹⁴ Read °दत्ता वा.

- L 103 स विहाया कृमिर्भूत्वा कृमिभि सह पच्यते ।(॥) विन्ध्याटवी-
 101 प्तोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन । महाहयो हि जायन्ते
 105 भूमिदानापहारका ।(॥) तडागाना सहस्रेण वाजिमेधशतेन च [1*]
 10० गवा कोटिप्रदानेत(न) भूमिहर्ता न शुद्धति ।(॥) इति महर्षिवचना-
 107 न्यवधार्य ।⁹¹ आगन्तुकराजभि धर्मलोपभयेन प्रतिपालनीयम् [1*]
 108 मद्दस(श)जा ⁹² परमहीपतिवशजा वा पापादपेतमनसो भुवि भाविभूषा [1*]
 109 ये पालयति मम धर्ममिम समय तेषा मया विरचितोच्चलि-
 110 रेप मूर्ति⁹³ ॥ ॐ ॥ सा(शा)र्वरीसवत्सरीयभाद्रपदामावास्या-
 111 याम् ।⁹¹ श्रीनासिकीयश्रुणासवै(वे)द्यमहातीर्थं ।⁹¹ परम-
 112 व्रतौ(तो)पवासनियमयुक्तेन स्त्री(श्री)भिल्लमराजेन सूर्यग्रहणे ग्रा-
 113 मोय प्रदत्त ॥ लिख(खि)तमिद शासनपट्ट स्थाननियमेन
 114 राजनियमेन च ॥⁹¹ मया केशवैडपाध्यायेनेति ॥ यद्-⁹⁷
 115 चर परिभ्रष्ट मात्ताहीन च यद्भवेत(त्) । चा(च)तुमर्हय विद्वांस क-
 116 स्य न खलते मनः ॥ यदक्षीनाचरेमधिकम्बा⁹⁴ तत्सर्व प्रमाणमिति ॥

XVI.—STONE INSCRIPTIONS AT VAGHLI IN KHANDES

THE ŚAKA YEAR 991

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According to the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol XII, p 478, Vāghli,¹ a village six miles east (or rather north-east) of Chahsgaon in the Khāndes District, has three temples, an old temple of Madhāidevi, a small ruined temple to its right, and a temple of the Mān-bhava² sect "The Mānabhāva temple, built in Hemādpanṭi style, 33 feet long by 22 broad and 13 high, with ornamented pillars and doorway, formerly contained a *linga*, and has still the sacred bull outside. Three large stones (within) bear illegible Sanskrit inscriptions. Near the temple is a well, inside and on each side of which is a small cell. The temple is undoubtedly very old, and has for the last seven generations been in the possession of the Mānabhāva sect." Good impressions of the three inscriptions thus referred to, taken by Mr H Cousens, have been supplied to me by Dr Burgess. They show that the three inscriptions are indeed damaged, especially one of them, but that they are by no means so illegible as they have been reported to be. And their contents appear to me sufficiently interesting to justify my furnishing a short account of them. I shall denote the inscriptions by the letters A, B, and C, but shall show that all three really form part of a single inscription.

A—This inscription contains 14 lines of writing which cover a space of about 3' 6" broad by 1' 1½" high. On the proper right side the writing is much damaged and

¹ Metre, Vasantatilaka⁹⁶ Really मृग is engraved⁹⁷ Metre Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)⁹⁸ Read चरमधिक वा¹ In the *Indian Atlas*, sheet 38, spelt "Baugley," inthe *Postal Directory* "Waghli," in Long 75° 10' E, Lat 20° 31' N² See *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol XII, p 122, *Indian Antiquary*, vol IV, p 335, and Dr Burgess' *List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, pp 122, 320

partly altogether illegible, but, as will be seen from my transcript of the text, the greater portion of the inscription is fairly well preserved, and everything of importance may be read with certainty. The size of the letters is between $\frac{5}{8}$ " and $\frac{7}{8}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī of about the 11th century A.D. The language is Sanskrit, and the inscription is in verse. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, the dental sibilant is several times used instead of the palatal, and the vowel *ri* is employed instead of *ri* in *trīṭaya*, line 5.

The inscription opens with a verse invoking the blessing of Ganapati, after that it has twelve verses, numbered 1–12, and it breaks off, at the end of line 14, in the third Pāda of another verse which would have been verse 13. Verse 1 describes the origin of the solar race, and tells that from Māndhātṛī, a prince of that race, sprang the Maurya family. Verse 2 then relates how Soma, *i.e.*, the god Śiva, left his home on the mountain Kailāsa and came for the welfare of the people to settle in the country of Surāshtra, and verse 3 states that here, in Surāshtra, there is the city of Valabhī, the capital of the Mauryas, the Brāhman citizens of which enjoy all the blessings of life through the favour of the Mauryas. Verses 4–13 then record the names of a series of princes or chiefs, the first of whom is stated to have been born in the Maurya family, and each of whom has a verse, eulogizing his valour, allotted to him. This list, for it is nothing more, is as follows —

- 1 The illustrious Kīkata, born in the Maurya family (v. 1)
2. After him came the illustrious Lakshaka (v. 5)
3. After him, Bhīma (v. 6).
- 4 Sarvaśūra (v. 7).
- 5 After him came the prince Govindarāja (v. 8).
- 6 After him, the prince Śādhvasika (v. 9)
- 7 The prince Jhañjha (v. 10)
- 8 From him was born the prince Devahastin (v. 11).
- 9 From him, the prince Muñja (v. 12).
- 10 From him, the prince Padmākara (v. 13)

B — This inscription contains fragments of 16 lines of writing, found on a stone which apparently measures about 3' 3" broad by 1' 8" high, and the inscribed surface of which is greatly damaged. The size of the letters is between $\frac{3}{4}$ " and 1". The characters are the same as those of the inscription A. The language is Sanskrit, and the inscription is throughout in verse.

Though, owing to the damaged state of the stone, I am unable to furnish a text of this inscription, I feel no hesitation in saying that we have here the continuation of the preceding inscription A. Here, too, the verses have numbers appended to them, and the first number which is preserved is 14, and occurs towards the end of line 2. This verse 14, in the Mandākrāntā metre, must have commenced about 13" from the commencement of line 1, where verse 13 would have ended, on a part of the stone which is broken away. Comparing the end of the inscription A, we see that that inscription ends in the third Pāda of a Vasantatilakā verse which would have been verse 13, and that 19 syllables are wanted to complete that verse. Now 19 syllables would in the present inscription have taken up a space of exactly 13", and, moreover, the *akṣaras* preserved at the commencement of line 1 of B undoubtedly do belong to a Vasantati-

lakā verse, and their sense suits well the incomplete verse at the end of A. For what we can read at the commencement of line 1 of B, is—

prayachchhaml=Lakshmyāś=chalatva-vadanīyam=a . ,

which, with the end of A, would give us the following verse —

पद्माकरो नरपतिः प्रव(व)भूव तस्माद्युक्त पदा[ति]गजवाजिरघैरनेकैः ।
दानानि योभ्युदयधर्मा[रत ?] प्रयच्छलक्ष्म्याश्चलत्ववदनीयम[पाचकार ॥ ?]

As stated before, verse 14 ends in line 2, verse 15 ends in line 3, verse 16 in line 4, verse 17 in line 6, and verse 18 in line 7, verse 19 probably ended towards the end of line 8, verse 20 ends in line 10, verse 21 in line 11, and verse 22 in line 12, verse 23 must have ended in line 13, verse 24 ends in line 14, and verse 25 in line 15, and the end of verse 26 must have coincided with the end of line 16, the last line of this inscription. I believe, I cannot go wrong in saying that, exactly like the verses 4-13 of the inscription A, each of the verses 14-24 gave the name of one prince, and that the eleven verses together therefore recorded the names of eleven princes, who one after another succeeded the prince Padmākara, spoken of in verse 13. The names of the two immediate successors of Padmākara (the 11th and 12th members of the family), which must have been contained in verses 14 and 15, are broken away or at any rate no longer legible. Further on the following are mentioned —

13 Vappaiya (*Vappaiya-nāmā sa nareśa āsit*, in verse 16).

14 Vappaiya's son, whose name has not been preserved (*Vappaiyasya sutas-tuto=vantale*, in verse 17).

15 Vālapaiāja (*tasmād=Vālapaiāja ity=abhikato bhūpāla-chūdāmanih samyajñe*, in verse 18)

16 Sādhasika (*rājā Sādhasikas=tatah parani=abhāt*, in verse 19)

17 S'āntirāja (*śrī Sāntirāja iti bhūmipati=prabhāva*, in verse 20)

18 Pravarasūkara (*śrī Sāntirātmanah sakala-bhūpa-gunan=upetah śrītmān=abhāt-Pravarasū[la]ja-nāmadheya*, in verse 21)

19 Bhāleka (*tasmād=abhāt=pi uchura-śatru-gana-pi amāt'it śrī-Bhāleka-nipati-jagati prasiddhah*, in verse 22)

20 Bhīmarāja (*śrī-Bhīmarāja-nipatis=tu Śiva-prasādāt*, in verse 23)

21 Govinda (*Govinda-bhūpatir=iti*, in verse 24)

No further names seem to occur in the short passages which remain of the verses 25 and 26

C—This inscription contains 18 lines of writing which cover a space of 4' 2½" broad by 1' 10½" high. With the exception of a few *aksharas*, lines 1-16 are well preserved, but the middle of line 17 is greatly damaged, and the writing of line 18 is almost entirely effaced. The size of the letters is between ¾" and 1". The characters are the same as in the inscriptions A and B. The language is Sanskrit, and the inscription is throughout in verse. As regards orthography, *b* is everywhere denoted by the sign for *v*; the vowel *ri* is used instead of *ri* in *vimsita*, line 3, and *tridiva*, line 8, and the *jihvāmālīya* and *upadharmānya*, both denoted by the ordinary sign for *sh*, are employed in *anvatah kūtī-*, line 8, *sevadhik padma-*, line 5, and *tanuh punya-*, line 7.

From the text, which will be given below, it will be seen that the inscription commences with a verse which is numbered 27, and which thus at once shows it to be the

continuation of the inscription B, which ends with verse 26. The inscription clearly divides itself into two portions, the first of which, extending to nearly the end of line 9, comprises the nine verses 27-35. All that it is necessary to say about this part, is, that it eulogizes the piety of a prince (*narapati, nripati, bhūmipāla*) Govinda or Govindarāja, who in verse 27 is styled *Mauryakula-pradīpa*, 'the light of the Maurya family,' and who evidently is the Govinda spoken of in verse 21 of the inscription B, and that in particular it records the foundation by this prince of a *sālā*, or hall of charity for travellers and for the learned and indigent, and the erection of a temple of Śiva, under the name of Siddheśanātha or Siddheśvara, with a tank or well attached to it. In all probability, the temple is the same at which the inscription is still preserved.

The second part of the inscription, the verses of which are numbered separately, opens, towards the end of line 9, with a date, and records up to line 15 various donations in favour of the temple and the charitable institute mentioned before, made both by Govindarāja himself and by (his sovereign lord) the *mahāmandala-nātha*, the illustrious king Seuna.

According to verses 1-3 (lines 9-11), the king Seuna, on the occasion of a solar eclipse in the month of Āshādhya of the Jupiter year Saumya which was the (expired) Śaka year 991, granted to the temple of Siddheśvara the two villages of Samgamī and Madhuvātikā, together with the income due from them to the king himself.—The date corresponds, by the *amānta* scheme, to Tuesday, the 21st July, A D 1069, when about half an hour after mean sunrise there was a solar eclipse which was visible in some parts of India, and the king Seuna is the Devagiri Yādava Seunachandra II., of whom we possess a copper-plate grant which is dated only a fortnight later than the present inscription, on Gurudina or Thursday, the 14th of the bright half of Śravana of the year Saumya, corresponding to Śaka samvat 991*.—The villages of Samgamī and Madhuvātikā I am unable to identify on the maps at my disposal.

Govindarāja's donations are enumerated in the verses 4-13 (lines 11-15). Some of the particulars of this passage I do not fully understand, but it is clear that Govinda provided for the worship of the god in the temple founded by him (verses 1-5), that, for the support of the learned men and their pupils who resorted to his *sālā*, he gave four fields which are described as *Vagalūkamalabhūmi*, *Vakhulilshetiya*, *Vanalūlakabhūmi* and *Palavakshinivāta*, and the exact boundaries of which are recorded in the text (verses 6-12), and that he besides granted sixteen *nivātanus* of land to certain secular and religious teachers (verse 13).

The concluding lines of the inscription once more state that the temple, referred to in the preceding, was founded by the prince Govinda and his wife, the *vājñī* Nayakī (verse 14), and contain the usual admonitions to future rulers to watch over, and not to resume, the donations here recorded.

Taken as a whole, what is contained on the three stones is a single inscription, dated in Śaka 991 or A D 1069, of a chief Govindarāja of the Maurya clan, a feudatory of the Devagiri Yādava king Seunachandra II. Its proper object is, to record that Govindarāja built the temple at which the inscription was put up, and made various

* See *Indian Antiquary*, vol XII, p. 120. It should be stated, however, that the date of the copper-plate is incorrect, for Śravana Sudī 14 of Śaka 991 expired (= Saumya) corresponds to the 4th August, A D 1069, which was a Tuesday, not a Thursday.

donations in favour of it, and by way of introduction the inscription furnishes a list of the names of the ancestors of Govindarāja for no less than twenty generations, and records that the original home of the Maurya clan was the city of Valabhī in Surāshtra, which was their capital. As Govindaraja himself is indirectly described as a feudatory of a Yādava king, it may be assumed that his ancestors or at least some of them owed allegiance to the same family, and that these Mauryas came from Kāthnāvād to Khandeś together with the Yādavas, 'the lords of Dvāravatī' As regards the individual chiefs mentioned in this inscription, I have not met with any of them in other inscriptions⁵

1. 1 [ओ। १] उ० उ० — उ० — उ० — उ० — लसि[त]र[त्न]मरीचि उ० — उ० [ता]: । चरण-
युग्ममरीरुहरेणवो गणपतेर्विजयाय भवतु वः ॥ ७ ॥ आदावव्यक्तमासीत्तदनु^१ कमल[जस्त]१-
2 त्सुत कश्यपोभू — — — — उ० — — [तद]नु मनुभूत्तत्सुतात्सूर्यवश । विख्यात, सर्वलोकेष्व-
मलनृपगुणै[र]न्वित^१ कीर्त्तिधर्म्मैर्म्मान्धातुर्भूमिपालात्सकलगुणनिधैर्म्मैर्यव[शो]
3 व(व)भूव ॥ १ ॥ आसीत्कैलास[शृंगे रुचिर]शसि(शि)सुधाशुभ्रगगाप्रवाहे दिव्यारामोपभोगातु-
रसुरनिकरोद्गुष्टकाम्यप्रलापे । सोम^१ सोमार्द्धभूप, सकलसुरनुतः [का ?]-
4 म[चित्तप्रदी]१प सर्वेषा लौकिकानामशुभविहतये सोवतीर्ण^१ सुराद्रम् ॥ २ ॥ तस्मि^{१०} देशेस्ति
रम्या विवु(वु)धसुरवराकीर्णदेवालयव्या मौर्याणा राजधानी वलभिरिति उ० -
5 — म[ण्डन] मण्डलाना । यस्यान्निशेषविद्यासुनिश्चितम[त]यो ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणा ब्र(वृ)ह्मतुल्याः
पौरा धर्म्मार्थकामतृ(त्रि)तयफलभुज^१ सन्ति^{११} मौर्यप्रसादात् ॥ ३ ॥ ^{१२}खड्गप्रहारदृढपाटि[त]१-
6 [कुम्भिकुम्भसु]१^{१३} क्ता[फ]लप्रकरतारकिता दिनाहं । रात्रि चकार रुचि[रां] रुचिरगताप, श्रीको-
कट प्रवरमौर्यकुलप्रसूत, ॥ ४ ॥ श्रीतत्त्वस्तदनु^{१४} यस्य पराक्रमाग्निददद्भ[मा]१-
7 उ० उ० — उ० — उ० [भ]ग्नाः । गगाजलैश्चभिलपति ननु प्रपात शैत्याभिलाषिण इव
द्विपता समूहा ॥ ५ ॥ भीमो^{१५} भीमपराक्रमस्तदनु यो दृष्ट्वा व(व)ल विहिषा^{१६} सद्यो वैरि उ० -
8 — उ० — उ० उ० — स्व[र्गे] स्थि[त] — उ० — [न्] । कालक्षेपकर रिपुव्रजमिव क्रोधा-
न्वित स[त्त्व]र^१ [स्त्र]ष्टार कृतसस्तीरणरसात्प[क्षो]द्रम प्रार्थय[त्] ॥ ६ ॥ [ओ]१केषु^{१७} वा-
जिगजप[त्ति] उ० — -
9 उ० नेपु — — उ० — उ० उ० — उ० — उ० सत्सु । शौर्यं करोति सकलोरिषु तस्य सौ(शौ)-
र्यं सर्वेष्विति प्रगदित, स हि सर्वस्व(श्र)र, ॥ ७ ॥ गोविदराज इति च प्रथित, पृथिव्यामा-
सीन्नप-

⁵ I know that the Yadava Bhīllama II married the daughter of a Rāja Jhañjha (see *ib* p 77), but that Jhañjha could not possibly have been the Jhañjha of the present inscription, for, not to mention other reasons, Bhīllama lived about A D. 1000 (see *ante*, p 212), and the Jhañjha of this inscription lived fourteen generations before Govindarāja (A D 1069).

7 Metre, Drutavilambita

³ Metre, Sragdhara, and of the two next verses

10 Read तच्छिन्दे°

¹¹ Originally सन्ति was engraved

1. Metre, Vasantatilaka, and of the next verse.

¹³ The *alsharas* in these brackets are almost entirely effaced

¹⁴ Originally °क सदन was engraved

15 Metre, Śardulavikrīḍita

¹⁵ Originally a sign of punctuation was engraved here, but it is struck out again

it is struck out again

17 Metre, Vasantatilaka, and of the next verse

- L 10. स्तदनु यस्य ७ — ७ — — । गोविंदवत्सपदि चितितमा[त्र]मिडास्तेनेति नाम स दधी चरि-
तार्थमुच्चै ॥८॥ राजा¹⁸साध्वसिकः¹⁹ तत' परमभूयः²⁰स्मा[ट्र]ण युध्य तस्तस्यामी रिपुदति— ७—
11 ७ ७ — — — ७ — — ७ — । साधुः साधुरय तवाभिरमरैः स्वस्वैरिति स्ना(स्ना)घित
शत्रून्साध्वसिन' करोति यदि वा तेनेतिनामा नृपः ॥ ८ ॥ भक्ताभिधाननृपति, ²¹प्रथितो
धरित्रया — — —
12 ७ — ७ ७ ७ — ७ ७ — ७ — । सग्रामभूषभिसुखो रभमाग्रधावन्यर्तु न शक्य इति
नाम व(व)भार सार्थ ॥ १० ॥ श्रीदेवहस्तीति²² तत चितोशो जज्ञे धरामडलशीतरश्मि ।
सम[स्तलो] — —
13 ७ ७ — ७ — — — ७ — — ७ ७ — ७ — ॥ ११ ॥ श्रीमान्मृजनरेश्वर -
समभवत्तस्मान्नृपग्रामणीर्यः सौभाग्यसुधासरित्परिवृढो [रू]पावधौ[त]स्मरः । [दुर्वा]रप्र-
मदाविलो ७ ७ -
14. ७ — — — ७ — — ७ — — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७ ७ — — सुहृर्म[त्र]वत्
॥ १२ ॥ पद्माकरो²³ नरपतिः²⁴ प्रव(व)भूव तस्माद्युक्त पदा[ति]गजवाजिरघैरनेकै । दानानि
योभ्युदयधर्म-

TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTION C.²⁵

- L 1 [गो]दानभूमितिल[दान]हिरण्यवैश्वस्तान्नरत्नवरधान्यधनादि सर्वम् ।
सपूज्य यः प्रवरविप्रगण प्रहर्षात्²⁶ शश्वद्दावमलमौर्यकुलप्रदोपः ॥ २७ ॥
यस्मिन्प्रशासति स[ही]
2. महनीयकीर्त्तौ पद्मधनोर्विकला न जना व(व)भूव ।
शश्वन्महोत्सवपरपरया जनाना धर्मार्थकामफलसिद्धिरखडिताभूत् ॥ ३८²⁷ ॥
यः प्रीण्यत्यमृतगधसुगधमालाधृपात्त[त]-
3 प्रचुरदोपविचित्तमच्चै ।
देवग्रहद्विजगुरुनृप(नृप)तृगोग्निमुख्यान्गोविंदराजनृपति' स सुखी सदा स्तात् ॥ २८ ॥
कर्पूरकुसुमधनाधिपकर्मिण कस्तूरिकाजलविमिश्र(त्रि)[त]-
4. चंदनेन ।
आदौ विलिप्य शिवविप्रगुरुनुदार' पश्चाद्विलिपनविधिं स्वयमन्वतिष्ठत् ॥ ३० ॥
य' पायसार्थगुणविप्रभुजिक्त्रियार्थ दीनान्महद्विकलस्य च तृप्तिहेतो ।
सत्र²⁸ [च]-
5. कार नृपतिर्व्य(र्व)हृविद्यशिथैर्विद्याविनोदनिरतैः परितोतिपूर्ण ॥ ३१ ॥
यद्गपैरप्यशक्य प्रवरवसुमतीदेशभोगाधिरूढै-
र्निष्पत्तै यस्य तुच्छो धनदधनमृत. से(शे)वधि७पद्मनामा ।
अत्यु[च्च]

¹ Metre, Śardulavikrādita¹⁸ Read °कनत¹⁹ Read °यसा°²⁰ Metre, Vasantatilaka²¹ Metre, Indravijya²² Metre, Śardulavikrādita²³ Metre, Vasantatilaka²⁴ This sign of *usarga* was originally omitted²⁵ From an impression taken by Mr Cousens²⁶ Read °पाच्य°²⁷ Metre, Vasantatilaka and of the four next verses²⁸ Read २८²⁹ Read सप्त

- L. 6 दिव्य[भू]य सुरसदनसम मदिर चद्रमौलि
कोन्धो गोविंदराजान्नरपतिरमलो मर्त्यलोके चकार ॥ ३२ ॥³¹
ब्र(व)ह्मज्ञानान्तातर्निभृतवरमरोराजहसोमलागो³²
राजत्रीचारुकान्तादयिततर[त]-
7. नु७७पुण्यहृत्स्य³³ मूल ।
धाता सृष्टोयमेको जगति नरपति सज्जनानन्दकारी
शैवध्यानासिभिन्नस्वहृदयजतमोवृत्तिगोविन्दराज ॥ ३३ ॥
[अ]³⁴तमीनावताराद्यभिनवतनुभिर्विष्णुरूपैरूपे-
- 8 त
चक्रे सिद्धेशनायावमयमतिमहत्सर्वभोगोपपन्न ।
सर्वेपा पार्थिवाना तृ(त्रि)दिवपतिपुरारोहनिन्येणिभूत
गोविन्दो भूमिपालस्वमलनृपगुणैरान्वितङ्कीर्तिकाम ॥ ३४ ॥
वापी च-
- 9 कार सुविमलोपलगाढव(व)डसोपानप[ङ्क्ति]सुरवेश्मनिविष्टदेवा ।
शश्वज्जलोर्मिव(व)[ङ्हु]शु[भ्र]जलप्रवाहसस्त्रापिताभिश्पनामघनाशदक्षाम् ॥ ३५ ॥³⁵
रूपनदाकतुल्ये तु ६६१
- 10 शककालस्य भूपती [1*]
मौम्यमवत्सरापाठरविग्रहणपर्वणि ॥ १ ॥³⁶
महासडलनाथस्तु श्रीमान्सेउणभूपति ।
मिहेश्वराय प्रददौ ग्रामद्वयमुदारधी ॥ २ ॥
निजेन राजभोगेन सग[मी]³⁷
- 11 म[धु]वाटिकाम् ॥ ३ ॥
गोविंदराजोपि ददौ ग्रा[म]यो[र्मा]न्य[भो]गक ।
मेलक देवपूजार्थ प्राणक दीपसिद्धये ॥ ४ ॥
पाठक गीतनृत्यार्थ विलासिन्मिसन्वित³⁸ ।
तृष्काल³⁹ देवभोगार्थ गच्छकाना च भूमि — [॥ ५ ॥*]
- 12 विप्राणा भोजनार्थाय सत्र(त्त)सुहिष्य शाश्वत ।
विद्याभ्यासरताना च⁴⁰ छात्रा(त्ता)णा भोजनाय च ॥ ६ ॥
जेवाणि यानि भूपालो ददौ तानि लिखाम्यत ।
वगलकम्मतभूमे[]⁴¹ पूर्वसीमा तु भूमि —

³¹ Metre, Sragdhara, and of the two next verses

³² The *akshara* ह was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line

³³ The *akshara* च was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line

³⁴ I am doubtful about the *akshara* and the intended reading may possibly be प्रति मा

³⁵ Metre, Yasantika

³⁶ Metre, Sragdhara (Anushrubb), and of the following twelve verses

³⁷ Of this *akshara* only the sign of *anusvara* is doubtful

³⁸ The reading here and up to the end of the line is quite clear in the original. Read विलासिनी (r)

³⁹ I do not understand this, nor the following सडकाना, तृष्काल may have been put for विकाल

⁴⁰ Thus च was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line

⁴¹ Originally भूमिम् was engraved, but the *akshara* ह has been struck out

L. 13.

[॥] ७ ॥

दक्षिणे [दे]वलक्षेत्रं पश्चिमे [जानि]नस्तथा ।

उत्तरे कारकग्राममाघाटा⁴² खलु [नी]मताः ॥ ८ ॥

वखुलीक्षेत्रसीमास्तु पूर्वदक्षिणपश्चिमाः ।

मार्गकमतसिद्धेशभूमयस्तूत्तरो वहः ॥ [९ ॥*]

14. वनकूटकभूमेऽथ नदी पूर्वोत्तरोवधिः ।

दक्षिणे च वहः सीमा पश्चिमे ग्रामभूरपि ॥ १० ॥

व[ट]यक्षिणवाटे तु पूर्वा कार्पटिकस्य भूः ।

दक्षिणे देवलक्षेत्रं पश्चिमे गोपघोषधिः ॥ [११ ॥*]

उत्तरे वटकू-

15. पौ च आघाटा[:*]परिकीर्तिताः ॥ [१२ ॥*]

षोडशैव ददौ राजा विद्याव्याख्यानकारिणे ।

निवर्त्तनानि भूमेस्तु पुण्यव्याख्यानकारिणे ॥ [१३ ॥*]

चत्वारिचारविचारवाकपटुरभूहोविन्दनामा [नृ]-

16. प-

स्तद्राज्ञी किल नायकी भवभयाङ्गता सदा या हरि ।

ताभ्यां शंकरसंदिनं सुहृच्चिरं निष्पाद्य विस्मारिता⁴³कीर्त्तिर्धर्मयशः कुलं च विमलं प्रद्योतितं चात्मनः ॥⁴⁴[१४ ॥*]

ये पालय-

17. न्ति पृथिवीप्रतिदानमेतत्ते प्राप्नुवन्त्यमरलोकसमस्तभोगान् ।

राज्यं च [श]ख ७ ७ - ७ ७ - ७ - - - ७ [हस्ति]तुरगाव्यव(व)लैरुपेताः ॥ ⁴⁵

[१५ ॥*]

ये लोपयन्ति नृपदा-

18. [न]म - ७ लोभा[त्ते प्राप्नुवन्ति]⁴⁶.XVII — KHALARI STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF
HARIBRAHMADEVA.THE [VIKRAMA] YEAR 1470¹.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH D., C.I.E ; GÖTTINGEN

This inscription is on a polished stone, which is fitted into the wall of a small temple at Khalari, a village about 45 miles² east of the town of Raipur in the Central Provinces. It contains sixteen lines of writing, which cover a space of about 1'11½" broad by 11½" high. The writing is well preserved throughout, and the reading is no-

⁴² Read "ग्राम आघाटा"⁴³ The *akshara* आ was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line⁴⁴ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita⁴⁵ Metre, Vasantatilakā, and of the next verse⁴⁶ From here, up to the end of the line, the writing is so seriously damaged that only a few *aksharas*, which yield noconnected sense, are at all legible. There can be no doubt that this was the concluding line of this inscription³¹ Wrongly for 1471² See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeol. Survey of India*, vol. VII, p. 156, according to the *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, p. 243, Khalari is only about thirteen miles from Raipur

where in the least doubtful. The size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The characters are Nagari of the period to which the inscription belongs, the 15th century A D. The language is Sanskrit, employed by a person of little knowledge, and, excepting the introductory *om śri-Gaṇapataye namaḥ*, and a date and the name of the engraver at the end, the inscription is in verse. The letter *b* is, as usually, written by the sign for *v*, otherwise the orthography calls for no remarks.

The inscription, called by the author a *prāśasti*, was composed by Miśra Dāmodara (verse 11), written on the stone by Rāmadasa of the Vāstavya³ family (v 13), and engraved by the artisan Ratnadeva (line 16). And its proper object is to record the foundation of a temple of Nārāyaṇa (or Vishnu) by the shoemaker (*mochī*) Devapala, a son of Śivadasa and grandson of Jasau (vv 9, 10, and 12), at the town of Khalvatikā (v 7), *i e*, the modern Khalāli. By way of introduction the inscription—after the words ‘om, adoration to Gaṇapati’ and three verses in honour of that deity and of Bhārati, the goddess of eloquence, and Nārāyaṇa,—gives us (in verses 4-6) the following genealogy of the prince, the illustrious Haribrahmadeva, whose capital (*rājadhāni*) Khalvatika is represented to have been when the inscription was composed —

In the Kalachuri (or Kalachuti) branch of the Haihaya (here called Ahirava) family was the prince Simhana, a worshipper of Śambhu (or Śiva), who conquered eighteen strongholds of adversaries. His son was the prince, Rāmadeva, who slew in battle Bhoningadeva (apparently a prince, whom I am unable to identify). And his son again was the illustrious prince, Haribrahmadeva.

The inscription is dated (in lines 15 and 16) in the (Vikrama) year 1470, the Śaka year 1334, and the year Plava of the sixty-years’ cycle of Jupiter, on the 9th of the bright half of Māgha, a Saturday, while the moon was in the *nakṣatra* Rohini. Had the years been given correctly in this date, the Vikrama year 1470 would have to be taken as a current year, and the Śaka year 1334 as an expired year. But the date works out satisfactorily neither for Vikrama 1470 current = Śaka 1331 expired, nor for Vikrama 1470 expired, and its proper year undoubtedly is Vikrama 1471 expired = Śaka 1336 expired, as will be seen from the following equivalents —

- For Vikrama 1470 current = Śaka 1334 expired Māgha-śudi 9 corresponds to Wednesday, the 11th January, A D 1413,
- for Vikrama 1470 expired = Śaka 1335 expired, to Tuesday, the 30th January, A D. 1414,
- for Vikrama 1471 expired = Śaka 1336 expired, to Saturday, the 19th January, A D 1415, when the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h 18 m after mean sunrise, and when the moon was in the *nakṣatra* Rohini from 13 h 8 m, or, by the *Garga-siddhānta*, from 1 h 19 m after mean sunrise, or, by the *Brahma-siddhānta*, from about sunrise. Thus Saturday, the 19th January, A D 1415, also, as required, fell in the Jovian year Plava, which by the *Śaiva-siddhānta* rule without *bīṣa* lasted from the 24th April, A D 1414, to the 20th April, A D 1415.

³ See *ante*, Index of vol I, under *Vāstavya*.

Of the reign of the prince Haribrahmadeva we possess another (carelessly written) inscription of the Vikrama year 1158, which was found at Râypur and is now in the Nâgpur Museum⁴, and the full date of which I have given in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p 26, No 20. In that inscription, which records the foundation of a temple of Hatakesvara (Śiva) by the *Nâyaka* Hâjirâjadeva, the prince is described as *Mahârâjâ-dhmâja*, and called Râyabrahmadeva, Harirâyabrahma, and simply Brahmadeva. The inscription also mentions his predecessors, who are there called Simha and Râmachandra, instead of Simhana and Râmadeva.

I may mention, besides, that the names of these princes Simhana and Râmachandra also occur in a large mutilated inscription at Ramtek⁵ in the Central Provinces of which I owe a faint rubbing to Dr. Fleet.

TEXT⁶

- L 1. श्री [॥*] श्रीगणपतये नमः ।(॥)
सकलदुरितहर्ताऽभीष्टसिद्धिप्रकर्ता निगमसमुपगीतः शेषयज्ञोपवीतः ।
ललितमधुकरालीसे-
2. विता' गंडपालीतटभुवि गणराजः पातु वो विघ्नराजः ॥ १ ॥⁸
वेदानाराध्य वेधाः पठति भगवती यामनायस्तचित्तः
श्रीकठस्यापि नादैरपहरति मनः
3. पार्वती किन्नरीभिः ।
हारा नारायणस्योरसि रहसि रणत्ककणा यद्भुजा' स्युः
सद्यः सत्काव्यसिद्धौ स्फुरतु कविमुखाभीरुहे भारती सा ॥ २ ॥⁹
व(व)ज्ञाद-
4. यो द(दि)विषदः श्रुतिवाक्यदृष्ट्या ध्यायति यं पुरुषमात्मविदोप्यसूते ।
पापानि यत्स्मरणतो विलय प्रयाति नारायणः स्फुरतु चेतसि सर्वदा वः ।(॥) ३ ॥¹⁰
अहिह-¹¹
5. यन्मृगपक्षे शंभुभक्तोऽवतीर्णः कलचुतिरिति शाखा प्राप्य तीव्र(व्र)प्रतापः ।
निजभुजगुरुदर्पाद्योऽरिदुर्गाण्यजैपोद्गणभुवि दश चाष्टौ सिङ्गचोणिपालः ॥
6. 8 ॥¹²
अभवद्वनिपालस्तत्पुत्रो रामदेवः समरशिरसि धीरो येन भोग्निगदेवः ।
मणिरिव फणिवशस्याऽहतः कोपदृष्ट्या तरुणतरुणितेजः पञ्चराजप्रतापः ॥ ५ ॥
7. तत्पुत्रः शत्रुघ्नता जगति विजयते चन्द्रचूडस्य भक्तः
श्याम कामाभिरामो मनसि सृग्दृशामुद्राणां कृतातः ।
सर्वेषां याचकानां स्फुरदभरतर्वाकपतिः पंडिता-

⁴ See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. VII, p 77.

⁵ See *ibid.*, vol. VII, p 112.

⁶ From rubbings supplied to me by Dr. Burgess.

⁷ Read 'विली'.

⁸ Metre, Mahini.

⁹ Metre, Sragdharâ. In the second line of this verse a relative pronoun has been omitted.

¹⁰ Metre, Vasantatilaka.

¹¹ I give this verse exactly as I find it in the original. Its meaning is clear enough. In the Kalachuri branch of the Hahaya family there was the prince Simhana, who conquered eighteen fortresses of adversaries. But the Hahayas are called by the writer Ahihaya, and the Kalachuris Kalachutis, not to mention the grammatical mistakes which the verse contains.

¹² Metre of verses 4 and 5, Mahini.

L 8.

ना

गोतज्ञानां द्वितीयो भरत इव नृपः श्रीहरित्रि(त्र)ह्लादेवः ॥ ६ ॥¹³
तद्राजधानी नगरो गरिष्ठा खल्वाटिका राजति वाटिकाभिः ।
सुरालया यत्र हिमालयाभा विभाति

9

शृगैरतिशुभ्रतुगै ॥ ७ ॥¹⁴

भूदेवा यत्र वेदाध्ययनमनु रता स्वस्तिमतो वसन्ति
श्रीमत. श्रीविलासैरमरपरिहृढ राजराज हसन्तः ।
कामिन्य कामदेव त्रिपुरहर-

10

दृशा दग्धमुज्जीवयत्यः

प्रोद्यद्गोर्मूलकाल्या क्षितमधुरगिरा भूलताडव(व)रेण ॥ ८ ॥¹⁵
मोची तत्रेदुरोचीरुचिरतरयशाः कर्मनिर्माणदक्षः
सीजन्या-

11.

दशजन्माऽनुचर इव जसौनामधेयस्य पीत्र ।

नानाधर्माभिलाषी गुणनिधिशिवदासाऽभिधानस्य पुत्रः
श्रीमन्नारायणस्य स्मरणविमलधी राजते

12.

देवपालः ॥ ९ ॥

नारायणस्यायतन स्रशक्त्या भक्त्या महत्या सह मडपेन ।
निर्मापित तेन परत्र चात्र तस्मै हरिर्यच्छतु वाच्छि(छि)तार्थ ॥ १० ॥¹⁶
हरिचरणसरोजध्यान-

13

पीयूषसिंधुप्रसरदलघुवेलास्फालकेलीरसेन ।

सरसकविजनाना निमित्तेय प्रशस्तिर्गमनसि रसविधात्री मिश्रदामोदरेण ॥ ११ ॥
वहति जगति गगा याव-

14.

दादित्यपुत्रा स्फुरति वियति तारामडलाऽखडलेन¹⁷ ।

तरणिरमरसङ्घच्छन्ना तावदेपा जयतु जयतु मोचीदेवपालस्य कीर्तिः ॥ १२ ॥
श्रीवास्तव्यान्वयेनैषा

15.

प्रशस्तिरमलाचरा ।

लिखिता रामदासेन पडिताधीश्वरेण च ॥ १३ ॥¹⁸

स्वस्ति श्रीसवत् १४७० वर्षे साके १३३४ यष्ट्याब्दयोर्मध्ये²⁰ प्लवनामसवत्सरे माघसुदि ९

16. शनिवासरे रोहिणीनक्षत्रे [॥*] शुभमस्तु सर्वजगतः ॥ सूत्रधाररत्नदेवेन [॥*]

¹³ Metre, Sragdharā.¹⁴ Metre, Upajati¹⁵ Metre of verses 8 and 9, Sragdharā¹⁶ Metre, Indravajra¹⁷ Metre of verses 11 and 12, Malini¹⁸ The word *ākhandala* is perhaps (wrongly) used here in the sense of 'rain bow'¹⁹ Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh)²⁰ Read यष्ट्याब्दस्य 'in the sixty-years' cycle'

XVIII.—DUBKUND STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE KACHCHHAPAGHATA VIKRAMASIMHA.

THE [VIKRAMA] YEAR 1145.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH D., O I E ; GOTTINGEN.

This inscription was discovered, in 1866, by Captain W. R. Melville,¹ in the ruins of a temple at 'Dubkund,' *Indian Atlas*, Quarter-sheet 51, S E, Long. 77° 51' E, Lat 25° 43½' N. The place is in a dense forest on the left bank of the Kunu river, 76 miles to the south-west of Gwálor, and the temple is situated in the middle of an enclosure on a peninsula, the neck of which is defended by a fortified wall, and all around it are a mass of ruined houses and the remains of several smaller temples. Captain Melville sent two copies of the inscription to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, but they were probably too imperfect to be used for editing the inscription. The ruins of Dubkund were examined again, in 1882-83, by Sir A. Cunningham's native draughtsman, and from his account a description of them is given in *Archæol Survey of India*, vol XX, p. 99, and Preface, p. v, together with a small photo-lithograph of the inscription, *ib*, plates xxi and xxii. I now edit the inscription from one of his rubbings, apparently the same from which the photo-lithograph was prepared.

The inscription contains 61 lines of writing which cover a space of 1 3½" broad by 3' 2" high. With the exception of about twenty *aksharas* in lines 1 and 2 which have become damaged by the peeling off of the surface of the stone, and perhaps a few other *aksharas* which are illegible in the rubbing, the writing is well preserved, and everything of importance may be read with certainty. The size of the letters is between 1½" and 1¼". The characters are Nāgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs, the 11th century A D. The language is Samskrit, and, excepting the introductory *om om namo vitarāgāya* and the greater portion of lines 54-61, the inscription is in verse. It is called a *prāśasti* (lines 47 and 60), and was composed by the Jaina Vijayakīrti (line 46), written on the stone by Udayarāja (line 60), and engraved by the stone mason Tīlhana (line 61). Both the writer and the engraver have done their work with great care, and in respect of orthography I have only to note that the letter *ḍ* is throughout written by the sign for *ṣ*, and that the dental sibilant is occasionally employed instead of the palatal.²

The object of the inscription is, to record the foundation of a Jaina temple—clearly the temple at which the inscription was discovered—by some private persons (lines 52-53), and certain donations made in favour of it by the *Mahārājādhirāja* Vikramasimha (lines 54-58) who ruled the country around Dubkund when the inscription was composed, in the Vikrama year 1145 (line 61). And the inscription clearly divides itself into two parts, the first of which (lines 10-32) gives an account of the prince Vikramasimha and his ancestors, while the other (lines 32-61) treats of the founders of the temple and certain Jaina sages connected with them. In six introductory verses (lines 1-10) the poet invokes the blessings of, or glorifies, the Jaina Tīrthakāras Rishabhasvāmin, Śāntinātha, Chandraprabha and the Jina (Mahāvīra), the sage Gotama, and the goddess of eloquence (*śruta-devatā*) 'famous in the world under the name of Pankajavāsini.'

¹ See *Journal, As Soc Bengal*, vol XXXV, part I, p. 168.

² In the rubbing before me it is sometimes very difficult to distinguish between the palatal and dental sibilants.

The poet's account of the *Mahāājādhirāja* Vikramasimha (lines 10-32) is as follows —

“There was, an ornament of the Kachchhapaghāta family, and a son of the illustrious Yuvaiāja who was white with fame that spread abroad in the three worlds, the illustrious prince Arjuna, a leader of a formidable army of unparalleled splendour, a prince whom even the ocean did not equal in depth, and a bowman who by his skill in archery had completely vanquished the earth³

Having, anxious to avenge the illustrious Vidyādharaadeva, fiercely slain in a great battle the illustrious Rājyapāla, with many showers of arrows that pierced his neck-bones, he unceasingly filled all the three worlds with his imperishable fame, brilliant like pearl-strings and like the orb of the moon and the foam of the sea

The notes of his musical instruments which rose, when he marched out, resembling the roaring of the sea, and the sounds of the bells of his countless troops of mountain-like elephants, eagerly marching forth, vied with each other in spreading on all sides, and never left off filling the hollow of heaven and earth, joined by the loud echo which rose from mountain caves

From him was born Abhimanyu, who, always possessed of many unblemished qualities which supported crowds of suppliants who (but for him) would have wandered round the circuit of the quarters,⁴ and which in splendour rivalled the moon's crescent,

having powerfully vanquished in battle even the victorious, valued other princes as lightly as a straw

Since the highly intelligent king, the illustrious Bhoja, has widely celebrated the skill which he showed in his marvellous management of horses and chariots, and in the use of powerful weapons, what sage in the three worlds would be able to describe the qualities of this prince, who put to flight haughty adversaries by the fear inspired by the mere sight of his umbrella²

When he marched forth, the thick clouds of dust which rose from the earth, pounded by the sharp hoofs of his chargers, covering the sun's orb, predicted as it were with certainty that soon indeed would be dimmed the lustre of all other illustrious beings.

From that illustrious prince was born the prince Vijayapāla, who filled the circuit of the quarters with his boundless glory which spread about, bright like the quivering rays of the autumnal moon, and who allayed all suffering whatever on the whole orb of the earth

Moreover, this prince in a high degree roused the feeling of wonder in the minds of the learned, because in the battles which were viewed by the damsels of heaven he imparted fear to all his enemies one after another, although he had not got it himself, while he never gave to them a portion of the earth, which he did possess

From him was born the illustrious prince Vikramasimha, ‘the lion of valour,’ rightly so named, because in the display of his mighty valour, which performed valorous deeds, he cleft asunder the projecting fleshy frontal globes of the arrayed elephants of

³ Arjuna being the name of one of the Pandava princes, the poet manages to bring into the verse the words *Pāndu*, *Bhīmasena* (the second son of Pandu and elder brother of Arjuna) and *Dhanvin* (an epithet of Arjuna)

⁴ The words of the original would also mean ‘possessed of many uncut bow strings which supported crowds of arrows’ able to conquer the circuit of the quarters

all his enemies, and because his brilliant fame, as if it were his big shining mane, spread at once in all quarters

Having perceived that his club-like right arm, even while he was a child, was taken possession of by the Fortune of heroism, who had given up all idea of occupying any other resting-place, the Fortune of royalty, proudly desirous of asserting her superiority, when he was older, determined on embracing his whole body, turning away with disdain from all other men

Useless indeed is yonder sun, so long as this sun of a king disperses the thick darkness of exceedingly haughty adversaries, and eclipses the stars of the badly-conducted, and illumines all round the wide expanse of this whole earth, and uninterruptedly touches with his fierce rays of supremacy, which spread to the confines of the regions, mountain-like princes

At his conquest of the quarters, the dust which rose from the orb of the earth, crumbling to pieces under the sharp hoofs of his choice chargers, spread over the chief towns of his adversaries, and, enveloping all things, foretold as it were the time of the universal destruction

To this noble prince belongs the town named Chadobha, the lustre of which spreads on all sides, the excellent markets and the thriving trade of which are celebrated by the people that come to it from all quarters to traffic in things which they have got or wish to acquire "

The historical information contained in these verses is this —

In the Kachchhapaghâta family there was—

1. Yuvarâja His son was—
- 2 Arjuna, who, as an ally or feudatory of Vidyâdharadeva, slew in battle Râjyapâla His son was—
- 3 Abhimanyu, whose valorous bearing was eulogized by the king Bhoja His son was—
- 4 Vijayapâla, and his son again—
- 5 Vikramasimha, for whom the inscription (in line 61) furnishes the date Monday, the third of the bright half of the month Bhâdripada of the year 1145, corresponding, as I have shewn in *Indian Antiquary*, vol XIX, p 361 (No 170), to the Northern Vikrama year 1145 expired, or to Monday, the 21st August, A. D 1088 *

Of the Kachchhapaghâta family we possess two other inscriptions of about the same time and from the same part of India One is the large Gwalior Sâsbahû temple inscription⁶ of the Vikrama year 1150, which gives us the line of princes Lakshmana, Vajradâman, Mangalâiâja, Kirttiâja, Mûladeva, Devapâla, Padmapâla, and Mahipâla And the other is the Narwar copper-plate inscription⁷ of Vihasimhadadeva of the Vikrama year 1177, which mentions, as the immediate predecessor of Vihasimhadadeva, Śaradasimhadadeva, and as his predecessor, Gaganasimhadadeva As these two inscriptions contain totally different names, and as none of the names occurring in either agree with the names furnished by the present inscription, it is clear that the three

* The date is one of those in which the *tithi* is joined with the week day on which it commenced

⁶ See *Indian Antiquary*, vol XV, p 35

See *Journal, Asi. Soc.*, vol VI, p 543, and Sir A Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol II, p 313

inscriptions belong to three different branches of the Kachchhapaghâta family, which must have been in possession of the country around Gwâhior in the 11th century A. D. We know that the prince Vajradâman of the Gwâhior inscription, for whom we have the date Vikrama 1034,⁸ defeated a ruler of Kanauj and conquered the fort of Gwâhior which before belonged to Kanauj. And I shall try to show that one of the princes mentioned in the present inscription, too, had some share, perhaps an important one, in the wars which must have been waged against the rulers of Kanauj during the first quarter of the 11th century A. D.

About Vikramasimha and his predecessor Vijayapâla the author of our inscription has nothing of importance to report. I myself believe Vijayapâla to be identical with the *mipati* Vijayâdhirâja, who is mentioned as a ruling prince in an inscription of the Vikrama year 1100 at Brânâ, which is about 80 miles north of Dubkund, and whose name is preserved in the local traditions as Vijayapâla⁹, and I may mention that, like the inscription of Vikramasimha, here published, the Byanâ inscription of Vijayadhirâja also is a Jaina inscription. Of Vijayapâla's father Abhimanyu our inscription merely says that his valour and skill were highly eulogized by the intelligent king Bhoja. Considering that for Vikramasimha we have the date Vikrama 1145, and for Vijayapâla (Vijayâdhirâja) the date Vikrama 1100, Abhimanyu must have ruled shortly before Vikrama 1100, and there can therefore be no doubt that the king Bhoja, here spoken of, is the Paramara Bhojadeva of Malava, for whom we possess the two dates Vikrama 1078 and Śaka 964=Vikrama 1099¹⁰.

Abhimanyu's father Arjuna, whose rule may be placed some time between Vikrama 1060 and 1090, is said to have slain, in the cause of the illustrious Vidyâdharadeva, the illustrious Rajyapâla, and this, in my opinion, is really a valuable piece of information. As regards Vidyâdharadeva, he can be no other than the Chandella king of that name, the successor of Gandadeva and predecessor of Vijayapâladeva¹¹. Gandadeva was preceded by Dhangadeva, who ruled from about Vikrama 1011 to about 1055,¹² and Vijayapâladeva was succeeded by Devavâmadeva, for whom we have the date Vikrama 1107¹³. Gandadeva therefore must be placed approximately about Vikrama 1060-1080,¹⁴ which shows that his successor Vidyâdharadeva may well indeed have been a contemporary of the Kachchhapaghâta Arjuna. As to Rajyapâla, I think it highly probable that he is the Rajyapâla who is mentioned as the immediate predecessor of Trilochanapâla in the Jhûsî (or Allahâbad) copper-plate of this king of the Vikrama year 1084, published by me in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 34, and I now believe that the three kings Vijayapâladeva, Rajyapâladeva and Trilochanapâladeva of that inscription, about whom I could say nothing at the time, were really rulers of Kanauj. For we know that the Chandella Vidyâdhara brought about the destruction of a ruler of Kanyâkubja (or Kanauj)¹⁵, and it appears very probable that he allied himself for that purpose with his neighbours, the Kachchhapaghâta chiefs, and that the prince of

⁸ See *Journal, As Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXVI, p. 393.

⁹ See Dr. Fleet in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, p. 8.

There can, in my opinion, be little doubt that the Mangalirâja, mentioned in another fragmentary inscription at Byanâ (pl. p. 9), is the Kachchhapaghâta Mangalirâja of the Gwâhior inscription, the successor of Vajradâman.

¹⁰ See *ante*, vol. I, p. 232.

¹¹ *Ib.*, p. 196.

¹² *Ib.*, pp. 121 and 139.

¹³ See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVI, p. 201.

¹⁴ See *ante* vol. I p. 219.

Kanauj destroyed by him was the very Rājyapāla, mentioned in the present inscription and in the Jhāsi copper-plate. As indicated by Dr. Hultzsch, *ante*, vol. I, p. 219, we have hitherto known nothing certain of the kings of Kanauj between A. D. 948 and 1097. If my suggestions are approved of, we have now at least the names of three kings of Kanauj, who together must have ruled approximately from about A. D. 980 to about A. D. 1040.—About Aijuna's father Yuvaiāja the author of our inscription has nothing to say.

Of the second part of the inscription it will, I think, be sufficient to give an abstract of the contents. The last verse translated above told us that to Vikramasimha belonged the town of Chadobha, evidently the place now called Dubkund which at the time must have been noted for its trade, and in continuation of it the verses in lines 32-39 give the genealogy of the two Jama traders Rishi and Dahada, on whom Vikramasimha had conferred the rank of *śreshthins*¹⁵ in that town, and one of whom is mentioned afterwards among the founders of the temple. Both were sons of Jayadeva and his wife Yaśomatī, and grandsons of the *śreshthin* Jāsūka, who is described as the head of a family or guild of merchants which had come from Jāyasapur, a town which I am unable to identify.

Lines 39-48 then contain an account of some Jama sages, the last of whom, Vijayakīrti, not only composed this inscription, but also by his religious teaching incited the people to build the temple at which the inscription was afterwards engraved. The first sage spoken of, an ornament of the Lātavagata *gana*, is the Guru Devasena. His son was Kulabhūshana, and his son again was Durlabhasenasūri. From him sprang the Guru Śāntishena who, in a *sabhā* held before the king Bhojadeva, defeated hundreds of disputants who had assailed Ambarasena and other learned men. And his son was Vijayakīrti.

Of the founders of the temple lines 48-51 mention by name the Sadhu Dahada whose genealogy has already been given, Kūkeka, Sūpata, Devadhara, Mahichandra, and Lakshmana, but others also, who are not named, are said to have rendered assistance.

The prose passage, commencing in line 54, records that the *Mahāājādhnāja* Vikramasimha, for the building of the temple and for keeping it in good repair, as well as for purposes of worship, assigned (a tax of) one *vinśopala* on each *goni* (of grain?), and gave a piece of land in the village of Mahāchakra, capable of being sown with four *gonis* of wheat, and a garden with a well to the east of Rajakadiaha, and that he moreover provided a certain amount of oil¹⁶ for lamps and for anointing the bodies of holy men.—I can find no names like Mahāchakra and Rajakadiaha anywhere near Dubkund on the maps at my disposal.

After the usual appeal to future rulers to keep the above donations intact, lines 60-61 give the names of the writer and of the engraver, already mentioned, and the inscription closes with a date, the European equivalent of which I have given above.

¹ See Jacobs's edition of Bhadrabahu's *Kalpavṛkṣa* p. 107 *śreshthinah śrīdevatādhyāsita sauarnapatya bhusha-*
tottimangāh

¹⁶ The original has the compound *lāra ghatilā-dīpānam*, the first word of which I am unable to explain properly.

TEXT ¹⁷

- L 1. ओ¹⁸ ॥ [ओ] न[मो] वीतरागाय ॥ आ¹⁹ — — द्रि — ट — उ — टना[द्यत्पा]दपोठ लुठन्-
[दा]रस्सगम[द]गुज[द]लि[स]न्निष्ठूतसाराविणम् । [त]-
2 [त्पा] — उ — वद[च] उ रसु — — — [ता] सं उ ि — हे[ग]मिवाकरोत् ऋषभस्वामी
त्रिये स्तात्त्वता[म्] ॥ वि(वि)भा-
3 [णो] गुण[स]ह[ति] हततमस्तापो निजज्योतिषा [यु]क्तात्मापि जगति सगतजय[श्च]क्रे सरा-
गाणि यः । उन्माद्यन्-
4 कर[ध्व]जोर्जितगजग्रासोल्लसत्केसरी ससारोग्रदच्छिदेस्तु स मम श्रीसां(शा)तिनाथो जिन, ॥
जा[द्य] सखदखडित²⁰
5 क्षयमपि क्षीणाखिलोपक्ष[य] साक्षादीक्षितमन्त्रिभिर्दधदपि प्रौढ कलंक तथा । चिह्नत्वाद्यदु-
पातमाप्य सतत [जात]-
6 [स्तथा?]नदक्षच्चद्र सर्वजनस्य पातु विपदश्चद्रप्रभोर्हन्त न' ॥ सी(शो)कानोकहसकुल रतितृण-
श्रेणि प्रणश्य[द्भ्रम]-
7 — — [त्वा]ध्वगपूगमुद्गतमहामिथ्यात्ववातध्वनि । यो रागादिमृगोपघातकृतधीर्धनान्निना
भस्मसाक्षाव कर्म्म-
8 वन निनाय जयतात्वीय जिन' सन्मति' ॥ ²¹प्रसाधितार्थगुर्भव्यपकजाकर[भा]स्कर । अतस्तस्मो-
पहो वोस्तु गो-
9 तमो मुनिसत्तम' ॥ ²²श्रीमज्जिनाधिपतिसहदनारविदमुद्गच्छदच्छतरवो(वो)धसमृद्धगधम् ।
अध्यास्य या जगति पकजवासिनी-
10 ति ख्या[ति] जगाम जयतु मु(मु)तदेवता सा ॥ ²³आसोत्कच्छप्रघातवशतिलकस्त्रैलोक्यनि-
र्यदश पाडुश्रीयुवराजसूनुर-
11 समद्युद्धीमसेनानुग, । ओमा[न]र्जुनभूपति' पतिरपामप्याप यत्तुल्यता नो गाभीर्यगुणेन
निर्जितजग[ह]न्वी धनु-
12 र्विद्यया ॥ श्रीविद्याधरदेवकार्यनिरत' श्रीराज्यपाल हठात्कटास्त्रिच्छिदनेकवाणनिवहैर्हत्वा
महत्याहवे ।
13 ²⁴[डिडोरा]वल्लिचद्रमडल[मि]लन्मुक्ताकलापोच्च(च्च)लैस्त्रैलोक्य सकल यशोभिरचलैर्योजसमा-
पूरयत् ॥ ²⁵यस्य
14 प्रस्थानकालीलितजलधिरवाकारवाटितशब्दा(ब्दा) वेगान्निर्गच्छदद्रिप्रतिसगजघटाकोटिघटार-
वाद्य । सस-
15 र्पत समतादहमहमिकया पूरयतो विरेमुर्नो रोदोरप्रभाग गिरिविवरगुरुद्यत्प्रतिध्वानमिथा ॥
²⁷द्विकच-
16 क्राक्रमयो[ग्य]मार्गगणधारा ननेकान् गुणान्च्छिन्नाननिश दधद्विधुकलासम्पदमानद्युतोन् ।
[च]नु-

¹⁷ From Sri A. Cuzumingham's rubbing, supplied to me by Dr. Burgess

¹⁸ Expressed by a symbol

¹⁹ Metre, Śardulavikrīḍita, and of the next three verses

²⁰ Read शब्द°

²¹ Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

²² Metre, Vasantatilaka

²³ Metre, Śardulavikrīḍita, and of the next verse

²⁴ The *akṣara* in brackets was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line

²⁵ The *akṣaras* in these brackets have been partly painted over in the rubbing

²⁶ Metre, Śādhara

²⁷ Metre, Śardulavikrīḍita, and of the next verse

- L. 17. [च्छि]न्नधनुर्गुण²⁸ विजयिनोप्याजौ विजित्यो[र्जि]तं जातोस्मादभिमन्युरन्यनृपतीनामन्यमान-
स्तृणम् ॥ यस्यात्य[ङ्गुत]-
18 वाहवाहनमहाशस्त्रप्रयोगादिषु प्रावीण्यं प्रविकल्पितं पृथुमतिश्रीभोजपृथ्वीभुजा । च्छत्रालो²⁹-
कनमात्रजात-
19 भयतो दृष्टारिभंगप्रदस्यास्य स्याद्गुणवर्णने त्रिभुव[नि] को लब्ध(व्य)वर्णः प्रभुः ॥ ³⁰तुरगखरखुरा-
ग्रीत्खात[धानी]-
20 समुत्थ स्थगयदहिसरस्त्रे(श्मे)र्मंडल यत्प्रयाणे । प्रचुरतररजोन्याशेषतेजस्वितेजोहृतिमचिरत
21 एवा[शं]सतीवानिगारम् ॥ शरदमृतमयूखप्रेखदशप्रकाशप्रसरदमितकीर्त्तिव्याप्तदिवक्त्रवालः ।
अजनि विजय-
22 पाल. श्रीमतोस्मान्महीशः शमितसकलधात्रीमडलक्लेगलेस(श): ॥ ³¹भयं यच्छत्रूणां त्रिदशतरणी-
वीक्षितरणे
23 क्रमेणाशेषाणा व्यतरदसदप्यात्मनि सदा । सतोप्यशन्नादादव[नि]वलयस्याधिकमतो बु(वु)धा-
नामाश्चर्य व्यतनुत
24 नरेन्द्रो हृदि च यः ॥ ³²तस्माद्विक्र[म]कारिविक्रमभरप्रारभनिर्भेदितप्रोत्तुगाखिलवैरिवारणघटो-
द्यन्मा[स]कु-
25 भस्त्रलः । श्रीमान्विक्रमसिंहभूपतिरभूदन्वर्थनामा सम सर्वासा(शा)प्रसरद्विभासुरयशःस्फारस्फुर-
क्तेसरः ॥
26. वा(वा)लस्यापि विलोक्य यस्य परिघाकार भुज दक्षिण क्षीणाशेषपराययस्थितिधिया वीरयिया
सयितम् । सर्वार्गेष्व-
27. वगूहनाग्रहमहकारादहंपूर्विका³³ राज्यश्रीरक्त[ता]धिगस्य³⁴विमुखी सर्वान्यपुवर्गतः ॥ ³⁵अत्यतो-
दृष्टविद्विद्वत्तिमि-
28. रभरभिदि च्छादितानी[ति]ताराचक्रे विष्वक्प्रकाशं सकलजगदमदावकाशं दधाने । नि.पर्याय³⁶
दिगास्यप्रसरदुरु-
29. क[राक्ता]तधात्रीधरेन्द्रे यस्मिन्नाजांसु(श)मालिन्यहह सति वृथैवैपकोन्योशमाली ॥ ³⁷यद्विजये
वरतुरगखुराग्रस-
30. गच्छुणावनीवलयजन्वरजोभिसर्पत् । विद्वेपिणा पुरवरेषु तिरोहितान्यवस्तूत्कार प्रलयकालमि-
वादिदे-
31 श ॥ तस्य क्षितीश्वरवरस्य पुर समास्तु विस्तीर्णशोभमभितोपि चडोभसज्जम् । प्राप्तेप्सितक्रय-
समग्रदिगागताग्नि-
32 व्यावर्ण्यमानविषणिव्यवहारसारम् ॥ ॐ ॥ ³⁸आसीज्जायसपूर्वनिर्गतवर्णिग्वशाव(व)राभीशु-
मान्³⁹ जासूक प्रक[टाक्षता]-
33 थनिकरः श्रेष्ठी⁴⁰ प्रभाधिष्ठित. । सम्यग्दृष्टिरभीष्टज्ञेन[च]रणद्वार्चने यो ददौ पात्रीघाय [चतु]-
र्विध [त्रि]विबु(वु)-

²⁸ The above appears to be what was originally engraved, but the *alshara* य may have been altered

²⁹ Read रुद्रा

³⁰ Metre, Malini, and of the next verse

³¹ Metre, Śikharini

³² Metre, Śardulavikrīḍita, and of the next verse

³³ Originally पूर्विका was engraved

³⁴ Read विक्रम

³⁵ Metre, Sragdhara.

³⁶ Read निष्ययाय

³⁷ Metre, Vasantatilaka, and of the next verse

³⁸ Metre, Śardulavikrīḍita.

³⁹ Read साम्राज्य

⁴⁰ Perhaps altered to श्रेष्ठप्रभा

- L 34 धो दान युत. यद्वया ॥ ⁴¹ श्रीमज्जिने[श्वर]पदावु(वु)रुहद्विरेफो विस्फारकीर्त्ति[ध]वलीकृतदिग्वि-
भाग । पुत्रोस्य वैभव-
35 पद जयदेवनामा सीमायमानचरितोजनि सज्जनानाम् ॥ ⁴² रूपेण सी(शी)लेन कुलेन सर्वस्त्रीणा
गुणैरप्यपरे
36 शिरसु । पद दधानाम्य व(व)भूव भार्या यशोमतीति प्रथिता पृथिव्याम् ॥ ⁴³ तस्यामजीजनदसा-
हपिदाहडाख्यौ पुत्रौ पवि-
37 तवसुराजितचारुमूर्त्ति । प्राच्यामिवाकंस(श)शिनी समयः समस्तसपत्नसाधकजनव्यवहारहे-
[तू] ॥ ⁴⁴ प्रोन्मायत्तकला-
38 रिक्कुजरशिरोनिर्द्धारणीययशोमुक्ताभूषितभूरभूरपि भियान्नोन्मार्गगामी च यः । सोदादिक्रम-
सिहभूप-
39 तिरतिप्रोतो यकाभ्या युगत्रेष्ठ अष्टिपद पुरेत्त परमे ⁴⁵ प्राकारसीधापणे ॥ ॐ ॥ ⁴⁶ आसीद्विशुद्ध-
तरवो(वो)धचरितदृ-
40 टिनि,शेषशू(स्)रिततमस्तकधारि[ता]ज्ञ । श्रीलाटवागटगणोन्नतरोहणाद्रिमाणिक्यभूतच-
रितो गुरुदेवसे-
41 न. ॥ ⁴⁷ सिद्धातो द्विविधोप्यवाधितधिया येन प्रमाणध्व[नि]ग्रथेषु प्रभव त्रियामवगतो हस्तस्थ-
मुक्तोपमः ।
42 जात श्रीकुलभूपणोखिलवियदासोगणग्रामणी । सम्यग्दर्शनशुद्धवो(वो)धचरणालकारधारी
तत. ॥ ⁴⁸ रत्नतया[भ]रण-
43 धारणजातशोभस्तस्मादजायत स दुर्लभसेनसरिः । सर्वं श्रुत समधिगम्य सहैव सम्यगात्मस्वरू-
पनिरतोभवद्विद्व-
44 [धी]र्य. ॥ ⁴⁹ आस्थानाधिपतौ बु(वु)धा[दवि]गुणे श्रीभोजदेवे नृपे सभ्येष्वव(व)रसेनपडितशिरो-
रत्नादिपूयन्मदान् । योने-
45 कान् ⁵⁰ शतसो व्यजेष्ट पटुताभीष्टोद्यमो वादिन. शास्त्राभोनिर्गपारगोभवदत. श्रीशान्तिपेणो
गुरु ॥ ⁵¹ गुरुचर-
46. णसरोजाराधनावाप्तपुण्यप्रभवदमलवु(वु)द्धि शुद्धरत्नतयोस्मात् । अजनि विजयकीर्त्ति सूक्तारत्नाव-
47 कीर्णा ज[लधि]भुवमिवैता य प्रस(श)स्ति व्यधत् ॥ ⁵² तस्मादवाप्य परमागमसारभूत धर्मोण्डे-
शमधिकाधिगत-
48 प्रवो(वो)धा । लक्ष्मणाद्य व(व)धुसुहृदा च समागमस्य मत्वायुपथ्य वपुष्य विनश्चरत् ॥ ⁵³ प्रार-
व्या(व्या)धर्मकातारविदाह
49 साधुदाहड । सद्विवेक्य [कु]कीक सर्पट सुकते पटु ॥ तथा देवधर शुद्ध ⁵⁴ धर्मकर्मधुरधर ।
च[द्रा]लिखि-
50 तनाकद्य महीचद्र शुभाजनात् ॥ गुणिन क्षणनाशित्रीकलादानविचक्षणा । अन्येपि आवका
केचिद-

⁴¹ Metre, Vasantatilaka
⁴² Metre, Upajati
⁴³ Metre, Vasantatilaka
⁴⁴ Metre, Śardulavikrāṇḍita.
⁴⁵ Read परमप्राकार
⁴⁶ Metre, Vasantatilaka
⁴⁷ Metre, Śardulavikrāṇḍita
⁴⁸ Metre, Vasantatilaka

⁴⁹ Metre, Śardulavikrāṇḍita
⁵⁰ Read °काज्जसरो
⁵¹ Metre, Mahā
⁵² Metre, Vasantatilaka
⁵³ Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh), and of the next three
verses
⁵⁴ Read शुद्धी

- L 51 कृते[धन]पावका ॥ किंच लक्ष्मणमञ्जोभू—हृदेवस्य मातुलः । गोष्ठिको जिनभक्तस्य सर्वशास्त्र-
 52 विचक्षणः ॥ ⁵⁶शृगाग्रोल्लिखिताव(व)र वरसुधासांद्रवापांडुर सार्धं श्रीजिनमंदिर त्रिजगदान-
 दप्रद सु-
 53 दरम् । समूयेदमकारयन्गुरुशिरःसचारिकेत्वं(व)रप्रार्तनोच्छलतेव वायुविहतेर्यामादिश[त्पश्य-]
 54 ताम् ॥ ॐ ॥ अथैतस्य जिनेश्वरमंदिरस्य निष्पादनपूजनसंस्काराय कालान्तरस्फुटितवुटित-
 प्रतीका-
 55 रार्थं च महाराजाधिराजश्रीविक्रमसिंह स्वपुण्यरासे(शे)रप्रतिहतप्रसर परमोपचय चेतसि
 [नि]धाय
 56 गोष्ठीं प्रति विशेषकं गोधूमगोष्ठीचतुष्टयवापयोग्यक्षेत्रं च महार्च[चक्र]ग्रामभूमौ रजकद्रुहपू-
 57 र्वादिभागवाटिका वापीसमन्विता । ⁵⁶प्रदीपमुनिजनशरीराभ्यजनार्थं करघटिकाद्वयं च दत्त-
 वान् । तच्चाच-
 58 द्वाकं महाराजाधिराजश्रीविक्रमसिंहोपरोधेन ॥ ⁵⁶व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा⁵⁷ भुक्ता राजभिः सगरा-
 दिभिः । यस्य य-
 59 स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति स्मृतिवचनान्निजमपि श्रेयः प्रयोजनं मन्यमानै-
 सकलैरपि
 60 भाविभिर्भूमिपालैः प्रतिपालनीयमिति ॥ ॐ ॥ ⁵⁶लिलिखीदयराजो या प्रस(श)स्ति शुद्धीरि-
 माम् । उत्कीर्णवा-
 61 न्⁵⁹ शिलाकूटस्त्रील्लङ्घ्यस्ता सदक्षराम् ॥ सवत् ११४५ भाद्रपदसुदि ३ सोमदिने ॥ मंगलं महेश्वरी ॥

LIX - PABHOSÂ INSCRIPTIONS

By A. FUHLER, PH.D.

The small modern village of Pabhosâ stands on a cliff about 30 feet high, overlooking the northern bank of the Jamnâ, in tahsîl Manjhânpur, 32 miles south-west of Allahâbad, and represents the ancient site of the once famous Piabhâsa.¹ The classical hill of Piabhâsa, which is the only rock in the Antarcveti, or Doab between the Ganges and Jamna rivers, is 3 miles to the north-west of the great fort of Kosâm Khirâj, the ancient Kauśambî, and not more than 2 miles from the present villages of Kosâm Inâm and Pâh,² which formed the old city outside the walls of the fort. High up, in the face of this hill, there is a typical rock-hewn cave, in an inaccessible position. This lofty stone cavern is, no doubt, the stone dwelling of the venomous Nâga described thus by Hsuen Tsiang³ in his account of Kauśambî —“To the south west of the city, 8 or 9 li (about 1½ miles), is a stone dwelling of a venomous Nâga. Having subdued

¹ Metre: Śāundaryā vaitā

² These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

³ Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

⁴ Read “वाङ्मनो”

¹ The Piabhâsa mentioned in the Man Chendell inscription of Madanavarman, *ante*, vol. I, p. 197 & 201, most probably is the modern Pabhosâ on the Jamna, and not the distant place of pilgrimage in South

² A copperplate grant, measuring 7 inches by 6 inches, of Mahārāja Lakṣmīvarman, dated (Gupta) Śaṃvat 155, was found in this village in May 1891.

³ *Hsiang Shih*, vol. I, p. 237

this dragon, Tathagata left here his shadow, but, though this is a tradition of the people there is no vestige of the shadow visible"⁴ Hiuen Tsiang's statement that the cave is 8 or 9½ to the south-west of Kauśambi, is erroneous, as the hill bears north-west from the fort of Kosam. According to the popular belief of the villagers there is a Naga inside the cave, of which everybody has heard, but which no one has seen. The serpent is believed to have his head in the Jamna while his tail remains in the cave, which is more than a quarter of a mile from the river. The Naga is said to be seen once a year at the time of the Divāli festival⁵. Not a little surprised were the people, therefore, to find that no Naga was encountered when I entered and examined the cave during the night of the 25th March 1887.

At the back of the village a flight of about one hundred and ten steps leads up to a platform, formed of a mere mass of débris, the refuse of former quarries, on which stands a small modern Jaina temple. Close by are three small standing figures of naked Jinās cut in the rock. About 150 feet from the north-east corner of the temple rises the rock perpendicularly about 47 feet in height, in the highest scarp of which the cave is situated. Above the solid rock, in which the cavern is hewn, several large boulders of hard grey quartzite are lying, one upon another, in a sloping position. No doubt, the access to this cave from below was removed by the quarrymen, as it would seem, shortly after the eighth century A.D. In order to effect an entrance into the cave and to copy its inscription outside (Faesimile No. I), which is visible to the naked eye from below, I intended first to erect a staging from the temple below up to the cave and inscription, but finding this to be extremely dangerous on account of the locality and its surroundings, I had a wooden crib made to let down by means of strong ropes from above the cave. As, however, the neighbourhood of the cavern was infested by numerous swarms of wild bees, the cave had to be entered by night and the inscriptions to be copied by the light of a lantern, which added much to the difficulty of the undertaking.

The cave is entirely hewn in the solid rock, the marks of the chisel being apparent throughout, the left side is occupied by a stone couch and pillow, or *seṭ*, for the hermit's use. The roof is of very curious formation, being cut into vaulted shelves or cupboards, on each side of the centre, these shelves occupy about half of the roof, and the remainder is plain. The main entrance, a door measuring 2' 2" by 1' 9", has a stone lintel and plain pilaster of red-coloured sandstone on each side, with square holes above and below, seemingly to bar up the entrance. The lintel of the door is 10 feet from the upper edge of the precipice. To the left of the door, at a distance of 2' 3" are two small windows of irregular shape, one with a diameter of 1' 5" and the other of 1' 7". The thickness of this wall is only 9 inches. About 1' 3' above the left top corner of the entrance door, there is an inscription (Faesimile I) of eight lines, in characters of the second or first century B.C., carved on the rough surface of the natural rock. Inside, the cave measures 9 feet on the left and 8' 6" on the right in length, by 7' 4" in width and 3' 3" in height. The stone bed, or *seṭ*, is 9 feet in length, 1' 8" in

⁴ Compare, however, Sung Yun's account of Buddha's Shadow Cave, or the Cave of Gopāla, *Beal's*, vol. I, page cxxi.

⁵ Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, vol. XXI, p. 2. Sir A. Cunningham, although speaking of the cave does not mention its rock cut inscription.

breadth, and 1' 2" in height. On it are ten short pilgrims' records five of the early Gupta period, four of the fifth or sixth, and one of the eighth century A D. On the west wall of the cave, opposite to the entrance door, there are three inscriptions. one of the second or first century B C (facsimile II) and two short records of visitors in early Gupta characters.

No I

On the rock outside the cave

The inscribed surface of the rock measures 14" by 10½". Each letter is on an average 1.3" long and 3/6 inches deep. With the exception of four *aksharas* in the sixth and nearly the whole of the eighth line, the record is in surprisingly perfect preservation, considering its great age and its long exposure to the vicissitudes of the weather. This inscription was first brought to notice by Mr S J Cockburn⁶ of the Opium Department who made a (not very accurate) eye-copy of it by means of an astronomical telescope, a tentative reading of which was given by Dr Hornle in the *Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for March 1887, page 105. In January 1887, during a short visit to Kauśāmbī, the inscription was independently discovered by me, and I now edit it according to impressions taken from the rock.

TEXT.⁷

- L 1 राज्ञो गोपालीपुत्रस
2 बहसतिमित्रस
3 मातुलिन गोपालीया⁸
4 वैहिदरीपुत्रेन [आसा]⁹
5 आसादसेनेन लेन
6 कारित [उदाकस]¹⁰ दस-
7 मे सवद्धरे कश्यपीयान अरह-
8 [ता]न — — नी — णि — — — [॥]

TRANSLATION.

"By Āsādhasena, the son of Gopālī Vaihidarī (*i.e.* the Vaihidara-princess), and maternal uncle of king Bahasatimitra (*Brihaspatimitra*), son of Gopālī, a cave was caused to be made in the tenth year of . . . of the Kāśāpīya Arhats (*i.e.* either the Buddhists of the Kāśāpīya school, or the pupils of Vardhamāna who was a Kāśāpīya by gotra¹¹) . . ."

No II.

Inside the cave

The inscription is incised on the rough surface of the west wall of the cave and measures 32" by 12". On an average each letter is 1.6" long and 3/6 inches deep; the record is in perfect preservation.

⁶ See *Journal As Soc of Bengal*, vol LVI, part I, pages 31 to 35.

⁷ See Facsimile No I.

⁸ Possibly गोपालिया. The genitive गोपालीया is constructed with the crude form वैहिदरी which stands in the sense

of a genitive, compare, *e.g.* शिष्यकेदन सवृषयस्य (Āpastamba), न खीय मासिपदिकान्तस्य (Panini).

⁹ Afterwards erased.

¹⁰ All letters doubtful.

¹¹ I am indebted to Dr Bühler for the interpretation of this passage.

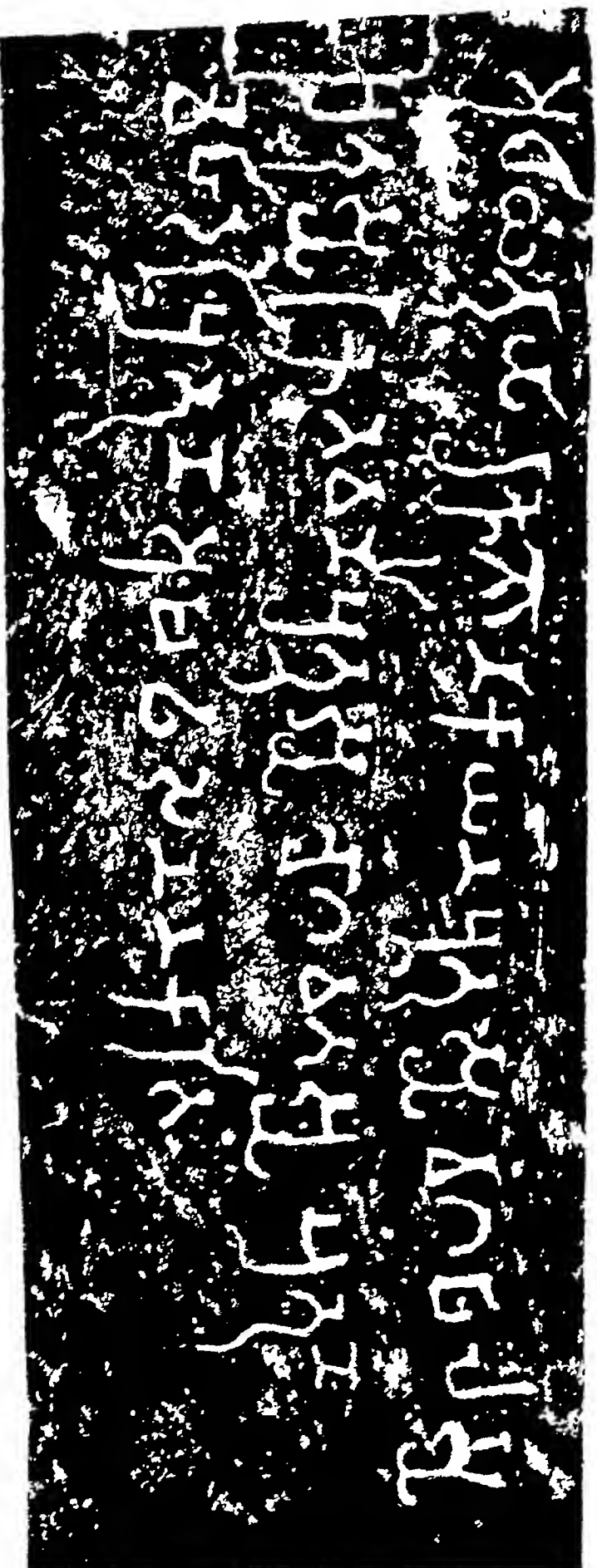
PABHOSA INSCRIPTION NO 1,—ON THE ROCK OUTSIDE THE CAVE



A Walter Ph D impress

Scale 3 5ths

PABHOSA INSCRIPTION NO II,—INSIDE THE CAVE, ON WEST WALL



A. Fisher or Pa. D. witness

Scale 1-3rd

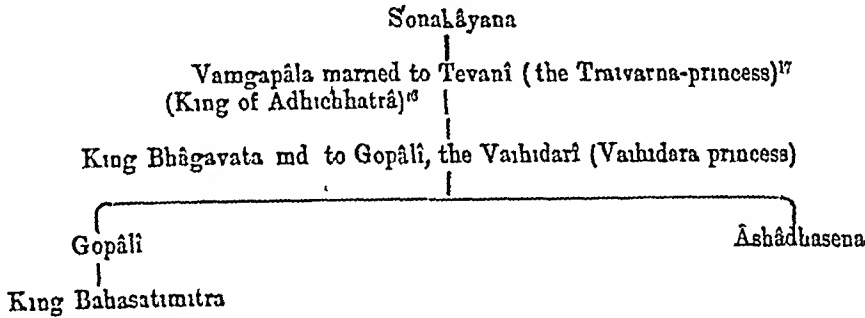
TEXT ¹²

- L 1. अधिष्ठाया राजो शोनकायनपुत्रस्य वम¹³पालस्य
 2 पुत्रस्य राजो¹⁴ तैवणीपुत्रस्य भागवतस्य पुत्रेण
 3 वैहिदरीपुत्रेण आपादसेनेन कारित [॥]

TRANSLATION

"Caused to be made by Âshâdhasena, son of the Vaihîdarî (*i.e.* *Vaihidara*—*princess*, and) son of king Bhâgavata, son of the Tevanî (*i.e.* *Travarna*-*princess*, and) son of king Vamgapâla, son of Śonakâyana (Śaunakâyana) of Adhichhatrâ "

On account of the resemblance to the letters of the Śunga times, the two inscriptions may be assigned with confidence to the second or first century B C. Of special historical value is the pedigree of the early kings of Adhichhatrâ,¹⁵ the capital of the once mighty kingdom of Northern Pāñchāla, here furnished to us —



Where king Bahasatimitra ruled, and who his father was, is not stated, but we may safely conclude that he was king of Kauśāmbî, as the latter place is close to Prabhāsa, and as many of his coins ¹⁶ have been found at Kauśāmbî

No. III

In the modern Dharmśālā

This inscription is incised on a tablet of red sandstone, and is now fixed into the wall of the modern Dharmśālā in the village of Pabhosā. It records the consecration

¹² See Facsimile No II

¹³ Possibly वैम^० or वाम^०

¹⁴ Possibly राजो.

¹⁵ The modern Rāmnagar in Rohilkhand, see Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol I, pp 255—260, Führer, *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North Western Provinces and Oudh*, pp, 26—29. The same form Adhichhatra, and not the usual Ahikshetra, Ahikshattara, or Ahichchhatra of the *Mahābhārata*, *Harivamśa*, and *Pāṇini*, occurs also in several inscriptions of the first century B C, lately excavated by me at Rāmnagar

¹⁶ Compare the *Ἀδισαδρά* of Ptolemy, *Geog* vii, 1, 63

¹⁷ The epithets Travarna and Vaihîdarî are no doubt derivatives from the names of nations or countries although not found in the Paurāṇik lists. Compare *e.g.* कैकेयी "the queen of the Kekaya-race," कौसल्या "the queen of the Kosala family." Compare also the epithet Tevanika, or Travarnika occurring in one of the Mathura inscriptions, *ante*, vol I, p 394 and 397

See Sir A Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, Pt I, p 73, where the king's name is wrongly read Bahasatimitra. The Lucknow Museum Coin cabinet possesses fifteen coins of Bahasatimitra, nine of which were excavated by me at Kauśāmbî in 1887, and six at Adhichhatra (Rāmnagar) in 1891

of an image of the glorious Jina (Pârśvanâtha) on Friday, the 6th day of the dark fortnight of the month Mârgaśīrsha, in Samvat 1881, by Sâdhu¹⁹ Śrī Hīrālāl of Allahâbâd, on the top of the hill of Prabhâsa, outside the city of Kauśâmbī. The document is also interesting in another respect, as it clearly shows that the modern villages of Kosâm and Pabhosâ were identified already in A.D. 1824-25 by the people of the country with Kauśâmbī and Prabhâsa.

TEXT²⁰

- L. 1 संवत् १८८१ मिते मार्गशीर्षशुक्लपक्षा शुक्रवास-
- 2 रे काष्ठासंघे माथुरगच्छे पुष्करगणे लोहाचार्यान्वाये
3. भट्टारकश्रीजगत्कीर्त्तिस्तत्पट्टे भट्टारकश्रीललितकी-
4. र्त्तिजित्ताम्नाये अग्रोतकान्वये गौयलगोत्रे प्रयागन-
5. गरवास्तव्यसाधुश्रीरायजीमस्तदनुजफेरम-
6. स्तस्तुत्रसाधुश्रीमेहरचंदस्तद्भातासुमेरुचंद-
7. स्तदनुजसाधुश्रीमाणिक्यचंदस्तुत्रसाधुश्रीहो-
8. रालालेन कौशवीनगरवाह्य प्रभासपर्वतोपरि श्री-
9. पद्मप्रभजिनदीक्षाज्ञानकल्याणकचेने श्रीजिन-
10. विवप्रतिष्ठा कारिता अंगरेजवहादुरराज्ये सु[शु]भं [॥]

TRANSLATION

“(This) image of the glorious Jina (Pârśvanâtha) has been consecrated under the rule of the noble English, on a site made auspicious by the consecration and invocation of the glorious Jina Padmaprabha, on the upper side of the hill of Prabhâsa, outside the town of Kauśâmbī, by Sâdhu Śrī Hīrālāl, son of Sâdhu Śrī Mânikyā Chand, younger brother of Sumera Chand, brother of Sâdhu Śrī Mehar (i.e., Mihir) Chand, son of Pheru Mall, younger brother of Sâdhu Śrī Râyaji Mall, inhabitant of the town of Prayâga (Allahâbâd), belonging to the Goyala *gotra*, the Agrotaka²¹ family, and being (spiritual) client of *bhattâraka* the illustrious Lalitakīrttijit, in the line of *bhattâraka* the illustrious Jagatkīrtti, the descendant of Lohâchârya, in the Pushkara *gana*, the Mathurâ *gachchha*, and the Kâshthâsamgha, on Friday, the 6th day of the dark fortnight of the month Mârgaśīrsha, in Samvat 1881. May it be propitious!”

The modern Jaina temple possesses a small white marble image of Neminâtha, dated Samvat 1881, and a large undated copper statue of Pârśvanâtha, the setting up of which in this temple our inscription undoubtedly records.

¹⁹ i.e. banker and merchant.

²⁰ See facsimile No. III.

²¹ The modern *Agarwâlâ Baniyâs*, see *ante*, vol. I, p. 94.

संवत् १८८९ सिनेमामिषं ३३ कैष आशुक्त वास
 रकाद्यां संवेमापुरगधेपुक्कुरगामे लोहल्लका अमिनाम
 नद्याकषी जगती विसिष्ये मद्यारकसी वजितकी
 विदिन्यन्नाये सं गेवत्त न्दयेगी सुल्लगे वी रयागन
 गरवा समवसा कीया रत्तुजा नल्ल सरत्तु नयरेरुम
 ल्ल समुत्त सां कषी महरवर मज्झा ता सो म सुमर
 मरत्तुत्त सां कषी मा विम्वर मत्तुत्त सां कषी दि
 म्मा जिन केयां वी नगरवा द्दु रमास पर्वणे परिश्र
 पक्क प्रम जिन द्दो लान्ना न के ल्मा लो कये ने स्त्री जिन
 विव प्र निष्ठा कारिना अगरे ज वद्दो उर य के सुम

XX.—THE PILLAR EDICTS OF AŚOKA

BY G. BUHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

For the subjoined edition of the Pillar edicts of Aśoka the following materials have been used —

I *Dehli-Sivalik*,—(1) Dr Fleet's facsimiles, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIII, p. 306ff. (2) A paper-rubbing of the second half of edict VII (the so-called circular edict), kindly supplied by Sir A. Cunningham.

II *Dehli-Mirat*,—Dr Fleet's facsimiles, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 122ff., and the paper-impressions, according to which the excellent facsimiles have been prepared.¹

III *Allahabad*,—Dr Fleet's facsimile, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIII, p. 306.

IV *Radhia (Lauria-Ararāj)*, *Mathia (Lauria-Navandgarh)* and *Rāmpūrvā*,—Mr Garrick's facsimiles, published with this paper.

None of the older reproductions have been consulted, because they are of no value whatever. They have been made either according to eye-copies or according to rubbings,—not impressions—where the outlines of the letters have been afterwards marked in with pencil. The preservation of the Pillar edicts is in general so excellent that, except in the *Dehli-Mirat* and *Allahabad* versions, hardly a vowel-stroke is doubtful. For these two versions, especially for the first, a comparison of the original impressions is highly desirable. Unfortunately the originals of the *Allahabad* version were not accessible to me, and it is therefore not impossible that on a comparison of the squeezes some small corrections may become necessary. Such corrections will not, however, affect the interpretation in any way. Compared with the readings of other scholars, the present ones show very few differences in the *Dehli-Sivalik* and *Allahabad* versions, for which accurate facsimiles have been accessible during the last eight years.

The changes in the *Radhia* and *Mathia* texts are more numerous and, thanks to the new materials, decidedly for the better. The fragments of the *Rāmpūrvā* version have been printed once before with my German papers on the Pillar edicts in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLV, pp. 144ff., and vol. XLVI, pp. 54ff. According to the account² of Mr Garrick, the *Rāmpūrvā* Pillar lies half buried in the ground. Hence only a portion of the inscription is accessible. As the *Rāmpūrvā* version agrees exactly with those of *Radhia* and *Mathia*, it is of no great importance for the interpretation of these documents. These three eastern versions have either been engraved according to the same MS., or, at least, according to three MSS. written out by the same Karkun. Their verbal discrepancies are so exceedingly slight that they cannot possibly be ascribed to different draughtsmen. The two *Dehli* versions are also closely allied to each other. This agreement extends in both cases also to the grouping of the words, which the present edition indicates by hyphens put between those written continuously. I believe that it is advisable to attend to this point, because evidently only those words have been placed close together, which may

¹ These impressions, which Dr Fleet kindly presented to me, have been made over to the Oriental Institute of the Vienna University.

² See Cunningham's *Arch. Survey Reports*, vol. XVI, p. 110f.

be joined according to the construction. There is not a single instance in which words written continuously belong to different sentences. It would seem that the clerks connected those words, which in reading the documents they pronounced together. Hence the breaks are equivalent to signs of interpunction, commas, semi-colons and full stops, and they, as well as the combined groups, must be taken into account in the interpretation. And it follows, *e g.*, that in the second edict the division of the group *chakhudānepi* into *cha khu dāne pi* is impossible, and again that the attempt to combine the separated words *isyā kālanena*, in the third edict, cannot be upheld.

As regards the translation and interpretation of the Pillar edicts, the majority of the numerous problems, which Lassen and Burnouf left behind, have been solved by Professor Kern in his *Jaartelling der zuidelyke Buddhisten*, and in his *Buddhismus und seine Geschichte in Indien*, or by M. Senart in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, tome II, and in his articles in the *Indian Antiquary*, vols XVII and XVIII, which Mr. Grierson has translated in excellent style. Hence there was not very much remaining for me, especially as M. Senart in his latest publication has adopted my suggestion (*Indian Antiquary*, vol XIII, p. 306) that the so-called eighth circular edict on the Dehli-Sivalik pillar is only the end of the seventh.³ Nevertheless, I hope that my translation and notes will not be superfluous.

I differ from my predecessors, especially from M. Senart, in several essential points. First, as I hold on principle all conjectural emendations, which alter the texts of several versions, to be inadmissible, I have tried to show that in all cases, where such changes have been proposed in the Pillar edicts, the original readings admit of explanation. Secondly, I have attempted to further substantiate my view that a full explanation of Aśoka's edicts can only be given with the help of the Brahmanical literature and by a careful utilisation of the actualities of Hindu life. I have called attention to this point in the introductory remarks to my German articles on the Rock edicts, and in explaining the latter, I have shown how a certain proportion of the institutions in Aśoka's empire agrees with those prescribed by the Brahmanical *Rājanīti*, as well as, that certain other details become easily intelligible, when one consults other *Śāstras* or pays attention to still existing Indian customs. This principle of interpretation is, it seems to me, particularly important for the fourth and fifth Pillar edicts, and hence the remarks on these two pieces have become rather extensive.

Thirdly, I believe it to be certain that Piyadasi-Aśoka had not yet joined the Buddhists, when the Pillar edicts were completed. His conversion to Buddhism fell, as I shall show in a new discussion of the Sahasrām and Rūpnāth edicts, in the twenty-ninth year of his reign. Up to the end of his twenty-seventh year the king continued to preach and otherwise to work for the spread of that general morality which all Indian religions, based on the *Jñānamārga* or Path of Knowledge, prescribe for the people at large and which is common to the Brahmans, Jainas and Buddhists. This conviction, of course, has forced me to demur against a specially Buddhistic interpretation of various words and terms.

Finally, there are some passages, *e g.*, in the second, third, fourth and seventh edicts, where I have tried, by new divisions of the continuously written syllables or new trans-

³ In justice to Professor Kern I must point out that he has recognised this very obvious fact quite independently, *Dor Buddhismus*, vol II, p. 384.

iterations of the Prakrit words into Sanskrit, to elicit a more satisfactory sense than that obtained through the older interpretations. Most philologists will have felt that the hitherto current explanations of *chakkhudāne-pi-me bahuvīdhe dimne*, *kālanena-va-hakam mā palibhasayisamti*, *nātikā-va-kānī nyhapayisamti*, etc., do not carry conviction, and could only be regarded as make-shifts which might be excused as long as nothing more plausible offered.

In the fifth edict I have left many names of animals unexplained. Every one of them will probably be traceable, if the medical *Samhitās* and *Nighantus* are thoroughly examined, of which for the moment only a small proportion is accessible to me. A special examination of the older Buddhist and Jaina literature, which I have begun, but been unable to complete, will probably furnish the means for the further explanation of some other words, which have still to be translated conjecturally or stand in need of further elucidation. In his contributions to the *Academy* of 1891, Dr Morris has shown that something may still be done in this way, and some of my notes will show that the Jaina literature also furnishes contributions for the Aśoka inscriptions. Eventually, and, I believe, in a not very distant future, every word and form of these precious documents will admit of as certain an interpretation as those of the ordinary classical texts.

EDICT I

Dehli-Sivalik	Dehli-Minat	Allahabad
Devānam piye Piyadasi hira- bevam āha [] saduvāsatiḥ [1] vassābhissitena me iyyam dham- malipi līkhaṇatī [] [2] biddatapā- late dussampatipādāya amnata agāya-dhammadhammatāyā [3] agā- ya-palikkhiyā agāya sūśāsaya age- na-bhayenā [4] agena usāhenā [] Esa-chu-l ho mama anusathiyā [5] dhammapakkha dhammadhammatā- chā suve-suve-vaddhita vaddhisatti- cheva [6] Pulisā-pi-chā-me ukassa ebhi gevassā-chā majjhima-chā ann- vidhissanti [7] sampatipādayamti- chā alaraṇṇa-chapalam samadappiya- tave [] hemessā anta [8] mahā- māta-pi [] Issā-piḥ - vidhu yā- iyyam dhammena - pālanaṁ dham- mena-vidhanaṁ [9] dhammena sukkhianā dhammena goti-ti [] nam dhammena [1] vidhāne dha[m]m l hi [v r]	Devānam piye Piyadasi lājū hevam āha [] saduvāsativasābhū- sitena me iyyam dhammalipi līkha- ṇatī [] biddatapālate dussampatipād- (a) (e) [1] amnata agāya dham- ma-kāmātāya agāya palikkhiyā agāya sūśāsāyā agena bhayena [vge] na usāhenā [] Esa chu kho mama anusathiyā [2] dhammā- pekha dhammadhammatā cha suve suve vaddhitā vaddhisattī chevā [] Pulisā pi me ukassa chā gevaya cha majjhimā cha anuvaddhiyamti sampatipādayamti cha [3] alam chapalam samādaprayitave [] heme- ssa amtamahāmātā pi [] Esa hi vidhu yā iyyam dhammena pālanaṁ dhammena vidhāne dhammena sukkhianā dhammena gutti ti chussa [4] []

⁴ The sign, read here *du*, appears exactly in the same shape in the Sanchi inscriptions, e.g., in *Pādukulikā*, i.e., *Pāmdu* *kulikā*. With the form *saduvissati* compare *duce*, *duvāla*, *kudumala*.

* Possibly the stone may have h_1 instead of p_1 , which former appears to be the correct reading

* I give the words *ti chu* on the strength of Dr Fleet's note, *Ind Ant*, vol XIII, p. 310. The vowel sign of *ti* stands irregularly to the left of the consonant just as in the Kāśī version of the Rock Ed XIII, 2 1 12, in the last syllables of *anuvīdhīsamti* and *anuvīdhīyamti*.

EDICT I

Radhia

Devānam-piye Piyaḍasi laja
hevam-āha [] saduvisativasābhisi-
sitena-me iyaṃ dhammalipi [1]
likhāpita [] hidatapālata⁷ dusam-
patipādaye amnata agāya-dham-
makāmatāya [a] agāya-palikhāya
[2] agāya susūsaṃyā agena-bhaye-
na agena-usāhena [] Esa-chu-
kho-mama - anusathiya dhamma-
pekha [3] dhammakāmatā cha
sueve-sueve-vadhita vadhisaṭi cheva
[] Pulisā-pi-me ukasā cha geva-
yā-cha majhima-cha anuvadhī-
yamti [4] sampatipādayamti cha
alam-chapalam samādupayitave
hemeva-amtamahāmātā-pi [] Esā-
hi-vidhi yā-iyam dhammena-pala-
na [5] dhammena-vidhāne dham-
mena-sukkhīyana dhammena goti-
ti [6] []

Mathia

Devānam - piye Piyaḍasi - lāja
hevam āha [] saduvisativasābhisi-
lena me iyaṃ [1] dhammalipi
likhāpita [] hidatapālata dusam-
patipādaye amnata-agāya dham-
makāmatāya [2] agāya-palikhāya
agāya-susūsaṃyā agena bhayena
agena-usāhena [] Esa-chu-
kho-mama [3] anusathiya dhamma-
pekha dhammakāmatā cha sue-
sue vadhita vadhisaṭi cheva []
Pulisā-pi-me [4] ukasā cha geva-
yā-cha majhima-cha anuvadhīyam
ti sampatipādayamti cha alam-
chapalam-samādupayitave [5] he-
meva amtamahāmātā-pi [] Esā-
hi-vidhi yā iyaṃ dhammena-pāla-
nadhammena-vidhāne dhammena-
sukkhīyana [6] dhammena-gotī-ti
[7]

Rāmpūlā

Devānam in piye Piyaḍasi-lajaya
hevaṃ-āha [] [a] [u] . . .
[1] dusam-patipādaye
amnata agāya dhammakāmatāya
[5]
[2] Esa-chu-
kho-mama anusathiya dhamma-
pekha dhamma-
[5] geva-ya-cha majhi-
ma-cha anuvadhīyamti sam-
patipādayam . . .
[4] ya vaṃ dhammena
pālana dhammena vidhāne dham-
mena s[u] . . .

TRANSLATION

King Piyaḍasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus —“ after I had been anointed twenty-six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written. Happiness in this world and in the next is difficult to gain except by the greatest love of the sacred law, the greatest circumspection, the greatest obedience, the greatest fear, the greatest energy.⁸ But, through my instructions, these have, indeed, increased day by day, and will increase still more (*viz*) the longing for the sacred law and the love of the sacred law. And my servants, the great ones, the lowly ones⁹ and those of middle rank, being able to lead sinners¹⁰ back to their duty, obey and carry out (*my orders*), likewise also the wardens of the marches¹¹. Now the order (*for them*) is to protect according to the sacred law,¹² to govern according to the sacred law, to give happiness in accordance with the sacred law, to guard according to the sacred law.”

⁷ Burnouf's explanation of *hidata* and *pālata* which are found also below IV, (I 7 (D S), I 18 (P S), VII 2, I 10 as inflected forms of the adverbs in *tra*, is no doubt correct. In popular Sanskrit, too, *paratram* is used in the sense of *paraloka* or *pāralaukika*, see *Pañchatantra*, III, p 54, I 17 (Bo edition)

⁸ *Circumspection*, i.e., a careful examination, whether one's actions are lawful or not, *obedience*, i.e., towards Piyaḍasi's sacred law, *fear*, i.e., of sin

⁹ *Gevayā*, 'the lowly ones' or 'subalterns' is derived from the Sanskrit root *gep* or *glep*, which the *Dhātupāṭha* explains by *dānye*. The corresponding Sanskrit word was, no doubt, **gepya* **glepya*, literally 'the poor' or 'wretched'

¹⁰ *Chapala*, literally 'fickle', means both in Pali and in Sanskrit *durvīta*, 'ill behaved', 'a sinner'

¹¹ The *amtamahāmātā*, 'the wardens of the marches', are the *antapālā* of the Sanskrit writers, see, e.g., *Alaukika-nimitra*, p 16, I 7 (Bo S Ser, 2nd ed)

¹² It will be best to take *hi* here *avadhāne*, i.e., in the sense of 'indeed', 'even', which it has not rarely in Sanskrit prose

ASOKA PILLAR INSCRIPTION AT RADHIA,—SOUTH SIDE

Ed I

3

9

Ed II

9

Ed III

have caused this religious edict to be written, (*viz.*) that men may thus act accordingly, and that it may endure for a long time. And he who will act thus will perform a deed of merit.

REMARKS

a I explain *apāsūnave* by *apāsravam*, used in the sense of *apāsravatvam*. It may be noted that the Jainas possess a term *anhaya*, which exactly corresponds to *āsīnava*, and is derived, like the latter, from *āsnu* (see Weber *Indische Studien*, vol. XVI, p. 326, note 7). Piyadasi's theory of the *āsīnava*, which is more fully developed in the next edict, does not agree with the Buddhist doctrine of the threefold or fourfold *āsava*, but comes closer to that of the Jaina *anhaya*, which includes injury to living beings, lying, stealing, unchastity, and attachment to worldly possessions.

b The usual interpretation of *chakhudāne* by *cha khu dāne* cannot stand, because the enclitic words *cha* and *khu* cannot begin a sentence, and because the continuousness of the syllables in the text does not permit their being taken as parts of two sentences. The metaphorical use of *chakhu*, in Sanskrit *chalshus*, 'eye,' for 'spiritual insight or knowledge,' is common with all Hindu sects. Piyadasi alludes here to the *dhammasāvānāni* and *dhammānusathini*, 'sermons on, and instruction in, the sacred law,' of which he speaks more fully below (VII, 2, l. 1), compare also *dhammadāne* (Rock Edicts XI and the note to the latter passage).

EDICT III.

Dehli-Sivalik.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi-lāja-
hevaṃ-āhā[] kayānamm-eva-de-
khatī[] iyaṃ-me[17] kayāne-ka-
te-ti[] No-mīna-pāpam-dekhatī
[] iyaṃ-me-pāpe-kate-ti iyaṃ-
vā-āsīnave[18] nāmā-ti[] Dupatī-
vekhe-chu-kho-esa[] Hevaṃ-
chu-kho-esa-dekhiye[] imāni[19]
āsīnavagāmīni-nāma atha-chaṃ-
diye nībhūtiye kodhe māne isyā
[20] kālanena-va-bhākam mā-pāli-
bhasavīsaṃ[] Esa bādha-de-
khiye[] iyaṃ-me[21] hīdatikāye
iyaṃ-māna-me pālātikāye [21]

Dehli-Mirat.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi-lāja-
hevaṃ-āhā[] kayānamm va-
d[ekha] () . . m [10] kayāne-
kate ti[] No mīnā-pāpam-de-
khatī[] iyaṃ-me-pāpam-ka[te-
ti iyaṃ v] [11] āsīnave-nā[mā] ti
[]¹⁷ Dupatīvekhe-chu-kho-esa
[] Hevaṃ-chu [sā d]ekhiye
[12] i]māni-āsīnavag[āmīni]-
nāma atha¹⁸ chaṃdiye nībhū-
tiye-kodhe[13] māne isyā kālane-
na-v[a]¹⁹ bhākam-mā-pālibba[sa]-
yisa [] . bādham[14] dekhiye[]
iyaṃ e [hīdati]kāye iyaṃ-me-
pālātikāye [15]

Allahabad.

Devānam piye Piyadasi lāja
hevaṃ āhā[] kayānam-eva de-
khatī() iyaṃ me kayāne kate ti
[] No mīna pāpakam dekhatī[]
iyaṃ me pāpake kate ti iyaṃ vā
āsīnave nāmā ti[8] . . .
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Badha.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi-lāja
hevaṃ āha[] kayānamm-eva-de-
khamti[] iyaṃ-me-kayāne-kate-ti
[] No mīna-pāpam dekhamti[]
iyaṃ-me-pāpe-kate ti[11] iyaṃ-
vā āsīnave-nāmā-ti[] Dupatī-
vekhe-chu-kho-esa[] Hevaṃ-chu-
kho-esa-dekhiye[] imāni-āsīnava-

Mathia.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi-lāja he-
vaṃ-āha[] kayānamm-eva-dekha-
mti[] iyaṃ-me-kayāne-kate-ti[]
No-mīna-pāpam [13]d [e]khamti-
[] iyaṃ-me-pāpe kate-ti iyaṃ-va-
āsīnave-nāmā-ti[] Dupatīvekhe-
chu-kho-esa[] Hevaṃ-chū-kho-
esa-dekhiye[14] imāni-āsīnave-

Rāmpūrvā.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi-lāja
hevaṃ āha[] kayānamm-e . . .
.
.
[9] iyaṃ-va-āsīnave-nā-
mā-ti[] Dupatīvekhe-chu-kho-
esa[] He-[v]
.
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¹⁷ Possibly *nāma-ti* is to be read.

¹⁸ The apparent vowel stroke to the left of *atha* is probably an accidental scratch.

¹⁹ Possible *vā* is to be read.

ne isya
libhasa-

deeds,
us evil
called
o pay
anger,
but my
aduces

probably
mandk
vadhah
attempt

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, appearing to be a list or index of items, possibly related to a manuscript or a collection of documents. The text is arranged in several columns and includes various characters and symbols, some of which are difficult to decipher due to the quality of the scan. The text is written in a cursive style and is surrounded by a decorative border.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99

[illegible]

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।

[illegible][illegible]

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[10] kodhe mâne isya
 kâlanena-va-bakam mâ-palibhasa-
 ya

 [11]

[1]û-
 kâ] chaghamti-[x]la[dhayi-
 tave] [2]
 tu asva[the-ho]

2 K 2

EDICT IV-- *contd.**Dehli-Sivalik*

nisiyitū[10] asvathic-hoti[] Vi-
jata-dhātī elaghātī-me-pajam su-
kham pahātave[11] hevum-
mamā-lajūkā-katā jānapadasa-
hitasukhāye[] yena ete-abhitā
[12] asvatha samtām avimānā-
kāmānī-pavatayevū-ti[] Ete-
na-me-lajūkānam[13] abhihāle-
va-damde-vā atapatiye-kate[]
Ichhitī viye-hi-esa[] kim-ti[?]14
vijohālasamatā-cha-siya damda-
smatā-cha[] Ava-ite-pi-cha-me-
āvutī[15] bamdhanabaddhānam-
munisanam tilitadamdānam pa-
tavadhānam timni divasāni-me
[16] yote-dimne[] Nātikā-va-
kāni nighapayisamti jivitāye-tā-
nam[17] nāsamtam-vā-nighapa-
yitā dānam-dāhamti-pālatikam
uprāsam va kachhamti[18]
Ichhā-hi me[] hevam niludhasi-
pi-kālasī pālatam-ālādhayevū-ti
janasa-cha[19] vadhati vividhe-
dhammachālane samyame dānasa-
vibhāge-ti[20]

Radha

Devānam-piye Piyadasi-lāja
hevam āha[] saduvāsānvāsāhī-
sitena-me iyam-dhammalipi li-
khāpiti[] Lajūkā-me-bahū-u-
pānasatasahasesu[14] janasi-āy-
ita tesam ye-abhihāle-va damde va
atapatiye-me-kate[] kim-ti- [?]
lajūka asvatha abhitā kāmānī
pavatayevū-ti janasa-jānapadasa
[15] hitasukham-upadahevu
anugahinevu-cha[] Sukhīyana-
dukhīyanam jānisamti dhimma-
yutena-cha-viyovadisamti janam-
jānapadam[] kim-ti- [?] hida-
tam-cha[16] pālatam-cha ālādhā-
yevu[] Lajūkā-pi-laghamti-pa-
tiechalitave-mim[] pulisāni-pi-
me-ehhamdamnāni patiechalisa-
m-ti[] te-pi-cha-kāni viyovadisam-
ti yenī-mam[17] lajūka-cha-
ghamti ālādhayitave[] Athā-
hi-pajam-viyatāye-dhatīye-nisiyi-

Dehli-Mirat

ti[3] [viya] . . .
h[e]vam-mamā[4] lajūka[ā]
yena-ete-abhitā[5] asvatha-sim .
[pa]vatayevū ti[] Etena-me
[6] . [j]ākānam
atapatiye- [kate] [7]
Ichhitavi . . .
hālāsmatā-cha[8]
siyā²³ [8] damdasī[ma]
[me]-āvutī[]
bamdhanaba[dhā]nam[9] mu-
nisāna[m] .
vadhānam timni divasāni-
[m]e[10] yote dimne[] .
payisam[t]ī jivitāye-tanam [11]
nāsamtam-vā-ni .
ti pālatikam[12] u[ma]
vāsam-vā-ka . . .
hevum-niludhasi-pi-[k]ālasī[13]
[p]ālatam-ālādhay . . .
vadhati vividhe-dhammachālane
samyame dā[na] . [15]

Allahabad.

lālāsmatā cha
siyā damdasīmatā cha[] Ava²⁴
ite pi cha me āvutī[] bamdhanu-
baddhānam munisanam tilitadam-
dānam pavavdhānam timni di-
vasāni yote ammi[17] . va
lāni nighapayisamti jivitāye tā-
nam nāsamtam vā nighapayitā
dānam dāhamti pālatikam uprā-
sam vā kachhamti[18] .
me[] hevum niludhasi pi kālasī
pālatam ālādhayevu janasa cha
vadhati vividhe dhammachālane
samyame dānasavibhāge [19]

Muthia

Devānam-piye Piyadasi-lāja
hevum āha[] saduvāsīsitena-
bhāsītēna-me iyam-dhammalipi-
likhāpiti[] Lajūka-me[17] bi-
hāsu-pānasatasahasesu janasi-
āyita tesam ye-abhihāle-va-dim-
de-va atapatiye-me-kate[] kim-
ti- [?] lajūka-asvatha [18] abhitā-
kāmānī-pavatayevū-ti janasi-
jānapadisa-hitasukham-upadhi-
evū anugahinevu-cha[] Sukhī-
yanadukhīyanam[19] janisamti
dhammayutena-cha-viyovadisam-
ti janam-jānapadam[] kim-ti-
[?] hidatam-cha pālatam-cha
ālādhayevū-ti[] Lajūkā-pi-lā-
ghamti[20] patiechalitave-mam
[] pulisāni-pi-me-ehhamdamnāni
patiechalisamti[] te-pi-cha-kāni-
v-yovadisamti-yena-mam-lajūka
elaghamti ālādhayitave[21]
Athā-hi-pajam viyatāye-dhatīye-

Rāmpūrvā.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi-lāja
hevam āha[] saduvā itī
[12] janasi-āyitā te-am-
yic-ibhihāle-va damde-va atapati
[13]
hitasukham upadhihevu anugah-
inevu-cha[] Sukhīyanadu .
[14] ālādhayevū-ti[]
Lajūkā-pi-laghamti patiechal-
itave-mim
[15] elaghamti ālādhayitave[]
Athā-hi-pajam viyatāye dhatīye-

²³ Possibly *chā siyā* is to be read²⁴ *ly aya ite* is to be read

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EDICT IV—*contd*

<i>Radhia</i>	<i>Mathia</i>	<i>Rāmpūu vā.</i>
tu asvathe-hoti[,] vyata-dhīti- ebagh itī-me-pajim-sul hīm-pali- hātave-ti[18] hevam-mam i-la- yuka-kata ²⁰ jñāpadasī-hitasu- l hāve[,] yena-ete-abhīti-asvathā- samitīm-avimāna-kammāni-pi-va- tavevū-ti[] Etena-me jñākā- nam abhīhāle-[] [19] dimde-vr- atapatīye-kāte[] Iehlīti-ve-lu- e[] kim-ti[] viyohālasam itā- cha-siya damdasam ita-cha[] Ava-ite-pi-cha-me ivuti[] bām- dhanabaddhānam[20] munisā- nam-tiḥṭadāmdānam patavādhī- nam timni-divasāni-me-yote- dimne[] Nātikā-va-kāni-nijha- pāyisamti jīvītāve-tānam nāsam-tam-va[21] nijhapavīve dānam- dāhamti-pālātikam upavāsam- va-kachhīmti[] Iehlīti-lu-me[] hevam-niludhasi-pi-kālasī palat- am-ālīdhāvevū-ti[22] janasa cha- vādhati vividhe-dhimmāchalīne sayame dānasavibhāge-ti[23]	niyjitū asvathe-hoti[,] vyatā- dhātī-ebaghātī-me-pajim su- kham-palīhātave-ti[22] hevam- mama-jñākā-kā ita jñānapadasa- hitasukhāve[] y[e]na-ete-abhīta- asvathā-īmtam avimāna-kam- māni-pavātavevū-ti[23] Etena- me-jñākanam-abhīhāle-va-dim- de-vratapatīye-kāte[] Iehlīti- viye-lu-e[] kim-ti[] viyohāla- samata-cha-siya damdasam ita- cha[24] Ava-ite-pi-cha-me-ivū- ti[] bāmdhanabaddhānam-mu- nisāni[m]tiḥṭadāmdānam patava- dhanam timni-divasāni-me-yote- dimne[] Nātikā-va-kāni[25] ni- jhapayisamti jīvītāve-tānam nāsam-tam-va-nijhapayīve dāna- m-dāhamti-pālātikam upavāsam- va-kachhīmti[] Ichhā hi-me[] hevam[26] niludhasi-pi-kālasī pā- lātām-ālīdhāvevū ti janasa cha- vādhati vividhe-dhimmāchalīne sayame dānasavibhāge-ti[27]	ni [16] jñānapadasa-bītasukhāye yena-ete- abhīta-asvathā [17] Iehlītavīye-hi-esa[,] kī ti[] vi- yohālasamata-cha-siya [18] timni- divasāni-me y[ō]te-dimne[] Nā- tikā va-kāni nijha- [19] Ichhā-hi-me-hevam niludhasi-pi-kālasī pālātām [20]

TRANSLATION

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus —“After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written. My *Lajūkas*^a are established (*as rulers*) among the people, among many hundred thousand souls, I have made them independent in (*awarding*) both honours and punishments^b—Why? In order that the *Lajūkas* may do their work tranquilly and fearlessly, that they may give welfare and happiness to the people of the provinces and may confer benefits (*on them*). They will know what gives happiness and what inflicts pain, and they will exhort the provincials in accordance with the principles of the sacred law,^c—How?—That they may gain for themselves happiness in this world and in the next. But the *Lajūkas* are eager to serve me^d. My (*other*) servants also, who know my will, will serve (*me*), and they, too will exhort some (*men*), in order that the *Lajūkas* may strive to gain my favour^e. For, as (*a man*) feels tranquil after making over his child to a clever nurse,—saying unto himself, ‘The clever nurse strives to bring up my child well,’—even so I have acted with my *Lajūkas* for the welfare and happiness of the provincials, intending that, being fearless and feeling tranquil, they may do their work without perplexity. For this reason I have made the *Lajūkas* independent in (*awarding*) both honours and punishments. For the following is desirable —What? That there may be equity in official business²⁰ and

²⁰ It is possible to read *layūka late*. But the seeming *e strol* is much shorter than the real ones, and hence, is probably due to an accidental flaw in the stone.

^e Though *vijohāla*, in Sanskrit *vijāhāla* frequently means ‘legal business,’ ‘judicial proceedings,’ there is no objection to taking it here in the not less common wider sense ‘business,’ ‘official business,’ as the translation of *abhikāra* by awarding honours makes advisable.

equity in the award of punishments' And even so far goes my order, "I have granted a respite of three days to prisoners on whom judgment has been passed and who have been condemned to death"²⁷ Their relatives will make some (*of them*) meditate deeply (*and*) in order to save the lives of those (*men*) or in order to make (*the condemned*) who is to be executed, meditate deeply, they will give gifts with a view to the next world or will perform fasts' For my wish is that they (*the condemned*) even during their imprisonment²⁸ may thus gain bliss in the next world, and various religious practices, self-restraint and liberality will grow among the people "

REMARKS ON THE TRANSLATION.

a In note 1 to my German translation of Rock Edict III, I have pointed out that Professor Jacobi has found the Jaina Prakrit representative of *lajūka* or *rajūka* (Gir-nâr) in the *Kalpasilâtra*, where *rajjū* means "a writer, a clerk" I have added that *lajūka*, i.e. *lajjūka*, was an old name of the writer caste, which is later called *Divira* (*Dabîr*) or *Kâyastha*, and that Aśoka calls his great administrative officials simply "the writers," because they were chiefly taken from that caste Though I do not see any reason to change this view, I now leave the word untranslated, because the rendering "writers" might mislead Regarding my explanation of *āyatā*, which I take to be equivalent to *pratishtulāh*, note 2, on Sep. Ed. I, in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLI

b Professor Kern has without doubt correctly explained the general meaning of this sentence Piyadasi declares that he has made his *Lajūkas* independent in the discharge of their duties and has abolished the appeals to higher authorities This follows from the further statement (see below) that he has confided his subjects to them, just as a man confides his child to an intelligent nurse I may add that there is a weighty objection to M. Senart's view, according to which Piyadasi says that he will keep legal proceedings against, and punishments of, the *Lajūkas* in his own hands. For, in all Native States of India a high official, who is "placed over many hundred thousand souls," is solely answerable to the king for his actions, and it is a matter of course that the same was the case in ancient India, as indeed in all despotic countries An order enjoining that such men were to be punished by the king alone would have been quite superfluous As regards the construction, I explain the sentence in Sanskrit as follows — *teshām yo' bhīhāro vā dādo vā [talra] mayā [teshām] svatantratā kṛtā*, and I take *ātmapatyam* [*svatantratā*] as a substantive, formed according to the analogy of *ādhipatyam* and so forth The term *abhīhāra* occurs in Pali in the sense of "honour, honorarium," see *Jātakas*, vol. V, p. 58, verse 143, and *ibid* p. 59, l. 28f In the former passage the commentary explains *abhīhāram* by *pūyam* It is obvious that this meaning fits here excellently

c I interpret *dharmayutena* with Professor Kern by *dharmayuktēna*, i.e. *dharmayuktyā* M. Senart's attempt to translate it by 'together with the Faithful,' i.e.

²⁷ In the interpretation of *ava ste* (Dh. A.) and *āvā ste* (M. R.) I follow Professor Kern and M. Senart, who explain it by *āvad itāh*, and I take *āvut* with M. Senart as equivalent to *dyuktih* *Tilita* or *tilita* has here the same sense as *tīrita* Manu, IX, 233

²⁸ *Atudhasi pi kḍḍasi*, literally *nirudathe pi kḍḍe*, may be taken in the sense of *nirudhakāle pi* Similar phrases occur in Pali, e.g., *asāthyācchā-am* and *anācchāram chinnadvase* for *anācchācharanadvase*, *Jāt* 1, p. 300

the Buddhists, is not tenable. The passage, Pillar Edict VII, 2, 2, which he connects with this, has nothing to do with it. For, *dharmayutam janam* means there 'the loyal people,' and denotes Piyadasi's subjects, as distinguished from the *amtā*, 'the free borderers.'

(d) M. Senart's conjectural emendation *chaghamti* for *laghamti* is barred by the fact that the four complete versions all offer *laghamti*, and that the supposed *varia lectio* '*chaghamti*' does not exist. *Laghamti* seems to be the representative of Sanskrit *ranghamte* 'they hasten', i.e. 'are eager'. I fully agree with the same scholar's remark that *patichal* must be taken in the sense of Sanskrit *parichar*, because in Pali the preposition *pati* is frequently used for *pari*. Its correctness is demonstrated by the fact that in the Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī, *padīyar*, i.e. literally *pratichar*, means 'to serve,' see Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mahārāṣṭrī*, glossary *sub voce* '*padīyariya*'.

(e) As there are no other instances in which the neuter terminations are added to feminines in *a*, I cannot explain *chhamdamnām* with M. Senart as a Dvandva compound, formed of *c̣handa* and *ājñā*. I take it with Burnouf, as a Tatpurusha-compound, equivalent to *chhandam jānanīti chhandajñāh*, 'knowing the will,' and construe it with *pulisāni*, 'the servants'. This explanation seems also advisable, because one naturally expects that *mam* must be understood and is the object of *patichalisamti*, as of the preceding *patichalitave*. The 'servants', whom Piyadasi mentions here, are most probably the *paivedakas*, the spies, whom the great Maurya employed according to Rock Edict VI, in order to watch the actions of his great officials, of the Pañchs and other bodies in accordance with the precepts of the Indian *Rājoni*. The further statement that these servants will exhort *kām*, "some" (as must be read with M. Senart), in order that the Lajūkas may strive to gain the favour of the king, probably means that these "servants" will exhort remiss Lajūkas, and that they will also, by exhorting or spreading the Dharma among the provincials at large, rouse the zeal of the Lajūkas. *Kām* thus refers both to the Lajūkas and the provincials. With the phrase *mam ālādhayitave* compare *lājāladhi*,—Sep. Ed. I, 15 (Dhaulī). To Professor Kern's excellent explanation of the verb *chagh* by the Hindi *chāh-nā*, I would add that *chāh* occurs in all Indian vernaculars and without doubt belongs to the ancient stock of Aryan speech.

'Regarding this passage I can only agree with one of my predecessors in a single point. I believe that M. Senart is right in deriving *nyhapayisamti* and *nyhapayitā* from the Prakrit causative of *ndhyāi* and not from *nikshapayati*. This derivation is perfectly justified by the word *nyhati*, below, VII, 2, 8, which in its general sense is certainly equivalent to Sanskrit *nididhyāsanā* 'profound meditation'. In all other respects I differ. I am unable to accept the assertion of Professor Lassen, approved of by Professor Kern and M. Senart, that *nātikāvahāni* is a compound, meaning 'neither more nor less'. The six syllables certainly must be separated into the three words *nātikā-va-kām*, i.e. *jñātaya eva kāmśchit*. That is the only explanation which is grammatically possible, and gives, as will be shown presently, an excellent sense. I am further unable to disregard the well authenticated reading *nyhapayitave*, which R. and M. offer, instead of *nyhapayitā*. *Nyhapayitave* is clearly an infinitive in *tave*, such as occurs frequently in Piyadasi's inscriptions. This form must in my opinion be used in order to explain the more difficult *nyhapayitā*. The latter may be, too, an infinitive, on the supposition that it stands for *nyhapayitāya*. And the contraction of the syllable *āya* does occur in Pali, e.g., in

Allahabad

sajīve
no jhā
ehā[vuda] sam pamechada-
[sam]
[tām]
tha.
I[a]khane no kata[viye][]
[Yāvṛ]-sa
[27]

Devānām piye Piyadasi-lāja-
 hevaṃ aba[] saduvisatrasābhi-
 sitasa-me imāni-pi [1] jātāni a-
 dhyāni-katāni [,] se-yathā²⁸ [16]
 suke sālīka alune chakavāke ham-
 se [2] namdīmukhe gelāte jātūka
 ambākapihka dudī anathīkama-
 chhe vedaveyake [3] gamgūpu-
 putake samkujamaehhe laphatā-
 seyake pannaśase sīmāle samdake
 okapimde [4] palasate setaka-

21

makapote save ehatupade[4] ye-
patipogam no-eti³⁹ na-cha-khâdi-
yati [] Ajakâ-nâni edakâ cha
sûkalî eha gabhinî-va pâyamînâ-
va[5] avadhyâ potake-cha-kâni
âsammâsike [] Vadhikukute no
kataviye [] tuse sajîve no jhâ-
payitaviye [] dâve [6] anathâye
va vihîsâye va no jhâpayitavive
[] jîvena jîve no-pusitaviye []
Tîsu ehâtummâsîsu tîsyam [7]
pumnamâsîy im timni divasâni
châvudasam pammadasam patipa-
dam dhuvâye-cha anuposatham
maehhe avadhye no pi [8] viketa-
viye [] Etâni-yeva-divasâni nâ-
gavanâsi kevatabhogasî jâni-am-
nani-pi-jîvanikayâni[9] no ham-
taviyâni [] Ath imipakkhâye ehâ-
vudâsâye pammadasâye
tîsâye punâvasune tîsu-châ-
tummâsî-u[10] sudivâsâye gone-
no-nîlakhitaviye ajake edake sâ-
kale e-va-pi-amne nîlikhiyati no-
nîlakhitaviye [12] Tîsâye punâ-
vasune châtummâsiye châtummâ-
sipakkhâye asvasa gonasî lakkhane-
no-kataviye [12] Yâva-saduvîsâ-
tivasâbhîsîtasâ-me etâye amtihi-
kave pammavîsîti bamdhanâ-
mokhâni katâni [13]

pote gâmakapote save ehatupade
ye-patibhogam no-eti na-cha khâ-
diyati [] Ajakâ-nâni edakâ-cha
sûkalî-cha gabhinî-va pâyamînâ-
va avadhyâ potale eha kâni [6]
âsammâsike [] Vadhikukute no-
kataviye [] tuse sajîve-no jhâ-
payitaviye [] Dâve-anathâsî-va
[7] vihîsâye-va no-jhâpayitavi-
ye [] jîvena jîve no-pusitaviye []
Tîsu-ehâtummâsîsu tîsîyam [8]
pumnamâsîy im timni—divasâni
châvudasam-pammasam pati-
padam dhuvâye eha-anuposatham
maehhe avadhye [9] no pi-vike-
taviye [] Etâni-yeva divasâni
nâgavanâsi kevatabhogasî jâni-
amnâni pi[10] jîvanikâyâni no-
hîmtaviyâni [] Ath imipal hâye
ehâvudâsâye pammadasâye
tîsâye punâvasune[11] tîsu-châ-
tummâsîsu sudivâsâye gone-
no-nîlakhitaviye ajake edake sâ-
kale e-vâ-pi amne[12] nîlikhiyati
no nîlikhitaviye [] Tîsâye-pu-
nâvasune châtummâsiye ehatum-
mâsipakkhâye asvasî gonasî[13]
lakkhane-no-kataviye [] Yâva-sa-
duvîsâtiivasâbhîsîtasâ-me etâye
amtihi-kave pammavîsîti[14] b-
bamdhanîmokhâni katâni 15]

EDICT V

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus —“After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I forbade the slaughter of the following creatures,^a viz parrots, stailings,^b *alunas*, Bîlîhmanî ducks, swans,^c *nandîmukhas*,^d *gelâtas*, *jatukas*,^e *ambâha-pulâs*,^f terrapins,^g boneless fish,^h *vedaiyalas*, *gamgâpupulakas*, *sanluja*-fish,ⁱ tortoises, porcupines,^j *pamnasasas*,^k *sîmaras*,^l bulls set free, (p) *okapendâs*,^m rhinoceros,ⁿ grey doves,^o village-pigeons,^p and all quadrupeds, which are not used^q nor are eaten. She-goats, ewes and sows, (i e) those which are with young or in milk, must not be slaughtered, nor their young ones, (i e) some (of them) which are less than six months old.^r Caponing coeks is forbidden, husks, containing living animals, must not be burned,^s forests must not be burnt out of mischief or in order to injure (living beings),^t living creatures must not be fed with living creatures.” At the (full moon of each) of the three seasons and at the full

³⁹ Read *patibhagam*

⁴⁰ According to the smaller *Petersburg Dictionary* the *Nandîmukha* is mentioned as an aquatic bird in the *Bhâva-palâka*

⁴¹ *Jatuka* no doubt, means ‘a bat’. But I must confess that I do not understand, how bats come on this list, as in general they are neither eaten nor used in any way. Possibly the flying foxes which otherwise have the separate name *manthala* or *âjîpada*, may be meant. These are eaten at least by low caste people, like the Kutharis. Their flesh is forbidden in some of the *lun* bowls, e.g., *Gutâma*, xvii, 34.

⁴² *Gamakapote* is, of course, the blue rock pigeon, found in most villages and towns, especially in the wells.

moon of Taisia fish shall neither be killed nor be sold during three days, (*viz*) the fourteenth, the fifteenth (*and*) the first (*of the following fortnight*), nor constantly, on each fast day * On the same days no other animals, found in the elephant-preserves and in the preserves of the fishermen, must be killed * On the eighth of (*each*) fortnight, on the fourteenth, the fifteenth, on the Tishya and Punarvasu days, on the full-moon days of the three seasons, and on festivals⁴³ bulls shall not be castrated, nor he-goats, rams, and boars, nor shall any other animal be castrated which is (*commonly*) castrated On the Tishya and Punarvasu days, on the full-moon days of the seasons and during the fortnights connected with the full-moons of the seasons, the marking of horses and oxen is forbidden * Up to the twenty-sixth (*anniversary*) of my coronation I have decreed twenty-five (*times*) the liberation of (*all*) prisoners

REMARKS ON THE TRANSLATION

(a) According to the general maxim, prevalent in Sanskrit and the Prakrits, which permits the neuter of the perfect participle past to be used in the sense of the noun of action in *ti, jātam* might be interpreted with M. Senart by *jāti* and be translated by "animals of the following kinds" But, as the neuter *jāta* means also "creature," I prefer this simpler interpretation The eastern versions offer "Of even the following creatures"

(b) M. Senart's latest translation gives correctly the modern Indian expression "*maina*" I prefer to put the English word All the European dictionaries translate *sārīkā* wrongly or omit the translation Molesworth gives the right meaning in the *Marāṭhī Dictionary* The scientific name of the bird is *Acridotheres tristis*, Linn., Murray, *Avifauna of British India*, No 912

(c) This term probably includes wild geese and large ducks, see Molesworth, *Marāṭhī Dictionary sub voce* The birds, which were pointed out to me as *hamsas* in the palace at Kolhapur and elsewhere, looked very much like Turkish ducks

(d) M. Senart connects the first part of *ambākapulikā* or *ambākapulika* with *ambu*, 'water,' and translates "water-ants(?)" As far as I am aware, no such animal is known in natural history. The explanation 'mother-ant,' or 'queen-ant,' is at least possible For the queens of the white-ants are eagerly sought after and eaten, because they are considered to act as a strong aphrodisiac The only time when I obtained a queen-ant, it was at once stolen by my servants But, as three versions read *kapulikā*, it may be doubted if the word is the Pali representative of *pipulikā*

(e) As *dudī* is said to be a small tortoise, it is no doubt the terrapin, which is found in many Indian gardens Tortoises belong to the five-toed animals that may be eaten, —see remark (h)

(f) M. Senart's conjecture that prawns are meant by the expression 'boneless fish' is not improbable

(g) M. Senart's suggestion that *samkya* is identical with Sanskrit *śankuchi* 'a skate,' seems very probable

⁴³ The translation of *sudivasa* by festival is merely conjectural, but may be defended by its etymological meaning *subhena divasa*, which would suit a festival I think that popular festivals, like the modern *Divali*, *Dasara* and the like may be meant

(h) *Sayaka* and *seyaka* (R M), of course, represent Sanskrit *śalyaka*. The *śalyaka* is one of the five-toed animals that may be eaten by Aryans, see—e.g., Āpastamba, *Dh. Śā*, 1, 17, 37, Baudhāyana, *Dh. Śā* 1, 12, 5, Gautama, *Dh. Śā* xvii, 27, Vasiṣṭha, *Dh. Śā*, xiv, 39. It is associated with the *kaphata*, i.e., according to M. Senart's excellent conjecture, *kamatha*, 'the tortoise,' because in the law-books *śalyaka* and *kachchhapa* are always closely put together among the eatable five-toed animals.

(i) According to the analogy of *parnamriga*, 'an animal living in the leaves of trees,' *pamnasase* i.e. *parnaśaśah* may mean 'a hare, i.e. a hare-like animal living in the leaves of trees,' and denote the large white-bellied, red squirrel, which is found in the forests of the Western Ghāts. It is quite as large as a hare, and its skinned body looks exactly like that of a hare. I have shot it near Yellapur in Kanara. Its meat tasted very much like that of a hare.

(j) *Smale* corresponds exactly to the Sanskrit *śrīmara*. Vagbhata, *Aṣṭāṅgahri-daya Śā* I, 49, names this animal, among the ten *mahāmriga* or large wild animals, next to the *chamara* or yak-ox and the rhinoceros. It stands also next to the yak in the enumeration of wild animals, which occurs in the *Jātakamālā* xxvi, 7, see the smaller *Petersburg Dictionary*, sub voce *śrīmara*). Perhaps it may be the large Bārāsing stag.

(k) M. Senart has called attention to the passage of the *Mahāvagga*, vi, 17, where the *ukhapindā* are said to eat the provisions of the monks. According to the note to the translation, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XVII, p. 70, Buddhaghosha explains the term by *ūlālamāsikagodhāmungusā*, 'cats, mice, iguanas and mongooses'. He takes it evidently in its etymological sense, *ukhe* i.e. *oke pindo yeshām te* 'animals which find their food in the houses,' i.e. 'vermin'. This general explanation does not suit here, because cats, mice and mongooses are not eaten, and because a particular kind of animal must be meant. I would suggest that Piyadasi forbids the slaughter of one of the animals named by Buddhaghosha, viz. of the *godhā*, the large lizard, which, according to the law-books, quoted in note (h) belongs to the eatable five-toed animals.

(l) M. Senart's correction *palapate* for *palasate* is inadmissible, because all the three versions agree, and because the turtle-dove is denoted by the next term. Mr. Trenckner's explanation of the corresponding Pali *parasato* by 'rhinoceros' (*Pālī Miscellany*, I, 50) fits excellently. For the rhinoceros is also one of the five-toed animals which may be eaten,—see the passages from the law-books, quoted in note (h). Moreover, the rules regarding the Śrāddhas show clearly that the meat of the rhinoceros was highly esteemed. According to Manu, iii, 272, and the parallel passages, quoted in the Synopsis, rhinoceros meat satisfies the manes "for an endless time."

(m) *Setakapote*, no doubt, denotes the whitish-grey doves, which are found in large numbers in many parts of India, and which are usually included in the general term *hollo* or *hullā*. White pigeons, as indeed all tame pigeons, are only kept by Musalmans, not by Hindus.

(n) M. Senart has stated that *patibhoga*, literally 'enjoyment,' does not refer *exclusively* to nourishment. I should say that on account of the following clause "nor are eaten" it must mean "other use than for food" and that Piyadasi means to forbid the slaughter of all animals whose skins, fur, feathers, etc., are not required, as well as of those which are not eaten.

(o) *Ajahnānā* must be separated into *ajakā nānā*. *Nānā* is the neuter plural of the pronoun *na*, which is associated with a feminine in utter disregard of the rules of concord, as happens more frequently in these inscriptions. The proper form of the sentence would be in Sanskrit *ajā edihāscha sūkasyascha tā garbhinyo dhayantyo vā avadhyaḥ*. M. Senart's conjectural emendation *piyamānā* for *pāyamīnā* is inadmissible, because all the versions agree in giving the latter word and because *piyamānā* is against the Pali idiom *Pāyatī*, not *pīyatī*, means in Pali 'to suckle', see Childe's Dictionary, *sub voce pibati*. Nor is it necessary to change the vowel of the affix. The affix *mīna-mīna* occurs more frequently for *māna* in the inscriptions, and it is evidently an interesting relic of ancient times, as the Zend *mana-mna*, the Greek *menos* and the Latin *mini-mina* show. The additional clause may be translated and explained thus —

Potakās cha [apī cha, D S, D M] *kechit* [te cha kathambhūtāḥ] *āshanmāsikāḥ* [avadhyā itī śeshah]. The plural *kānā* is joined with the singular *potake*, because the latter is taken in a collective sense. M. Senart's derivation of *āsammāsika* from *āshanmāsam* 'up to six months,' may be defended by the analogy of *ākālīka*, the adjective belonging to *āhālam*, 'up to the same hour on the next day'. Piyadasī's prohibition agrees with the sentiments of the Brahmanical teachers, who all forbid to sacrifice animals which have not changed their teeth, and who sometimes forbid their flesh to be eaten, see, e.g., Gautama, *Dh. Śā*, xviii, 31.

(p) This prohibition probably refers to the practice, which here and there still survives, of burning the last remnants of the husks remaining on the threshing-floor of the village, in order to destroy the vermin.

(q) *Vihisāye*, 'to injure living beings' very probably refers, as M. Senart suggests, to the custom of setting the jungles on fire in order to drive out the game and of thus destroying it.

(r) I here again follow M. Senart, whose explanation appears to me the most natural. The prohibition probably refers to cases where sacred crocodiles or snakes, tame tigers and other carnivorous animals were fed with living fowls, sheep or goats.

(s) *Chātummāsī*, which corresponds to the Sanskrit *chāturmāsī*, is the full moon of each term or season of four months, which according to one reckoning is considered the last day of that period, and according to another as falling in its beginning. The formation of the Sanskrit *chāturmāsī* is taught in Vārttika 7 on Pāṇini, v 1, 94 — *saṃjñāyām an* "To *chatur māsa*," 'a period of four months', (is added) the affix *a*, which causes Vriddhi of the first syllable, in a (word of) technical import." Patañjali adds "*chaturshu māseshu bhavā chāturmāsī purnamāsī*, 'the full-moon day which falls after a period of four months is called *chāturmāsī*," and the *Kāśīkā*, which repeats Patañjali's explanation, says further that the three full-moon days of Āshādhā, Kārttika and Phalguna are meant." More explicit are the statements, which the *Sumangala Vilāsinī* makes on *Dīgha Nikāya*, ii, 1 (p. 139), while explaining the words *Komudiyā chātumāsinyā* "on the full-moon (night or tide) of Kārttika (which is) *chātumāsī*." It says — *chātumāsinyā tī chātumāsinyā sā hi chātumnam māsānam pariyosānabhūtā chātumāsī idha pana chātumāsīnīti vuchchati*. "*Chātumāsinyā* is equivalent to *chātumāsīyā*. For that (full-

" This must be understood from Vārttika 6 *chaturmāsān nyo gayāne tatra bhavē*. See the *Mahābhāṣya*, Vol II, 361 (ed. Kielhorn).

" Compare also Haradatta on Āpastamba *Dharma Sūtra*, I, 10, 1.

moon of *Kārttika*) is the end of four months (and is) hence (called) *chātumāsi*, but here *chātumāsini*⁴⁵ It thus appears that the real meaning of *chātumāsi-chātumāsini* is "that which falls at the end of a period of four months" And this explanation presupposes a division of the year into three periods of four months each, the months ending, according to what is called the *pāṇinimānta* scheme of Northern India, with the full-moon days.

The division of the year into three seasons of four months certainly was in India the most popular in the prehistorical period and in the earlier part of the historical period⁴⁷ Each of them was called a *Chaturmāsam* or *Chāturmāsyam*⁴⁸ Both the *Brāhmanas* and the Brahmanical *Sūtras*, as well as the canonical books of the Buddhists, frequently refer to the division of the year into three seasons, which is at the bottom of various religious institutions. With the Brahmins it was the cause of the celebration of the *Chāturmāsyā*⁴⁹ sacrifices which were offered according to some 'at the end,' according to others 'at the beginning' of each season⁵⁰ With the Buddhist monks it was the reason for extending the retreat during the rainy season, the *vassa*, over four months, see *Mahāvagga*, III, 2, 2 and III, 14, 11 The same period was kept by the Jaina *Nirgranthas* and the ancient Brahmanical ascetics. It further was used in official documents, and influenced the manner of dating them in most parts of India The second Separate Edict prescribes the reading of the document 'on the Tishya day at each *Chātummāsa*' The large majority of the ancient dated inscriptions, those from Mathurā incised during the rule of the Indo-Scythic kings Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol I, p. 371, ff, and vol II, p. 195 ff., Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep* vol III, plates xiii-xv), two Gupta inscriptions from the same town (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol II, p. 210), the early dated inscription of the Mathurā Satrap Śodāsa, the edicts of the Andhras and Abhiras (Burgess, *Rep Arch. Surv IP I*, vol IV, p. 103ff and vol V, p. 73ff), the old Pallava land grant (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I, p. 1ff) and the Sanskrit Kadamba inscription (*Indian Antiquary*, vol VII, p. 37), invariably mention the season in which the documents were issued And only three seasons occur, viz. *grīshmāh-guṃhā*, 'summer,' *varshāh-vasā*, 'the rains,' *hemantāh-hemantā* 'winter,' the names of which are frequently abbreviated to *grī* or *grī*, *va* and *he* In the inscriptions from Mathurā and the neighbourhood each season is divided into four months, and we actually find, Mathurā inscriptions, 2nd series (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, No. 4, Cunningham, *Arch. Rep*, vol. III, No. 12) *grī*, (*i e grīshmamāse*)

⁴⁵ The Sanskrit equivalent *chāturmāsin* likewise exists, but has a different meaning, see Vārttika 5 on Pāṇini, v. 1, 94.

⁴⁷ Other divisions, especially that into six seasons, are no doubt equally ancient, see Prof. Weber, *Die Nachrichten von den vedischen Nakshatra*, II, p. 327ff But they do not seem to have been used in popular life to an equal extent.

⁴⁸ *Chāturmāsyam* is formed according to the analogy of *trailokyam*, *trasmāsyam*, *chāturvarnyam*, *chāturāśramyam* and so forth, see Vārttika 1 on Pāṇini, v. 1, 124, and the explanation of the passage in the *Kāśikā* I point this out in order to meet the doubt which M. Senart, see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 76, feels regarding my explanation of the compound *anuchātummāsam* in the second Separate Edict. He thinks that, if *anuchātummāsam* meant 'at the commencement of every term or season of four months,' it must be *anuchātummāsam* with a short *a* in the third syllable. In stating this he has overlooked that *chāturmāsyam*, in Pali *chātummāsam*, is a perfectly correct synonym of *chaturmāsam*.

⁴⁹ The word *chāturmāsyā* is according to Vārttika 6 on Pāṇini v. 1, 95, derived from *chaturmāszm* by the affix *ya*, causing *ṽiddhi*, and meaning *tatra bhava*, falling into that.

⁵⁰ See Mann, IV, 26, and the parallel passages in the synopsis to my translation. Mann says that they are to be offered *ritante*, and thus reckons the three full moon days as the last of the season. Similarly he uses IV, 119, *ritantāsu rātriṣhu* for *chāturmāsiṣu*. *Baudhāyana* has *ritumukhe*, and other passages from the Śrauta Sūtras and Brāhmanas are quoted by Professor Weber in his *Nachrichten v d Nakshatra*, II, 329ff. The discrepancy has no doubt been caused by a difference in the reckoning of the commencement of the seasons.

4, Mathurâ inscriptions, 1st series, No 3, and second series, No. 20, *va*, (i e , *varshamāse*) 4, Cunningham, No 20, *varshamāse* 4, Mathurâ inscription, 1st series, No 21, *hemantamāse chaturthi* 4, ibidem No 8, *hemantamāse* 4, and Cunningham, No 20, *he* 4 In the inscriptions from Southern India each season is divided into eight fortnights, and the latest, actually mentioned, are the fifth (Nāsik inscriptions Nos 16 and 17, Kanheri inscriptions Nos 4 and 16), the sixth (Pallava land grant of Śivaskandavarman) and the eighth (Kadamba inscription of Mrigēśavarman) The period during which this method of dating was in general use, embraces the first century B C. and the first two centuries A D But, in Mathurâ it survived until the fifth century A.D., as No 39 of the second series was incised during the reign of Kumāragupta and in the Gupta year 113 or A D 431—2 Kā[rttikahema]ntamās[e] divase 20, “on the 20th day of the winter month of Kārttika In Southern India it presumably lasted at least until the same period, to which the Kadamba land grants probably belong

Finally, it may be noted that the old division into three seasons is the only one used by the common people in the districts known to me The Gujarātī villagers and all persons not affected by the learning of the *Śāstras* speak only of the *unhālo* (*ushnakāla*) *varsād nā dehādā* or *chomāsum* and *shīyālo* The Marāthas know only *unhālā*, *pāvasālā* (*prāvarish* and *kāla*) and *himdālā* (*himakāla*) Further north and east I have frequently heard the terms mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari*,⁶¹ *dhūpkāl*, *barkhakāl* and *sītākāl* or equivalents thereof With respect to the beginning of each season the authorities differ The oldest, the *Brāhmanas*, as well as some *Śrauta Sūtras*, begin the hot season with the month of Phālguna, other *Śrauta Sūtras* with the month of Chaitra⁶² The two schemes of the seasons, therefore, are —

I		II	
Grishmāh	{ Phālguna	{	Chaitra
	{ Chaitra		Vaiśākha
	{ Vaiśākha		Jyaishtha
	{ Jyaishtha		Āshādha
Varshāh	{ Āshādha	{	Śrāvana
	{ Śrāvana		Bhādrapada or Praushthapada
	{ Bhādrapada or Praushthapada		Āsvina
	{ Āsvina or Āsvayuja		Kārttika
Hemantāh	{ Kārttika	{	Mārgaśīrsha
	{ Mārgaśīrsha		Pausa
	{ Pausa or Taisa		Māgha
	{ Māgha		Phālguna

The statements of the Buddhists show the same discrepancies Huen Tsiang, *Siyūki*, vol. I, p 72 (Beal), alleges that “according to the holy doctrine of Tathāgata the year is divided into three seasons,” the hot, the wet and the cold, the scheme of which agrees with the second given above But the canonical books of the southern Buddhists show clearly that their authors knew also the scheme according to which the hot season began with Phālguna For they prescribe for the *vasso*, the retreat during the rainy season, an “earlier” period, beginning with “the day after the full moon in Āshādha,”

⁶¹ Gladwin ed, vol I, p 266, see Sir A Cunningham, *Book of Indian Eras*, p 3, Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life* § 1083, and Hillebrandt, *Die Sonnenwend feste*, p 26f

⁶² See A Weber *op cit*, p 329f

and a later one, commencing "a month later than the full-moon of Āshādhā," i.e. with the day after the full-moon of Śrāvana. And it is further stated that the "later" term closed with *Komudī chātummāsīnī*, "the full moon of Kārttika with which the season of four months ends"⁵³ Both these passages presuppose, just like that from the *Dīgha Nikāya* (above, p. 261), the use of the *pūrṇimānta* reckoning for the months.

In the inscriptions of the Indo-Seythic period there is no indication showing when the seasons began. But, if the restoration of the Gupta inscription No. 39 is correct, it follows that in the fifth century A.D. the winter began with Kārttika, and that the scheme of the seasons was the older one, given under No. I.

Under these circumstances it is not possible to decide with certainty which full moons are meant by "the three Chātummāsīs." They may be either those of Phālguna, Āshādhā and Kārttika, or those of Chaitra, Śrāvana and Mārgaśīrṣa. It is further not certain if these full-moon days were considered respectively as the last days of winter, summer and the rains, or as falling in the beginning of summer, the rains and winter. But the *consensus* of the three passages from the Buddhist scriptures and of Manu's passages induces me to assume that the former view was that held in Piyadasi's times, as these works were probably composed not very long before and after Piyadasi.

The fourth full moon, which our passage mentions, is that of Taisa or Pausa, December—January. The forms *tisyam* (R) and *tisvām* (M) are derived from the feminine adjective *tisī*, which has been formed from *tishya* without *Viddhi* in the first syllable. With the form *tisāyam* (D. S., D. M.), the locative of *tisā*, i.e. *tisā* (*tishyā*), compare the first part of the Vedic *tishyū-pū namāsa* (see Prof. Weber, *op. cit.*, II, p. 326). The word *dhruvāye* which stands before *anuposatham* must no doubt be taken in the sense of the Sanskrit *dhruvāya*, "constantly" (see the Petersburg Dict., *sub voce*) i.e. "in all months". *Anuposatham* consists of *anu* and *posatha*, and it is worthy of note that the form *posatha*, with which Piyadasi denotes the fast days or Parvan days, stands midway between the Pali *uposatha* and the Jaina Prakrit *posaha*.

The total number of days on which Piyadasi prohibited the killing and sale of fish, amounts to fifty-six in the year, i.e. —

(1) Six in each of the months in which a new season began and in Taisa or Pausa, the eighth of each fortnight, the full-moon days with those immediately preceding and following them and the new-moon day, or 24 in all, (2) four in the remaining eight months, the full and new-moon days, and the eighth of each fortnight, or 32 in all.

As regards the reasons which induced Piyadasi to apply his prohibition to the particular days mentioned, the selection of the Posatha days as well as of those at the end and beginning of the seasons is easily intelligible. The four days of the changes of the moon, which the Brahmans designate by the astronomical term *Parvan*, were the ancient Sabbath days of the orthodox Hindus. The Brahmanical Sūtras prescribe on the two chief Parvans, the full and new-moon days, for every householder, the performance of sacrifices, which are preceded by fasting. Moreover, there are in the *Dharma-sūtras* and *Dharmaśāstras*⁵⁴ a number of rules which make the Parvan days times of

⁵³ See *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XIII, p. 299 f. and p. 324. The note on the second passage explains the word *Chātummāsīnī* erroneously. I translate it according to the explanation given in the *Sumangala Tīlāsīnī*, see above p. 261.

⁵⁴ See Manu III, 45, and IV, 128, as well as IV, 150 and 153, and the passages quoted in the Synopsis to my Translation.

continence, worship, prayer, and abstention from doing injury even to plants⁶⁶ According to the commentaries most of these rules refer to the two chief Parvans alone. But the texts, one and all, state explicitly that the injunction of continence applies also to the eighth days of each fortnight, and it is not improbable that the other rules in reality were meant to apply likewise to these two days. All the four Parvan days were kept as holidays in the Brahmanical schools. The *Dharmasūtras* and metrical *Smritis* prescribe that the Veda-study is to be interrupted on these occasions for a whole day and night⁶⁷ and a verse is adduced which describes the bad results of a breach of this rule. It would thus appear that the Buddhists and the Jainas, in giving their rules for the Uposatha or Posaha days, did not much more than take over and perpetuate the ancient rules of the orthodox Hindus, and it would further appear that, by ordering a partial *amāriti*,⁶⁸ Piyadasi acted in accordance with the sentiments not only of the heterodox sects, but also of his orthodox subjects. It is equally easy to understand why Piyadasi's rule applies to the end and the beginning of each season. The three *Chāturmāsī* full-moons were also great holidays. The orthodox Brahmans, who kept three sacred fires, performed on these occasions the *Ch. turmāsya* sacrifices, those who kept a single fire celebrated corresponding rites, and the Brahmanical schools kept them as holidays⁶⁹ on which studying was forbidden. According to the Buddhist *Sumangala Vilāsinī*, p. 140 (explanation of the words *upariprāsāḍavaragata*) at least one of these days, the full moon of Kārttika was kept as a popular festival. The *Nakshatra*, i.e. the conjunction, was publicly proclaimed, the houses were gaily decorated, and the citizens gave themselves up to celebrating the Nakshatra by amusements of various kinds. From the *Dīpavansa*, XV, 19, it appears that the Buddhists worshipped the sacred relics on that day. Similar popular and sectarian festivals were probably held on the other two days, and it is very likely that the modern Śivite festival on Kārttika sudi 15, the Holi on Phālguna sudi 15, and the practice of making presents to Brahmans on Kārttika and Āshāḍha sudi 15, may go back to the earliest times or be connected with the more ancient popular holidays at the end and the beginning of the three seasons.

More difficult is the answer to the question why Piyadasi included in his prohibition the three days at full moon of Taisa or Pausa. But it may be suggested that the day may have been regarded as the conventional beginning of the Uttarāyana, the sun's progress towards the north. This is still a great festival, now called *Mahāsamkrānti*, and celebrated not on the actual day of the entrance of the sun into the zodiacal sign, but later in January.

(t) The term *nāgavana*, "elephant-preserve," is found both in Pali and in Sanskrit. It occurs repeatedly in the *Chūlahatthipadopamasutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*. Thus we read, p. 178 (ed. Trenckner) — *Seyyuthā pi brāhmaṇa nāgavaniko nāgavanam pavaseyya, so passeyya nāgavane mahantam hatthipadam dīghato cha āyatam tiriyāṇ cha vitthataṃ, etc.* "Just as when, O Brāhmaṇa, the keeper of an elephant-preserve, enters

⁶⁶ Vishnu, lxxi, 87, says "Let him not cut even a blade of grass."

⁶⁷ Mann, ii, 113—114, and the parallel passages, quoted in the Synopsis.

⁶⁸ Partial and temporary prohibitions to kill were issued occasionally even in much later times. Thus the Śātruhīrya inscriptions, *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, p. 37, state that the emperor Akbar stopped for a year the killing of aquatic animals at the instance of Jīvaśīma Suri, and that the same prince forbade the slaughter of all animals during six months in accordance with the prayer of Hiravijaya Suri.

⁶⁹ Mann, ii, 119, and the parallel passages in the Synopsis.

the elephant-preserve, he may see in the elephant-preserve large footmarks of elephants, both long in length and broad in breadth, etc." In Sanskrit it occurs in Bâna's *Harsha-charita*⁶⁰ The taming of elephants was in India a royal prerogative and the sale of elephants a royal monopoly, see Medhâtithi on Manu, viii, 399 Particular forests, belonging to the Crown, were no doubt reserved in Piyadasi's days, as at present, for the breeding of elephants, and these are meant here

The word *kevatabhoga* has not been traced in literary works But its meaning is not doubtful both on account of its co-ordination with *nâgavana* and on account of its etymological meaning, 'that which is enjoyed or used by fishermen' Probably particular lakes or portions of the rivers are meant, which were set apart for the fishermen of the various towns and villages, and were consequently their *bhog*, as the modern phrase is

(u) M. Senart's explanation of *athamîpakhhâye* by "*palshasyâshtamyâm* on the eighth of (each) fortnight" is no doubt correct In the Jaina *Âchârânga*, ii, 15, 17, p. 125, Jacobi we have an exactly analogous compound *dasamîpakhhena* "on the tenth of the fortnight" The position of the parts of the compounds is inverted in accordance with a license or slovenliness, frequently observable in all Prakrits, compare, e. g. the Deśi *valayabâhu* 'armlet' (Hemachandra, *Deśikoshā*, VII, 52) for *bâhuvalaya* Some formations of this kind like *vârabâna*, 'a protection against arrows, i. e. 'a coat-of-mail,' have even crept into Sanskrit in addition to those words where the grammar or classical usage sanctions the irregular position of the parts of the compound

(v) The days of the month were commonly named according to the Nakshatras, with which the moon was supposed to be in conjunction, see my note 11 on the Sep. Ed. I, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Ges.* vol. XLI As no specification is added, Piyadasi's prohibition probably applies to the Tishya and Punarvasu days of each month Both are among the *punya nakshatra* and Tishya or Pushya is occasionally cited as an example of an auspicious constellation It is probable that, as the holier one, it has been placed before Punarvasu, which in the list of the Nakshatras stands earlier, being the fifth, while Tishya is the sixth Brihaspati is the guardian deity of the latter; Aditi of the former.

(w) M. Senart has no doubt correctly explained *nîlakhiyati* by *nîrlakshyate*, and correctly assigned to it the meaning 'is castrated' I may add that the Deśi word⁶¹ *nelachchho* or *nelachchho*, 'a eunuch,' furnishes the proof for his assertion.

(x) According to the analogies, found in the *Śrauta Sûtras*, *châtummâsipakha*, the fortnight connected with the full moons of the seasons, may mean either the dark fortnight following the *Chaturmâsî pûrnmâ*, as Mr Senart assumes, or the bright fortnight preceding it For Kâtyâyana uses *mâghîpaksha* for the dark half of Mâgha, and Lâtyâyana *phâlgunîpaksha* for the bright half of Phâlguna.⁶² If, however, as I believe, Piyadasi used the *pûrnmânta* reckoning, the second explanation is the more natural one

(y) According to a passage, quoted by Professor Weber (*Die vedischen Nachrichten von den Nakshatra*, II, p. 330, Note 2), the Brâhmins considered the new-moon day of Phâlguna to be the proper time for marking cows (see also *Śāṅkhāyana Grihya Sûtra*, III, 10)

⁶⁰ See also passage quoted in the smaller *Petersburg Dictionary*

⁶¹ See Hemachandra *Deśikoshā*, iv, 44, and *Pāyalachchhī*, verse 235, as well as the note in the glossary to the latter

⁶² See the *Petersburg Dictionary* under the two words, and the commentaries on the passages quoted there and in Professor Weber's *Nachrichten von den Nakshatra*, Ed. II, p. 327

2 и 2

TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus.—After I had been anointed twelve years,^a I ordered religious edicts to be written for the welfare and happiness of the people, (*in order that the people*), giving up that (*unrighteousness which they practised*), might obtain a growth of the sacred law (*in*) this or that (*respect*).^b (*Saying unto myself*) “the welfare and happiness of the people (*is concerned*),” I thus direct my attention not only to my relatives, but also to those who are near and far,—why so? “In order that I may lead some of them^c to happiness” In like manner I direct my attention to all bodies corporate^d I have also honoured men of all creeds with various honours.^e But I consider that to be most essential, what (*I call*) ‘the approach through one’s own free will.’ After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written.

REMARKS ON THE TRANSLATION.

(a) *Dhammalipi*, being a generic term, may refer to more than one edict The edicts referred to are the third and fourth Rock Edicts The former says, “when I had been anointed twelve years, I issued the following order,” and the latter states with equal clearness at the end, “king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, ordered this to be written, when he had been anointed twelve years.” The earlier part of Piyadasi’s spiritual course is fixed by his own statements, as follows —

- (1) After the conquest of Kalinga in his ninth year he repented of his cruelty, and resolved to make no further conquests by the sword (Rock Edict XIII).
- (2) In his eleventh year he began to hold an annual progress through his dominions in search of religious truth (Rock Edict VIII).
- (3) In his thirteenth year he solemnly adopted the *Dhamma* or Sacred Law, *i.e.* those principles of morality which he enumerates so frequently (Rock Edict IV), and ordered it to be spread by his officials and his vassals on their annual tours through their districts (Rock Edict III).
- (4) In his fourteenth year he appointed the Dhammamahâmâtas or Superintendents of the Sacred Law. All this long precedes his conversion to Buddhism, which happened in or immediately after the twenty-ninth year of his reign.

(b) *Apahatâ* (D S.) or *apahata* is undoubtedly, as M. Senart suggests, equivalent to *apahritya* or *apahrivâ*. In my opinion it corresponds to the second form, just as *paṭiladdha*^a (*Jâtaka*, iv, 46, 23) stands for *pratilabdhvâ*. With respect to the meaning I differ from M. Senart, as I take *apahrî* in the sense of ‘to avoid, to give up,’ which it has not rarely in Sanskrit *Tam*, the object of *apahata*, stands for *tad*, and denotes ‘that which the people used to do, before they were taught better.’ The whole sentence down to *pâporâ* gives briefly the contents of Rock Edict IV, and it would have been clearer if *ti* had been added at the end I transliterate and explain the passage in Sans-

^a Compare with this sentence the statements in the twelfth Rock Edict.

^b The verse runs as follows —*Samkappam etam paṭiladdha pâpam acchêdhvâ kamma karosî luddam.*

krit as follows:—*Sah[loka ityarthah] tad [kriyamānam adharmam ityarthah] apahritya [parihṛityeyarthah] tām tām dharmavṛiddhim pi āpnuyāt*

(c) The explanation of the statement that the king directs his attention to his relatives is given by the remarks in the fourth Rock Edict and the seventh Pillar Edict, according to which the gifts of his children, brothers and sisters were supervised by the Dhammamahāmātas. By “those who are near,” Piyadasi probably means his Lajukas and other officials, who are supervised and taught their duties by him, see the fourth Pillar Edict and the Separate Edicts. “Those who are far,” *apakatha*, may be the wardens of the marches or perhaps the free borderers and the subjects of his friend the Yavana king Antiyoka, on whom Piyadasi conferred benefits according to the second Rock Edict, and whom he tried to convert to the Dhamma by ambassadors, as the thirteenth Rock Edict (Part II) alleges.

(d) M. Senart has recognised that *limam* is equivalent to the very common phrase *limti*. As R. M. read plainly *limmam*, I would suggest that *limam* too stands for *limmam*, and is a contraction of *limva*, i.e. *limva*, with the not uncommon nasalisation of the last vowel.

(e) *Nikāya*, ‘body corporate,’ refers probably not only, as M. Senart suggests, to the classes of officials which are called *nikāyā* in the twelfth Rock Edict, but also to the castes and sects called *nikāyā* in the thirteenth Rock Edict.

(f.) *Pachchūpagamana*, in Sanscrit *pratyupagamana*, might mean ‘the return to,’ but may also be taken as ‘the approach towards.’ The latter sense suits here best, and what is meant is the voluntary approach which one sect is to make towards the other in accordance with Piyadasi’s recommendation in the twelfth Rock Edict —“They shall hear each other’s law and love to hear it. For it is the desire of the Beloved of the gods—what?—‘that men of all creeds shall have heard much and possess holy doctrines.’”

Dehli-Sivalik Pillar

EDICT VII, 1.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā hevam āhā[] jye atikamtam [11]
amtalam lājāne husu[,] hevam ichhisu[] katham-jane [12]
dhammavadhiyā vadheyā[?] No-chu-jane anulupayā dhammavadhiyā [13]
vadhithā[] Etam devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā hevam-āhā[] esa-me [14]
huthā[,] atikamtam-cha amtalam hevam ichhisu lājāne katham-jane [15]
anulupayā dhammavadhiyā vadheyā-ti[,] no-cha-jane anulupayā [16]
dhammavadhiya vadhithā[,] se-kina-su jane anupatipajeyā⁶⁵ [17]
kina-su jane anulupayā dhammavadhiyā vadheyā-ti[,] kina-su-kāni [18]
abhyumnāmayeham dhammavadhiyā-ti[?] Etam-devanam piye Piyadasi lājā hevam [19]
āhā[] esa-me huthā[,] dhammasavanāni savāpayami dhammānusathimi [20]
anus[ā]sāmi⁶⁶ [,] etam-jane sutu anupatipajisati abhyumnamisati [21]

⁶⁵ The second *pa* of *anupatipajeyā* stands above the line

⁶⁶ This might be read *anusāsāmi*, but I believe the blotched line above the *ā* stroke to be accidental. *Anusāsāmi* is also used by Asoka elsewhere, e.g. Sep. Ed., II, 6, (8), etc.

EDICT VII, 2

dhammavadhīyā-cha bādham vadhīsati[] Etāye-me athāye dhammasāvanāni sāvāpitāni
 dhammānusathini vivīdhāni ānapitāni yath[ā me pul]isā-pi⁶⁷ bahune⁶⁸ janasi āyatā ete
 paliyovadisamti-pi pavithahisamti-pi[] La[ū]kā-pi⁶⁹ bahukesu pānasatasahasesu āyatā
 tepi-me ānapitā[] hevam-cha hevam-cha paliyovadātha [1]
 janam dhammayu[ta]m⁷⁰ [] [D]e[v]ānam-piye Piyadasī hevam-āhā[] etam-eva-me anu-
 vekhamāne dhammathambhāni-katāni[,] dhammanahāmātā-katā[,]dhamma[s]ā[van]e⁷¹-
 kate[]Devānam-piye Piyadasī lājā-hevam āhā[] magesu-pi-me nigohāni lopāpitāni[]
 chhāyopagāni hosamti pasumunisānam[,] ambāvadikyā lopāpitā[,]adhak[o]s[ī]kyāni-
 pi-me-udupānāni[2]
 khānāpāpitāni [;] nimsīdhīyā-cha⁷² kālāpitā[,]jāpānāni-me bahukāni tata-tata kālāpitāni
 patibhogāye pasumunisānam[] La[huke chu]⁷³ esa patibhoge nāma⁷⁴ [.] Vivīdhāyā-
 hī sukhāyanāyā puhmehi-pi lajīlu mamayā-cha sukhayite loke[] Imam-chu dhammā-
 nupatīpati anupatīpajamti-ti[,] etadathā-me[3]
 esa-kate[] Devānam-piye Piyadasī hevam āhā[] dhammamahāmātā-pi-me t[e]-bahuvi-
 dhesu⁷⁵ athesu ānugahikesu viyāpatā-se pavajītanam-cheva gīhithānam-cha[,]sava-
 [pāsam]desu-pi-cha⁷⁶ viyāpatā-se[] Samghathasi-pi-me kate ime viyāpatā hohamti-ti
 [,] hemeva bābhanesu Ājivikesu-pi-me kate[4]
 ime viyāpatā hohamti-ti[] Nigamthesu-pi-me kate ime viyāpatā hohamti [,] nānā-
 pāsamdesu-pi-me kate ime viyāpatā hohamti-ti [] Pativisitham pativisitham tesu-tesu
 te-[t]e [ma]hāmātā[] Dhammamahāmātā-chu-me etesu-cheva viyā[pa]tā savesu-cha
 amnesu pāsamdesu[.] Devānam-piye Piyadasī lājā-hevam āhā[5]
 ete-cha amne-cha bahukā mukhā dānavisagasi viyāpata-se mama-cheva devīnam-cha[,]
 savasi cha-me olodhanasi te-bahuvīdhena ā[kā]lena⁷⁵ tāni tāni tuthāyatan[ā]ni patī-
 [pādayamti] hīda-cheva disāsu-cha[] Dālakānam-pi-cha-me kate amnānam-cha deviku-
 mālanam ime dānavisagesu viyāpatā hohamti-ti[6]
 dhammāpadānathaye dhammānupatīpatiye[] Esa-hī dhammāpadāne dhammapatīpati-cha
 yā-iyam dayā dāne sacche sochave madave sādha[ve]-cha lokasa hevam vadhīsati-ti[.]

⁶⁷ Faintly visible, are, both on Dr Fleet's facsimile and on Sir A Cunningham's rubbing, the following letters—*ya tha* : and the left hand curve of *sā*, while the right half of *sā* is quite plain. The restoration is not doubtful, because there is exactly room for three lost consonants and because the phrase *pulīśā pi me* "my servants" occurs above Pillar Edict, I, 1 7 (D S), 1 3 (A), and elsewhere. From Professor Kern's analysis of this edict, *Der Buddhismus*, vol II, p 385, I infer that he would restore the passage in the same manner.

⁶⁸ *Bahune* is possibly a clerical mistake for *bahuke*. But it may be defended by the locative *pundāsune* above,—v 16, 18 (D S).

⁶⁹ The quantity of the second vowel of *lajūkā* is not certain.

⁷⁰ The last syllable of *dhammayutan* has been placed more than an inch from the rest, because there is a flaw in the stone.

⁷¹ The restoration has been made correctly by M Senart. The rubbing shows the *ā* stroke distinctly, and the facsimile has the final *e*.

⁷² The continuation of the same flaw in the stone, which caused the separation of the syllables *dhammayu* and *tam* in 1 2, has here made necessary the division *nimsī dhīyā* (not *dhayā*). Of course, nothing has been lost.

⁷³ The initial *la* (not *sa*) is perfectly plain, both on the facsimile and on the rubbing. Between *la* and *esa*, three, or possibly four, syllables have been lost. The phrase was, therefore, either *lahuke chu esa* or *lahuke chu kha esa*, compare Rock Edict, XIII, 2, 1 14 (Kalsi), *lahukā vu kha sā piti*, and below, 1 9, *tata chu lahu-se dhammanīyame*.

⁷⁴ The *na* of *nāma* stands above the line, and has been added afterwards as a correction.

⁷⁵ Though the *ta* is damaged at the top, it seems probable, both according to the rubbing and the facsimiles, that the reading was *te*. The *se* after *vīyāputa* is, of course, not required. Compare also the first clause in 1 5, where another redundant *se* occurs.

⁷⁶ The restoration has been given correctly by M Senart.

Devānam-piye [Piyada]s[1] lājā hevām-āhā[] yāni-hi-kāni-chi mamiyā sādhanāni katāni
tam-loke anūpatipamne tam-cha anuvīdhiyamti[,]tena vadhitā-cha[7]
vadhisaṃti-cha mātāpītisu sususāyā gulusu sususāyā vayomahālakānam anupatīpatiyā
bābhanasamanesu kapaṇavalākesu āva dāsabhatakesu sampatīpatiyā[.] Devānam-piy[e
Pī]yadasī lājā hevām-āhā[] munisānam-chu yā-iyam dhammavadhi vadhitā duvehi-
yeva ākālehi dhammanīyamena-cha nījhatiyā-cha[8]
Tata-chu lahu-se dhammanīyame[,] nījhatiyā-va bhūye[] Dhammanīyame-chu-kho
esa ye-me iyam-kate imāni-cha imāni⁷ jātāni avadhīyāni[,] amnāni-pi-chu bahu[kāni]
dhammanīyamāni yāni-me katāni[] Nījhatiyā-va-chu bhūye munisānam dhammavadhi
vadhitā avīhimsāye bhutānam[9]

anālambhaye panānam [.] Se-etaye athāye iyam kate [,] putāpapotike chamda-
masuliyike hotu-ti [,] tathā-cha anupatīpajamtu-ti [] Hevam-hi anupatīpajamtam
bīdata[pāla]te āladhe hoti [] Satāvisativasābhāsītena me iyam dhammalīhi līkhāpā-
pitā-ti [] Etam devānam-piye āhā .] iyam [10]

dhammalīhi ata athi silāthambhāni-vā silāphalakāni-vā tata kataviyā ena esa chīla-
thitike siya [11].

TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasī, beloved of the gods, speaks thus —

“Those kings who lived during the past ages conceived this wish, ‘Might mankind in some way grow the growth of the sacred law,’! But mankind did not grow a befitting growth of the sacred law ”

Concerning this⁷ (*matter*) king Piyadasī, beloved of the gods, speaks thus —

“This (*thought*) came to me, ‘On the one hand kings conceived during the past ages this wish, Might mankind in some way grow a befitting growth of the sacred law!’ On the other hand mankind did not grow a befitting growth of the sacred law By what means then would mankind (*be moved*) to obey? By what means would mankind grow a befitting growth of the sacred law? By what means may I raise up⁸ some among them to (*grow*) the growth of the sacred law?”

Concerning this (*matter*) king Piyadasī, beloved of the gods, speaks thus —

“This (*thought*) came to me “Sermons on the sacred law I will order to be preached, instruction in the sacred law I will order to be given When men hear it, they will obey, they will raise themselves,⁹ and mightily they will grow the growth of the sacred law ” For this purpose I have ordered sermons on the sacred law to be preached, and have directed various instructions on the sacred law to be given, so that [*even my servants*] who dwell (*as rulers*) among many men, shall give instruction and expand it Even the *lajūkas* who dwell (*as rulers*) among many hundred thousands of souls, even they have been ordered by me, “Instruct (*my*) loyal people⁸ in this way and in that ”

Piyadasī, beloved of the gods, speaks thus —

“Having regard to this same matter,^{7a} I have erected pillars of the sacred law, I have appointed superintendents of the sacred law, I have ordered to be preached [*sermons on*] the sacred law ”

⁷ Read *imāni cha*, as the sense requires

^{7a} *Etam eca me anuvekhamāne* (i.e., *anuvekshyamānam*) may be explained as a nominative absolute, analogous to *arajitam hi vijñamare*, Rock Edict XIII (l. 36, k) But it is not impossible that *anuvekhamānena* (i.e. *anuvekshamānena*) was what Asoka really wrote

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus —

"I have also planted banian-trees on the high-roads, (*intending that*) they shall give shade to men and beasts I have planted mango-gardens⁷⁹ I have also ordered wells to be dug at every half *kos*⁸⁰ and I have ordered rest-houses⁸¹ to be built, and I have ordered many watering stations to be made here and there for the enjoyment of men and beasts [*But something small indeed is*] this so-called enjoyment Both former kings and myself have blessed the world with various blessings But I have done (*all*) this (*in order*) that men may render their obedience to the sacred law"

Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus —

"My superintendents of the sacred law are also occupied with the various matters of grace, affecting both ascetics and householders, and they are likewise occupied with men of all creeds. I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the affairs of the Samgha⁸², likewise I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the Brahmanical Âjivikas, I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the Nigamthas, I have arranged it that they will be occupied with (*all*) the manifold creeds Various officials (*have been appointed*) for various (*classes of men and purposes*) in accordance with the several requirements But my superintendents of the sacred law are occupied both with those (*mentioned*) and with the men of all creeds"

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus —

Both these and many other chief officials⁸³ are occupied with the distribution of gifts, both my own and those of the queens, and in my whole harem they [*point out*] various ways the manifold sources of contentment⁸⁴ both here (*in Pataliputra*) and in the distance And I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the distribution of the gifts both of my sons and of the other princes in order (*to promote*) noble deeds in accordance with the sacred law and obedience to the sacred law For, these are noble deeds in accordance with the sacred law and this is action in accordance with the sacred law, whereby compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness and holiness will thus⁸⁵ grow among men"

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus —

"Whatever works of holiness I have worked, these men have followed, and these they will imitate in future, and thereby they have grown and will grow in future in obedience towards parents, in obedience towards venerable men, in reverence towards the aged, in proper conduct towards Brahmins and ascetics, towards the poor and the wretched, even towards slaves and servants"

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus —

"But men have grown this growth of the sacred law in two ways, (*viz*) through restrictive religious rules and through deep meditation" But, among these two⁸⁶ the restrictive religious rules are something small, more (*is worked*) by deep meditation

⁷⁹ Regarding the short *a* of *radikyā* see note 17 on the Queen's Edict, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 123, where it has been pointed out that the corresponding *ambādiḥā* may stand for *amādiḥā* Regarding the long *ā* of *ambā*, see below, note 20

⁸⁰ *Mulhā* has either been used in the sense of *mukha*, *m*, a leader (see the smaller *Pet. Dict.*, sub voce), or it stands for *mulhā* and corresponds to *mukhyāh* 'chiefs, i.e. 'officials of high rank

⁸¹ Thus i.e. in the manner desired by the king

⁸² *Tata*, i.e. *tatra*, has here, as often in Sanskrit, a distributive sense, and *tata-chu* is equivalent to *tayantu*.

But the restrictive religious rules, indeed, are these, that I have ordered various kinds of creatures to be exempt from slaughter,³³ but there are also numerous other restrictive religious rules which I have imposed. But by deep meditation the growth of the sacred law has been increased more among men, so that they do not injure created beings, so that they do not slaughter living creatures."

For the following purpose these (*orders*) have been issued, (*viz*) that they may last as long as my sons and great-grandsons reign", as long as moon and sun endure, and that men may act accordingly. If man obeys them in this manner, happiness has been gained both in this world and the next. I have caused this religious edict to be written after I had been anointed twenty-seven years.

Concerning this the Beloved of the gods speaks (*thus*) —

"This religious edict must be incised there, where either stone pillars or stone tablets are found, in order that it may endure for a long time."

REMARKS ON THE TRANSLATION.

(a) As the preceding clause states that the kings "conceived a wish," it is not possible to take *latham* as an interrogative adverb. It must have the sense of an indefinite pronoun, just as *lāmi* has more frequently.

(b) Though it is perhaps not absolutely impossible to take *etam* with M. Senart as equivalent to *itra* or *atīa*, I prefer to explain it by *etad*, and to assume that we have here the "accusative of relation," which, as Professor Delbruck has shown (*Altindische Syntax*, p 165f), appears not rarely with verbs of speaking, wishing, considering and the like.

(c) *Abhyumnāmayeham* is the future with the meaning of the subjunctive (see Speiser, *Sanskrit Syntax*, p 266f, and especially the quotation from the *Rāmāyana* under b). *E* for *i* appears similarly in *paridahessati*, etc (see E. Muller *Simplified Grammar of the Pali Language*, p 118).

(d) *Abhyumnamisati* may be either the future of the active *abhyunnamati*, or, equivalent to *abhyumnamnissati*, the future of the passive of the causative *abhyunnamayati*. The use of the active *unnamati*, *abhyunnamati*, *pronnami*, and so forth, in the sense of 'to rise up,' is the usual one both in Sanskrit and in the Prakrits.

(e) *Lajūka* means literally 'a writer, clerk,' and denotes here probably a high official, taken from the writer caste (see note 1 to my German translation of Rock Edict III). Regarding the meaning of *āyatā* note 2 to my German translation of the Sep Ed I, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLI.

(f) *Palīyavadātha* is one of the few instances of the Vedic subjunctive, preserved in the old Prakrits of India (see Professor Pischel in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. XXIII, p 424, and Professor E. Muller, *Simplified Grammar of the Pali Language*, p 108).

(g) *Adhakośikyāni* corresponds to a Sanskrit *ādhakrośikīyāni*. The *krośa* or *kos* meant here, must be that equal to 8,000 Hastas, or half a *gavyūti*, which thus corresponds to the so-called *Sullānā kos* of 3 English miles. The ordinary *kos*, equal to one and a half or one and three-quarter miles, cannot be meant, as the wells would come too close to each other.

³³ See above, Pillar Edict V.

(h) *Nimsidhiyā* no doubt stands for *nśidhiyā*, just like the Pali *mahimsa* for *māhisa*, and is an equivalent of *nśhidīyā*, 'dwelling,' which occurs in the Nāgārjunī Hill Cave inscriptions, *Indian Antiquary*, vol XX, p 364f, in the compound *vāśhanśhidīyāye*. Both *nimsidhiyā* and *nśhidīyā* are Pali representatives of the Sanskrit *nśhadyā*, "a couch, a market-hall." They have, however, been derived not from the root *nśhad*, but from the stem of the present tense *nśhīd*. The lingual *dha* of *nimsidhiyā* is due to the influence of the original *sha* of *nśhīdyā*. The Jains use closely allied words *nśśīdhi*, *nśhīdhi* and *nśśīdhi* for the last resting-place, the ornamental tombs, of their saints, see *Indian Antiquary*, vol XII, p. 99 *Nimsidhiyā* denotes here, of course, the public rest-houses or serais, which are found at certain distances on most Indian high-roads and which are frequently built *dhammārtham* by benevolent and rich men Ushavadāta, the pious son-in-law of the Satrap and king Nahapāna boasts in the Nasik inscriptions, *Rep Arch Surv West Ind.* vol IV, p 99, that he erected many such buildings

(i) *Āpāna* cannot have here its usual meaning "tavern, liquor-shop" As Professor Kern, *Der Buddhismus*, vol. II, p 385, assumes, it must denote a watering station. Probably the huts on the roads are meant, where water is distributed to travellers and their beasts gratis or against payment The usual Sanskrit name is *prapā*

(j) *Samgha*, of course, denotes the order of Buddhist monks The Ājīvikas are probably, as Professor Kern assumes, orthodox Vaishnava ascetics, see my discussion of the question in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, p 362 The Nigamthas are the Jain ascetics or Nirgranthas I take *pativīsitham pativīsitham*, "according to the several requirements" in the sense of *prativīśesham*, (see the smaller *Petersburg Dict.* sub voce) *Tesu-tesu*, literally "for these and those," probably refers not only to various classes of men, but also to various purposes, for which the unnamed officials were appointed. Compare the end of Rock Edict XII, where the Superintendents of women, the Vachabhumikas and other bodies of officials are mentioned

(k) I here follow Professor Kern, *Der Buddhismus*, vol II, p 386, who takes *tuthāyatānāni*, i.e. *tushtyāyatānāni*, "sources of contentment," in the sense of "opportunities for charity" Such opportunities are to be pointed out to all the inmates of the king's harem With this interpretation the necessity of the restoration *patī* [*pādayamti*] is self-evident.

(l) *Devikumāla* 'prince' means literally 'son of a queen,' i.e. of such a lady who has the title *devī* As the sons of the king have been mentioned separately, it follows that 'the princes' are the sons of the wives of Piyadasi's predecessors, i.e. his brothers and possibly his paternal uncles In the parallel passage, Rock Edict V, Piyadasi names 'his brothers, sisters and other relatives'

(m) M Senart has no doubt correctly explained *nyhātī* as a derivative from the causative of *nīdhyāi* and appropriately translated it by "reflexion" It is equivalent to Sanskrit *nīdīdhīyāsānā* "reflexion, deep meditation," which is derived by other affixes from the same verb

(n) In *putāpapotīke* the nominative of the plural *putā* takes the place of the stem just as in *ambā-vadīkyā*, above l 2 Similarly the nominative singular frequently takes the place of the stem in the inscriptions from Mathurā, *ante*, vol I, p 371 ff Rare instances occur also in Pali. Thus we have, *Jāl* iv, 184, 18, *sahhābhāvyam*, 'the wife of a friend.'

XXI — THE MAHĀBAN PRAŚASTĪ OF SAMVAT 1207

BY G BÜHLER, PH D, LL D, C I E

The subjoined inscription is identical with that which I have published, *ante*, vol. I, p 287, under the title *Mathurā Praśasti of the Reign of Vijayapāla*, according to an impression, furnished to me by Dr A Führer and described as an 'Inscription on black basalt recovered from Kesava mound at Mathurā, 10th February 1889'

Shortly after the publication of my article Dr Führer wrote to me that he did not agree with my restoration of the king's name as Vijayapāla, because he had obtained lately from Mahāban another small inscription of the same period, which showed a different reading. His remarks induced me to look over Sir A Cunningham's notices of Mahāban in the *Archæological Survey Reports*, where I found the facsimile¹ of a much more complete version of this supposed *Mathurā Praśasti*, and the statement that the document had been obtained at Mahāban in 1882-83, my friend, Professor Kielhorn, likewise pointed it out to me. For some time I thought that Dr Führer's inscription, in which the central portion has been rubbed out by the stone being used for grinding spices on *dāl* and a large piece at the right-hand corner has been broken off, might be a duplicate of Sir A Cunningham's. But this theory became doubtful, when in answer to my enquiries Dr Führer stated that Sir A Cunningham's stone was not traceable at Mahāban. And it became absolutely untenable, when some time ago Dr J Burgess found Sir A Cunningham's impression from which his lithograph was prepared. A comparison with Dr Führer's impression shows that the latter has, in the portions preserved, all the minor abrasions which are found on Sir A Cunningham's slab, whereby the identity of the two originals is established. It would now seem that, after Sir A Cunningham's impression was taken in 1882-83, the stone was taken away from Mahāban, used as a grinding stone by somebody, and finally brought as a find from the Kesava mound to Dr Führer, who in 1889 received quite a number of fragments² from the railway-workmen at Mathurā.

I now re-edit the inscription according to Sir A Cunningham's impression, which is reproduced in the accompanying plate and permits me to give a much better version.

As regards the contents of the inscription, it is now plain that it refers to the erection of a temple at Mahāban. The paramount king, mentioned in the colophon, is probably, as Sir A. Cunningham has stated, *op cit*, vol XX, p 42, Ajayapāla, not Vijayapāla. And he may belong to the Yaduvamśi dynasty of Bayāna-Śrīpathā (see the pedigree *op cit*, p 7). This view, which Sir A. Cunningham has put forward, is confirmed by the fact that Dr Führer's above mentioned new inscription from

¹ Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol XV, pl x

² The use of the slab for grinding condiments upon is perfectly evident from the impression, where a round piece in the centre is blank, and at the sides the deeper strokes of the letters are visible, while the shallower ones have disappeared. Dr Führer has also sent me squeezes of several other fragments, which bear in pencil the dates when they came into his hands. One which is unfortunately very small shows the name of *paramēśvara-śrī Śilādityadeva* and may belong to the seventh century.

From Gen. 51. 4. *Caesar's Palace, Rome, 1870.*

क्षीणीमण्डलमण्डन बहुतरप[ख्यात]पर्वक्रम
श्रीमानस्ति समु-

L 6 अत क्षितितले राजन्यवशो महान् ॥ [४]

सौजन्यामृतवारिधिर्गुरुगुणग्रामप्रकामावधि'
श्रीमान्धर्मनिधिर्त्रयैकनिपुणसुखाध्वचक्रप्रधि: [1]

L 7 तत्राभूत्कलिकालकल्मषमयीप्रचालनैकयम'
मान्य' क्षत्रियवर्गमौलितिलक श्रीसिहराजाह्वय. ॥ [५]⁸
दानेन लक्ष्मीर्विनयेन विद्या
भावेन भ-

L 8 क्षि क्षमया च शक्ति [1]
सत्त्वेन सक्ति — — तेन मूर्ति-
रलक्ष्मताल कृतिना च येन [1६॥]⁹
तस्याभूत्तनयो नयोव्रतमति: श्रीतेजराजाह्वय:
सहस्रैकशुचि'

L 9 शुचिर्गुरुगुणग्राहो विवेकाकर ।
यश्चित्रं पुरुषोत्तमोपि विदितो धत्ते न वैकुण्ठता-
सैश्वर्येष्वभुजङ्गमो न तरलो यो नायकोपि स्फुटं ॥ [७]¹

L 10 तस्मात्सुनुरजायतोञ्जलतरप्रख्यातकीर्त्युच्चय'
श्रीमानासिक इत्युदारमहिमा देवहिजाचरित [1]
विहङ्गाच्छितपूर्तिकल्पविटपी न्यायैकनिष्ठ पर ॥

L 11 — — — — रोमणिर्विमलधीर्धीर सता समत: ॥¹¹ [८]
शभु' शैलमुतामिव त्रियमिव श्रीगार्गापाखि प्रभु:
पोलो[मोमिव] हवहाम्बुधिरिव स्रोतस्त्रिनी जाह्नवीं ।
शीताशु' किल

L 12. रोहिणीमिव मुनिर्मान्यामिवारुन्धतीं
स श्रीमान्तरिकण्ठजामुदवहत्सङ्गतिभ — — ता ॥ [९]¹²
तस्या तेन मुतो जज्ञे जल सज्जनभूषण ।
रामो दय-

L 13 रघुनेव कौ[स]ल्यायामुदारधी ॥ [१०]
कुर्भरभ' कलयितुमन वा[रि]धि: कस्य शक्ति'
को वा गङ्गापुलिनसिकतास्ता: परिच्छेत्तुमीश' [1]
नक्षत्रा-

¹ According to Cunningham's rubbing one might read श्रीमार्कर्य°, but Führer's gives plainly °अर्क

² Pe-tore मृत्ति सुकृतेन मृत्ति°

³ The second नयी and the second क of विवेकाकर stand below the line

⁴ The last Pada stands in the margin, and there is a mark after पर in order to indicate the lacuna Restore

क्षीणीपालमिरीमणि°

⁵ Read श्रीगार्गापाखि — Restore सङ्गतिभारानता.

- L 14 लो दिवि गणयितु कोङ्गुलीभि. समर्थ
तस्य स्तोतु सकल[म]थ वा क. प्रगल्भ गुणौघ [॥११]
चद्र कथचित्समवाप्य वृद्धि
पक्ष किलैक विम-
- L 15 ल करोति [१]
जज्ज पुनर्भूतलपार्व्य — —
हावेव पक्षौ विमलौ विधत्ते ॥ [१२]¹³
सङ्ग साधुभिरेव कीपशमने शक्तिश्च धर्मे सति
दानेभ्यासविधि प-
- L 16 रोपकृतये कार्यं गुरुणा न[ति] १]
— — श्रीपुरुषोत्तमाङ्गियुगले गोष्ठी सम पडितै
जज्जस्यासिकसभवस्य सुमतेः किं किं न लोकोत्तर ॥ [१३]¹⁴
का-
- L 17 य. परोपकृतिभि सुकृती ७ — ७
— द्विर्मुंरारिचरणस्मरणेन चेत. [१]
लक्ष्मीरपि प्रणयिवाच्छितपूरणेन
सत्येन वागपि च येन कृता कृता-
- L 18 र्था ॥ [१४]¹⁵
श्रीमान्निस्सिकानामधेयविदितो राजन्यवशोद्गतः
तस्यामावुपयेमिवान्दुहितर धर्माभिधाना सती ।
श्रीलाचारविभूषणा शभगुणा भर्तृव्र -
- L 19 ता सम्प्रता
तस्या [युव]चतुष्टय समभवद्वर्मोपपन्न तत' ॥ [१५]
तस्यानुजो गुणनिधिर्गुणिना वरिष्ठ
ख्यात' मुरद्विजगुरुचित्तभक्तियुक्त [१]
गाभीर्य-
- L 20 सत्यनयदान[विवे]कबुद्धि.
श्रीआसिकात्मजमुनिर्मलपञ्जनामा ॥ × [१६]
अवन्तराजतनया भार्यामुद्वहत्सती ।
तस्यां स जनयामास × × × × ७ — ७ ७ ॥ × [१७]¹⁶
ससार हर्षभक्तिसारसखिल विज्ञाय गोष्ठीजनै
सार्द्ध धर्मधुरा चिरा-
- L 21 य वृहता जज्जेन निर्मापित ।
विष्णोर्हर्म्यमनल्पशिल्परचनावैचित्र्यपात्र वृह-

¹³ The reading of the stone seems to have been पावणेन्दु

¹⁴ Restore भक्ति श्रीपुरुषो

¹⁵ Restore सुकृतोत्तरेन बुद्धिम्

¹⁶ Verse 17 stands in the margin, and is preceded by the figure 20, which refers to the 'ne where it is to be inserted.

XXII.—MUHAMMADAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM BENGAL.

BY PAUL HORN, PH. D., STRASSBURG.

As in my previous paper on Muhammadan inscriptions from the Sûba of Dîhlî, I have reproduced the texts of the inscriptions as they are found on the stone, adding no wanting dots, *tashdîds*, etc., except in the first six inscriptions.

I —BHÂGALPÛR.

The history of Bhâgalpûr during the first four centuries of Muhammadan rule offers nothing very remarkable. The first inscription below of the time of Mahmûd Shâh ibn Ibrâhîm Shâh of Jaunpûr, is of value, because it shows that Bhâgalpûr in the ninth Hijrat century belonged to the Sharqî kingdom, as did also Bihâr (*vide* below). In A. H. 982 it came into the possession of Akbar (*Albarnâma*, III, 108). Further information regarding the place has been collected by C. J. O'Donnell in W. W. Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. XIV, p. 82.

The inscriptions Nos. 2, 3 and 4 are of little historical value, they bear the dates of the years 1032 (reign of Jahângîr), 1130 (reign of Farrukh Siyar) and 1793 A. D. The last falls in the period of English rule.

The first inscription¹ is engraved on a black basalt slab, fixed on a tomb in a garden belonging to Rânî Bibî in Mânda Roga Mahalla, Bhâgalpûr, it is no longer *in situ*, the stone measures 36 inches by 18 inches, the size of the inscribed part is 30 by 13 inches.

قال النبي عليه السلام من بنى مسجداً في الدنيا بنى الله له قصرًا في الجنة من رعى ملك العادل محمود
شاه السلطان بنا كرده این مسجد جامع حارشد خان سر بونب عدر محللن فی العاشر من ٢ حماد الاول سنة
حمسين و ثمانماية

TRANSLATION.

'The Prophet—may God's blessing be upon him!—says 'He who builds a mosque in this world, God will build for him a castle in Paradise'. During the time of the just king Mahmûd Shâh the honoured Khân Khurshêd Khân, head of the guardians outside the palace, has built this mosque on the tenth of Jumâdî'l awwal, year 850 H (3rd August 1446).'

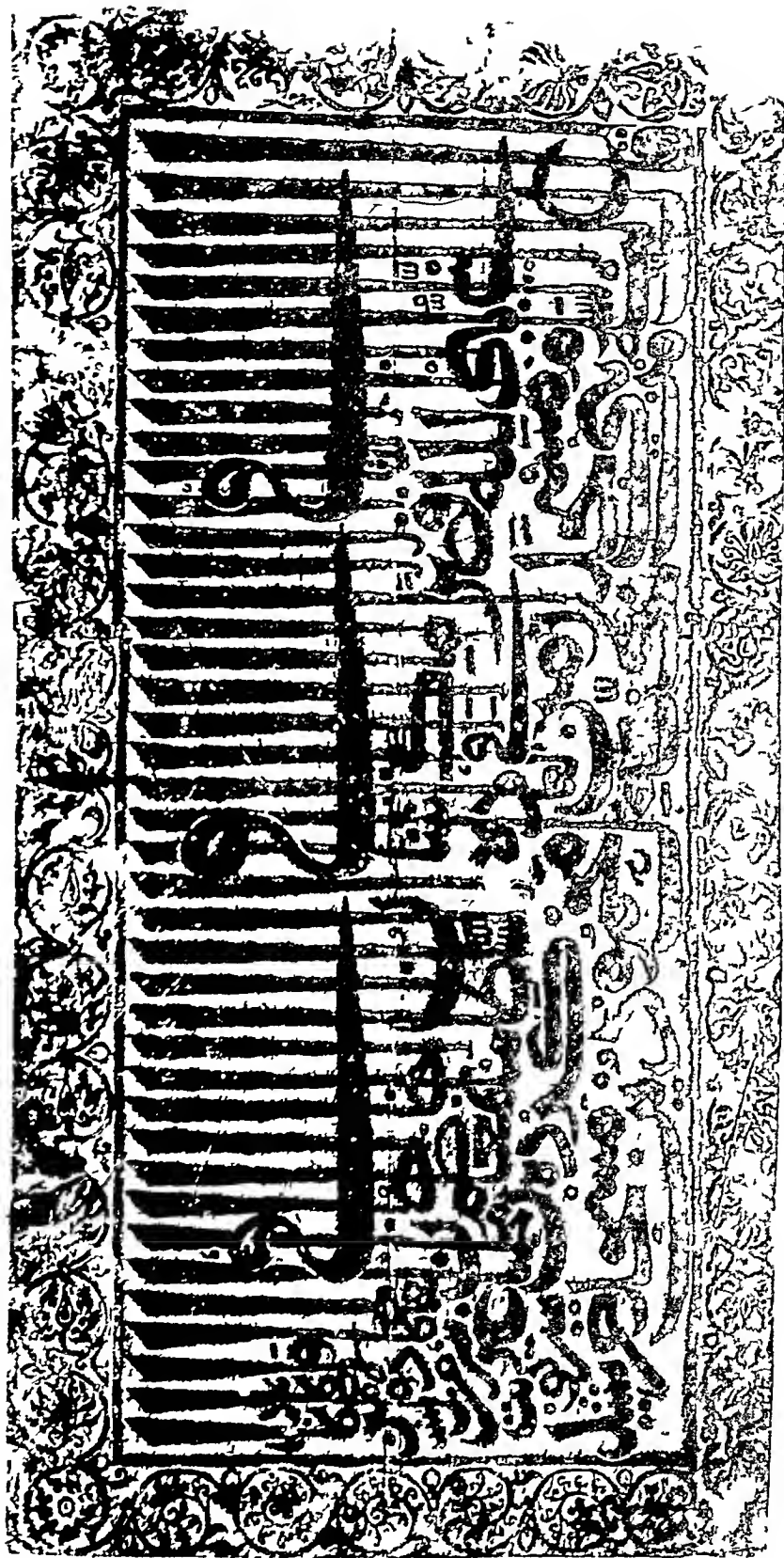
The arrangement of the words on the stone is not quite regular, and the deciphering is therefore more difficult than it seems at first sight. I have found no information relative to Khurshêd Khân, whose title *sar i naubat-i ghair-mahallîân* I have translated according to Blochmann (*Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal*, vol. XLI, p. 106, vol. XLII., p. 273, note).

2 The second inscription has already been published by Blochmann in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, December 1873, p. 200. It is on a *Dargâh* called the Maskan-i Baiârî or Makhdûm Shâh's Dargâh in Champanâgar near Bhâgal-

¹ See facsimile No. 1.

² The same form occurs, e.g., in the inscriptions, *Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal*, vol. XLI, p. 109, *Proceedings* for March 1874, p. 72.

NO 1 BHAGAI PUR INSCRIPTION OF A H 850



NO 2 MAHDIPUR INSCRIPTION OF A H 891



From J. D. Heglar's impressions

Scale 1-5th of original

pūr, the name of the saint buried there is not known The basalt slab measures 27 by 16 inches, the inscribed part 20 by 13 inches, it contains four lines —

لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله
 انبىكر صديق | عمر فاروق | عثمان رضى | على كرم الله
 رضى الله عنه | رضى الله عنه | الله عنه | وجهه

حسن اصعب عند الله حواحه احمد سمرقندى حسب الحكم نواب قدسى العاى شاعراده عالميان شاء بربر
 جهانگر لخدمت موحداى سرکار منكر آمده بود به نای عمارت این رزمه منوره ترفیق یاب سد ۱۰۳۲ هـ
 سی و نه

TRANSLATION.

'There is no god but God and Muhammad is the Apostle of God

Abū Bakr, the veracious—may God be pleased with him! 'Omar, the distinguisher between right and wrong—may God be pleased with him! 'Osmān—may God be pleased with him! 'Alī—may God dignify his face!'

When the humblest of the slaves of God, Khwāja Ahmad of Samargand, according to the order of the Nawāb, bearing holy titles, the prince of the people of the world, Shah Parwāz, son of Jahāngir, had entered the service as Faujdār of Sarkār Mungir, he found grace to build this splendid tomb in the year 1032 H [began the 5th November 1622]'

Shah Parwāz was the second son of the emperor Shāh Jahāngir He died of *delirium tremens* on the 6th Safar 1035 (7th November 1625). In the year 1032 H he gave Bengal in jāgīr to Mahābat Khan, after having defeated in battle Shāh Jahan (*Iqbāl-nāma-ī Jahāngīrī*, p 239), whereas Bihār, to which sarkār Mungir belonged (*Āin-ī-Albarī*, vol I, p 419), remained his own *tiyūl*

In the *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol XV, p. 63, is a long account of the town of Mungir, compiled by Blochmann

3 This inscription was found near Cleveland's public garden, the rectangular black basalt stone on which it is engraved measures about 36 by 13 inches, the inscription covers 16 by 10 inches.

ار نسی انیسر ملک نعا
 رجب سمرسب رفائی سرای
 ار سر اندره نکر سال فوب
 رجب محسم رجهل رب رای

Metre,—*Sarī*'

With much sorrow he tied up the dress of journey from the perishable house towards the country of eternity From the head of (*the word*) *gnaf* say the year of the death, "The soul clothed with a body went from the world, alas!"

The last line gives, according to *abjad* reckoning, 1129. As the poet seems to mean that the head of *andūh*, i.e. the letter *alif*, is to be added to the *tā'īkh*, we get 1129+1=1130 H. [which began the 5th December 1717]

³ The four caliphs

⁴ In Elliot-Dowson's *History*, vol VI, p 417, 1 4, for Bihar read Bengal

The person referred to is not named.

4 The following inscription is from the same place as No 3, the engraved area on the pillar is 12 by 5 inches

ار میاء ملک این تالاب خوش تحفہ یاب	بر لئس این دیر ہم ار سعی او بعدریاب
حواستہ تاریخ شجر (۹) عسری (۸۱۰) سارم نال	تا بُرد بر لوح سک ار سالی بعدرش نال
ناکہاں شائف روزی شادمانی لعل بُرد	بعد لعل دیدہ اندر مصرع ہشتم مرد
آنکہاں در کوش خاطر رد سروشی بس عجب	دیدہ کم اندر جہاں آدم جس حای عرب

TRANSLATION

Metre,—*Ramal*

By (order of) Ziyâ-i-Mulk this fair tank has been dug, on the bank of it this place of worship has also been erected by his exertion I wanted to render manifest the date of the Christian era, so that there may exist a sign of the year of its erection on the face of the stone Suddenly an invisible speaker by way of pleasure increased the word 'Bûd' after the word 'Dîdah' in the eighth hemistich, then in the ear of the mind he uttered a mysterious sound, indeed, strange "Man has scarcely seen in the world such a rare place"

The letters of the *târîkh* which runs therefore 'Dîdah bûd lam' etc, give 1793 A D—the last hemistich=1781 + 12 (*bûd*)—i.e.—1208-9H

Ziyâ-i-Mulk must have been the title of some English officer whose European name I am not able to make out here

On a hill to the west of Bhâgalpûr Station is a Muhammadan shrine, the tomb of Shâhjangî (Shâhbâz), to which belongs a tank That tank which had gone out of use was cleaned and fitted with stone steps by order of M^r Edward Latore, Magistrate, Zila' Bhâgalpûr, in 1843 A D, corresponding with 1250 Fasli As a memorial of that fact a Hindûstânî inscription has been engraved in a cule on the side wall of the ghât, and the names of the personages who furthered the work with money have been inscribed in the margin The total sum amounts to ₹2,677, if I have added rightly⁵

II—HAZRAT PANDUAH.

The following inscriptions from Panduah belong to the *Âdîna* (i.e. Friday) Mosque of which large ruins still remain These have been described at length by the late J H Ravenshaw in his *Gaur, its Ruins and Inscriptions*, pp 60 ff, where also a ground plan of the masjid is given

The mosque was built by Abu'l Mujâhid Sikandar Shah, son of Shams-addîn Abu'l Muzaffar Ilyâs Shâh, king of Bengal, who adorned his capital Panduah with that magnificent edifice Except one, the inscriptions inside and outside the mosque are of no historical value, containing only verses from the *Qorân* The rubbings transmitted to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by General Cunningham and Mr W L Heeley are very fine and worthy of the beautiful penmanship which can hardly be surpassed in other Indian Muhammadan inscriptions

⁵ There is another rubbing of a Hindûstânî inscription of the month of August of 1845 which has been engraved on a large basalt pillar near the public garden on the bank of a tank opposite Cleveland's house, but the inscription seems to be much defaced, so that it is not possible to decipher it from the rubbing It relates also to a *tâlâv* and a *sarâi tayyâr*

5 On the outer wall of the central nave near the doorway, which is very small in proportion to the size of the edifice, the inscription has been cut, which mentions the builder of the mosque and the year of its erection. The size of the stone is 55 by 11 inches, that of the inscribed part is 57 by 9 inches, it runs—

اميردء العمارة هذا المسجد الجامع في ايام [م] الدولة السلطان الاعظم اعلم اعدل اكرم اكمل السلاطين
العرب والعجم الراجى ديدد انجمن ابراهيم سكر شاه سلطان بن الياش شاه السلطان حله خلافته الى
يوم الموعود كتبه في التاريخ رحب سد س [ر] سعيس رسعمايه

TRANSLATION

'The edifice of this Jâmi' Masjid was ordered to be built during the days of the reign of the great king, the wisest, the justest, the most liberal, the most perfect of the kings of Arabia and Persia, who trusts in the assistance of the Merciful, Abu'l Mujâhid Sikandar Shâh, the king, son of Ilyâs Shâh, the king—May his reign be perpetuated till the day of promise' He wrote it during Rajab of the year 776 (began the 6th December 1374)'

There are some mistakes in Blochmann's readings of this inscription (*Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol XLII, p. 257, and repeated in Ravenshaw's *Gaur*, p 62) Regarding the accuracy of my conjecture that the eighth word is to be read *ayyâm*, there can hardly be any doubt. The statement of the date at the end of the inscription is quite ungrammatical, if, with Blochmann, we read *rajab sitt*, besides, the succession of the words should be *sitt rajab*. Grammatical mistakes are very numerous in Bengal inscriptions, but the construction *rajab sitt* instead of *sâdis* would be too faulty even for them. I therefore prefer to supply a *wa* (and) before *sab'in* or to read the *wa* standing before *sab'miat* twice, a case that occurs not at all unfrequently.

We do not know the year in which the Âdina mosque was finished, the *Riyâs* mentions only that the beginning fell in the year 766 II. It is very probable that the building required a space of ten years, e.g. the Jâmi' Masjid at Kotila in Eastern Rajputana was erected within eight years, and ten are therefore not too much to allow for the erection of that 'gigantic barn,' as General Cunningham calls the Âdina mosque (*Archæological Survey of India*, vol XV, p 90)'

6 Over the doorway of the king's platform (Ravenshaw calls it *Bâdshâh ka takht*) we find the words of the *Kalîma*. The size of the inscription is 8 by 7 inches.

Over the central prayer niche (*mihrâb*) are inscribed on two stones the verses of *Qor'ân*, Sûr xxxiii, 56, and Sûr xxii, 76, the latter being quoted with the omission of some words in Major W. Francklin's *Journal of a Route from Râjmahal to Gaur, A.D. 1810*, see Ravenshaw, p 64.

Round the three other prayer niches are also engraved passages from the *Qor'ân*, on the northern, the combined verses Sûr ii, 63, iii, 31, ii, 121 and Sûr ix, 20, 21.

* I see however that nothing can be too faulty for the Indian Muhammadan inscriptions for I have found on a stone at least the above construction, with the number *sitt* (number of the *auza* of Muhammad Shari' of Bulb in Delhi—*Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng.*, for 1875, p 212).

† The exordial phrase is — قال الله تعالى عن قائل رجل من متكلم 'God! he said, who is raised above all speakers and more glorious than another orator.'

Round the middle prayer niche runs Sûr xlviii, 27 28, 29 (size 153 inches by 12 inches, the measure of the whole stone is 160 by 15 inches), round the southern (Ravenshaw, photograph, plate xli) Sûr ix, 26, 27 has been inscribed. The intervals between the single letters and words are always copiously ornamented with flower arabesques.

The inscription over the prayer niche in the transept (Ravenshaw, photograph plate xli) has been mentioned by Blochmann in the *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, vol. XLII, p. 256. A facsimile is given in Ravenshaw's work, plate xlv; it contains Qorân, Sûr ix 18, 19. The top line is in Kufik, a character of writing the artist was evidently not very conversant with, and contains the *Tâtiha*.

A stone (20 by 14 inches) once fixed in the wall of the nave, now lost, bore round a square which contains arabesques and the name of Muhammad twice, besides the *Kalima*, the text of Sûra cxi.

III.—GAUR.

For the city of Gaur, the reader may be referred to Ravenshaw's work already cited, the photographs of which give a picture of the former grandeur and magnificence of the town. It also gives a historical sketch of Gaur from the Muhammadan conquest to the end of its independence (pp 95ff). Some of the following inscriptions have been already published either in this work or by Blochmann.

7. Over the entrance to the court of the Qadam-Rasûl mosque (Ravenshaw, photograph, plate 13, and facsimile, plate 48, No 6) is an inscription, 2' 1" by 1' 2" in two lines—

قَالَ الدِّينِيُّ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ مَنْ بَنَى مَسْجِدًا لِلَّهِ دَنَى اللَّهُ تَعَالَى لَهُ سَبْعِينَ قَصْرًا فِي الْجَنَّةِ دَنَى هَذَا الْمَسْجِدِ
 فِي عَهْدِ السُّلْطَانِ ابْنِ السُّلْطَانِ شَمْسِ الدِّينِ وَالدِّينِ ابْنِ الْمَطْفَرِ
 يَوْسُفَ شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ ابْنِ بَارِكشَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ ابْنِ مُحَمَّدِ شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ دَنَى هَذَا الْمَسْجِدِ خَالِ اعْظَمَ وَحَاقِ اعْظَمَ
 مَرْجَاهُ خَالِ اِتْلَاكَ دَاتِ اَعْلَى بَنَارِيْمَ عَزَّوَجَلَّ مَا مِنْ مَرْجَاهُ حَمْسَ وَثَمَانِيَةَ

TRANSLATION.

'The Prophet (on whom be peace) has said. 'He who builds a mosque for God, will have seventy castles built for him by God in Paradise.' This mosque was built in the time of the king, the son of a king, who was the son of a king,⁸ Shamsaddunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Yûsuf Shâh, the king, son of Bârbak Shâh, the king, son of Mahmûd Shâh, the king. This mosque was built by the great Khân, the exalted Khâqân Marjâd Khân, the *atabeg* of the high person. On the 13th day of the blessed month Ramazân 885 (17th November 1480)'

In Ravenshaw's book the mistakes of Mr Blochmann are reproduced. Blochmann has also published three other inscriptions of Yûsuf Shâh, of the years 882 (*Journal As Soc Beng* vol XLII, p 275), 884 (*ib* p 276), and 885 (*ib* vol XLIV, p 293), they are from Panduah or the neighbourhood of Dhâka. The information about Yûsuf Shâh which the histories furnish is very meagre.

⁸ يَزِيدُ

⁹ This rectification occurs also on coins

8 Over the central door of the small golden mosque in Gaur (Ravenshaw, plate xxii) is an inscription. One corner of the stone which contained the date has been broken away in three lines (dimensions 9 feet by 1' 8")—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال الله تعالى انما يعمر مساجد الله من امن بالله واليوم الآخر واقام الصلوة
واوى الزكوة ولم يجش الا الله فعسى اولئك ان يكونوا من المهتدين وقال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني
مسجداً لله بنى الله له بيتاً في الجنة مثله وعمارة هذا المسجد الجامع
في عهد سلطان السلاطين سيد السادات مدد السعادات ارحم المسلمين والمسلمات معالي كلمات الحق
والحساب المريد نايب الدين المجاهد في سبيل الرحمن حلفه الله بالحق والبرهان عزت الاسلام والمسلمين
علاء الدين والدین
انورالمظفر حسن شاه السلطان الحسنى حله الله ملكه وسلطانه بنى هذا المسجد الجامع حالماً محلاً
مدوناً على الله الولي محمد بن علي المجاهد لخطاب مجلس المجالس مجلس منصور بنصره الله تعالى
في الدنيا والآخرة و تاريخه المدموم في الرابع عشر من شهر الله المبارک رحب رحب قدرة سد [٥ ...

TRANSLATION

'In the name, etc. God Almighty has said "He only shall repair," etc (*Qorán*, Sûr ix, 18) And the Prophet (may God's blessing rest upon him!) has said "He who builds," etc.

The erection of this Jâmi' masjid took place in the time of the king of kings, the Sayyid of the Sayyids, the fountain of auspiciousness, the most merciful of the faithful men and women, who exalts the words of truth and good deeds, who is assisted by the assistance of the Supreme Judge, who strives on the road of the merciful, the viceregent of God, with proof and testimony, the defender of Islâm and the Muslims, 'Alâ addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Husain Shâh, the king, the descendant of Husain—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! This Jâmi' masjid was built, from pure and sincere motives, and from trust in God, by the Wali Muhammad, son of 'Alî, who has the title of *majlis al majâlis majlis-i mansûr*—may God render him victorious in this world and the next! Its auspicious date is the 14th of God's blessed month of Rajab—may its value increase! of the year . . .

Husain Shâh reigned from 899 till 929 A. H., we possess many inscriptions of his reign. I have noted 29. This one has been published in Ravenshaw's work, p. 38.

9 From Shâh N'imat Allâh's *âsilâna* near the Jâmi' masjid in the Fîrôzpûr suburb of Gaur. Two lines (dimensions 3 feet by 1' 4")—

بنى هذا الباب الحصص في عهد السلطان المعظم المكرم علاء الدين والدین انورالمظفر حسن شاه
السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسنى حله الله ملكه وسلطانه في سنة ثمان وعشرون وستمائة

TRANSLATION

'This gate of the fort was built in the time of the exalted and liberal king, 'Alâ-addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Husain Shah the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf,

the descendant of Husain—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! In the year 918 (*began the 19th March 1512*).¹⁰

10 At the same place two other inscriptions have been found containing only passages from the *Qorán*. Both are richly ornamented with varied patterns of flowers and arabesques. The first measures 6' 5" by 9 in, on four lines, *Qorán*, Sûr vi, 59, viii, 19, xxxv, 2, xlviii, 1, 2, 3, etc, and in three circles the words *Yá rahmán, yá Alláh, yá rahím* are inscribed, the second measures 2' 4" by 8 in, and contains *Qorán*, Sûr. lxii, 9, 10, 11.

11. Over the centre arch of the Qadam-Rasûl masjid outside, in three lines (dimensions 2' 3" by 1' 6")—

قال الله تعالى من جاء بالحسنة فله عشر امثالها بنى هذه الصفة المطهرة النبي فيها حجر عليه اثر قدم رسول
صلى الله عليه وسلم السلطان

المعظم المكرم السلطان بن السلطان ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر نصرشاه السلطان بن حسن شاه السلطان
بن سعد اشرف الحسيني خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه واعلى امره و شانه في سنة سبع و ثلثين و سعمائة

TRANSLATION.

'God Almighty has said "He who brings a good work shall have ten like it" (*Qorán*, Sûr. vi, 161) This pure dais on which is a stone with the foot-print of the Prophet—may God's blessing be upon him!—was erected by the great, generous king, the king, the son of a king, Nâsiraddunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Nusrat Shâh, the king, son of Husain Shâh, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf, the descendant of Husain—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule and elevate his condition and his dignity! In the year 937 (*began the 25th August 1530*)'

Mr. Blochmann has remarked that these inscriptions rectify the *Riyâz* and Stewart, who give as the date of the completion of the Qadam-Rasûl mosque A H 939

12 From Shâh Ni'mat Allâh's *âsitâna*, not *in situ*, in one line (dimensions 2' 1" by 7 in)—

قال الله تعالى ان المساجد لله بنى هذا الباب حاشيها في الدار عزة من دار الحق سنة سبعين و سعمائة

TRANSLATION

'God Almighty has said "surely the mosques belong to God" (*Qorán*, Sûr. lxxii, 18). The builder of this gateway is Khânjahân In the beginning of Zu'l Hijja, 970' (*22nd July 1563*).¹²

The inscription falls in the reign of Ghiyâs addîn Abu'l Muzaffar Jalâl Shah of Bengal, 14 years before the conquest of Bengal by Akbar. Khânjahân was in 982 governor of Orisâ (*Alkhar nâma*, vol I, p. 161 var), he was therefore the successor of Lôdi Khân, *amîr al umarâ* of Sulaimân, king of Bengal, who was put to death by his sovereign the year before (*Badaunî*, vol II, p. 174). In the Moghul empire the title of Khânjahân was the next to that of Khânkhânân (*Ma'âsir*, I, 649)

¹⁰ This was published in *Jour As Soc Beng*, vol XLII, p. 295, and repeated in Ravenshaw's *Gaur*, p. 88, No. 19

¹¹ There is no reason for Blochmann's *etc*, who has read faultily

¹² Published in Ravenshaw's *Gaur*, p. 36. The number *tis* is not legible on my rubbing

13 From the Jâmi' masjid in the Firôzpûr suburb, evidently a fragmentary inscription (size 1' 4" by 2 in), which contains *Qorân*, Sûr lxii, 5 (it begins in the middle of the verse with the words [*kamis* | *li'l humâri*]).

IV — MAHDÎPÛR (VILLAGE) ¹³

14 The following inscription is now fixed in the modern mosque at Mahdîpûr, it is arranged in four squares and measures 4' 4" by 10 in —

قال الله تعالى اما يعمر مساجد الله من امن بالله و اليوم الاحرام اقام الصلوة راتى الركوة ولم يحش الا الله
معسى اولئك ان يكبروا من المهتدين
وقال الله تعالى وان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و قال النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى
مسجدا لله تعالى بنى الله تعالى له نكبا فى الجنة
بنى هذا المسجد فى عهد السلطان ابن السلطان حلال الدين ابوالمظفر محمداً السلطان ابن
محمود شاه السلطان

وقد بنا السيد الاعظم سيد دستور بن سيد راحب فالحسنه ثمر جعله سر كند مولانا برحوردار ابن حاتم
عظم اسر حلال فى شهر المبارك رمضان سنة احدى و سبعين و مائتان

TRANSLATION

'God Almighty has said "He only shall repair," etc (*Qorân* Sûr ix, 18)

God Almighty has also said "verily, the mosques," etc (*Qorân*, Sûr. lxxii, 18)

The Prophet—on whom may rest God's blessing ' has said "He who builds a mosque," etc

This mosque was built in the time of the king, son of a king, Jalâl addunyâ wad-dîn Abu'l Muzaffar Path Shâh, the king, son of Mahmûd Shâh, the king Its builder was the exalted Sayyid, Sayyid Dastûr, son of Sayyid Râhat—through good deeds he has collected fruits for himself—at the head of the vault of Maulânâ Barkurdâr, son of the exalted Khân Taj Khân In the blessed month of Ramazân of the year 891' (*began the 31st August 1486*)

The letters being very closely written it is not easy to decipher the names This is the sixth inscription of Fath Shâh, who reigned from 886 till 893, the others fall in the years 886 from Bandar near Dhâkâ, (*Jour As Soc Beng*, vol XLII, p 282), 887 from Dhâmrai, north of Dhâkâ, (*ib*, vol XLI, p 109), 888 from Bikrampûr, Dhâkâ District (*ib*, vol XLII, p 284), 889 from Sunârgâon, (*ib*, vol XLII, p 285), and 892 from Sâtganw, (*ib*, vol XXXIX, p 293)

15 The following inscription of the same king has lost the date, it is from the Challa masjid (size 5' 7" by 4 in), one line—

حلال الدين ابوالمظفر محمداً سلطان ابن محمود شاه السلطان حلد الله ملكه و سلطانه راعلى امره
رشاه سعبي حان الاعظم و حاقان المعظم الراجى بالملك المنال حاتم عظم دولتهان وزير لشكر تقبل الله منه
فى سنة اربع

¹³ See facsimile No 2

TRANSLATION

'Jalâl addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Fath Shâh, the king, son of Mah-mûd Shâh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule and elevate his condition and his rule' Through the exertion of the exalted Khân and the high Khâqân, who trusts upon the beneficent Lord, the exalted Khân Daulat Khân, the wazîr of the army—may God accept from him (*his prayers*)¹⁴ In the year'

16 From the modern mosque, as No 14 One line (size 1' 5" by 7 in), a fragment—

الدنيا رالدين اذالمطر حسين شاه السلطان بنى هذا المسجد ملك يريد معطم طعر حال بن ملك
سررب . . . در سهر رباع الحر [؟] فى الرابع سنة . . .

TRANSLATION

[Alâ-]addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Husain Shâh. This mosque was built by Malik Yazîd Mu'azzam Zafar Khân, son of Malik . . . head of the guardians . . . in the month of Rabî' al âkhir, in the year'

As the upper part of the left side is broken away, it is not possible to read correctly the name of the builder Nothing is known about the original place of the stone which bears the inscription

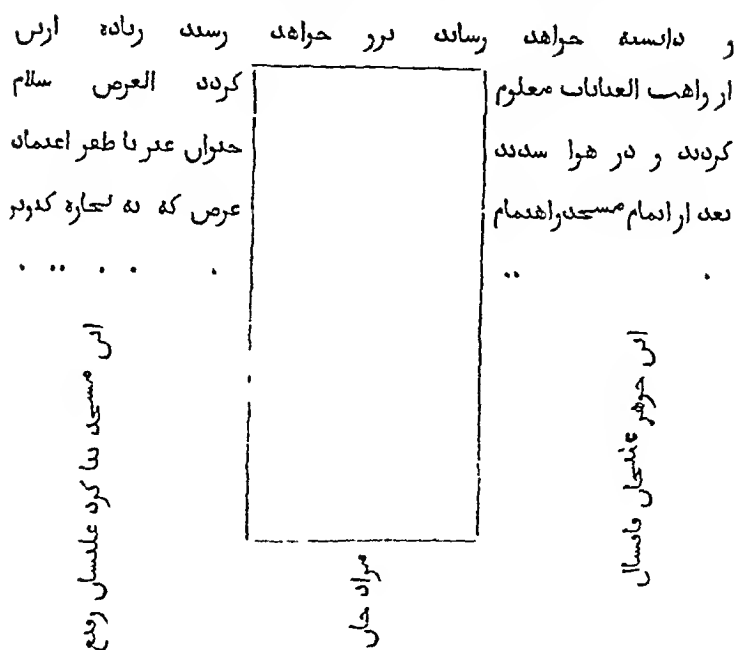
V—KHANDKARTOLA (SHÉRPŪR)

17. In the jungal in the midst of the deserted village of Khandkartola, about two miles south of the Shérpŭr municipality, are the ruins of the Khema masjid Two slabs of equal size (4' 7" by 2' 4" by 3") bear the inscriptions, the middle portions of the stone being carved in a vase pattern in one and in a square in the other The right slab is cracked in two or three places, the cracks seem to be very old As Mr H Lee has remarked on the inscription form, these slabs were Hindu gods originally, but the gods have been turned round and the inscriptions cut on their backs The holes were probably made to destroy the sanctity of the gods. About 500 yards distant are the remains of the Bâdishâhî masjid, both are in bad repair and will soon go to ruins

The inscription on the left side runs—

با مطهر العجائب
مانده روز در سینه ۲۴ ماه ذوالحج سنة ۹۸۹
با سعابر نواب مرزا مراد خان مسجد اعظم کرد درم روز
سه سینه ۲۶ بهر حال دراز مسجد مناره فقیر عبد الصمد در کتور
سنروام ارخوا فرد امدد و سلام کردند و بعد از منارکندی عرض
کردند که از منکه منارکه نام رس ولایه دارم برای ما و اصحاب ما درین
مسجد اسبابه حکم خواهد فرمود فقیر کعب خرا نه اما مسجد
فرد عمدتا از مردم زمانه بهر حال درسد کعبه شرکه دند

¹⁴ In the Quran, *qabala* occurs in the same manner with out the addition of an object



TRANSLATION

'O (*Thou*) who manifestest spiritual wonders! On Monday, the 24th of month Zu'l Hijja A 989, (19th January 1582), the Nawâb Mîrzâ Murâd Khân with sacred observances made the beginning of this mosque. The second day—, on Tuesday the 26th (*sic*), the *faqîr* Abdassamad comes for the sake of the mosque. Two milk-white pigeons came down from the air and saluted him, and after the benediction¹⁵ they said 'we are from the blessed Makka, will you command for us and our friends a place of rest in this mosque?' The *faqîr* said, 'Why not? But the mosque . . . lest oppression . . . should come from the men of the world' They said 'every one who purposely—brings it on him it will come. More than that will be known from the bestower of bounties' They saluted and disappeared in the air After the completion of the mosque the petition which the pigeons

This mosque has been built by the noble exalted Murâd Khân, son of Jauhar 'Alî Khân Qâqshâl'

Murâd Qâqshâl in 988 became commander of 1,000 and received the title of Khan (*Albarnâma*, vol III, pp 304, 305) In 991 he fought against Ma'sûm Khân Kâbulî (p 417)

It is well known that the mosque at Makka abounds in flocks of wild pigeons which are considered as inviolable and are called *habûtar* (*hamâm*)-i *haram*, 'pigeons of the sacred boundary' Such were those Makka pigeons which begged an asylum in Murâd Khân's mosque Besides the impossibility of uniting the numbers 24 and 26 to each other without altering, a chronological difficulty seems to occur in this inscription The 24th Zu'l Hijja A H 989 namely was not Monday but a Friday, and the 26th of the same month was not Tuesday, but a Sunday I cannot make out these contradictions In A H 988 the 24th Zu'l Hijja fell on a Monday, but the number 989 is quite clear on the rubbing

¹⁵ This form is not so rare as Ruchert indicates *Grammatik, Poetik and Rhetorik* d. Peiser, 2nd edition, 1. Pertsch, p 249, note 1 Confer also 'binubarakbad ishtighâlânshk',—*Ma âsir al Umaru*, vol I, p 121

18 From the Bâdîshâhî masjid, 18 lines (size 2 3" by 1' 5".)—

قصرًا في الأحره سنة الف : اثنى و اربعين الله كما في في كل مسلمين

TRANSLATION

'In the name of the merciful and compassionate God' . . .

Sadr Jahân, son of Miyân Jayû, son of Yâzîd, son of Dâûd, says—

The mosque in the town of Shêrpûr has been built through the benefit of confidence in the forgiving God in the time of Shâhjahân, the famous conqueror of the world, in the year 1042 (*began the 19th July 1632*) God Almighty has said "And whosoever relies on God," *etc* (*Qorân*, Sûr Ixv, 3, 4) The Prophet (on whom may rest God's blessing!) has said "He who builds a mosque in the world," *etc* A 1012

This mosque has been built in the age of Shâhjahân in the *Sûba* of Bengal by Mu'azzam Khan in the year 1042 Allâh is a sufficiency for all the faithful'

Sadr Jahân's poetry is not of the best. He was not Chief Sadr (*Sadr-i Jahân*) as Sadr Jahân was who filled that office under Akbar and under Jahângir and whose name coincided with the title of his dignity. If we may be allowed to judge of his poetical abilities from the verses of the above inscription—which to be sure are not worse than thousands of others—it is to be hoped that he imitated the example of his name-sake above mentioned who also composed poems at first, but later gave up poetry (*ma'âsir al Umarâ*, vol III, pp 350, 351).

Mu'azzam Khân or, as his name properly was, 'Azam Khân Mîr Muhammad Bâqir Irâdat Khân became Governor of Bengal after Qâsim Khân in 1041. In the *Ruyâz* (pp 207, 208) it is related that he could not keep the province in order as it ought to be. The inhabitants of Assam (*Ashâm*), neighbours of Bengal, plundered the frontiers unpunished (cf also *Munt allubâb*, vol II, p 132), they defeated 'Abd al Islâm with a great army of infantry and thousands of horse and made him prisoner with a large booty. After that, A H 1044, 'Azam Khân was dismissed and his post bestowed upon Islam Khân, who undertook successful campaigns against the Râja of Assam. 'Azam Khân was appointed Governor of Allahâbâd. Shêrpûr which is mentioned in the last inscription

is the so-called Shêrpûr Mûrcha (in Elliot-Dowson Shêrpûr Mîrja) The *Āin-i Akbarî*, vol I, p 405, identifies it with Mîhmânshâhî, stating its revenues at 2,207,715 *dāms* Its fort Salîmnagar was built by Râja Mân Singh, Governor of Bengal, in the 40th year of Akbar's reign *Ākbar-nāma*, vol III, p 697, it was so named in honour of Prince Salim, afterwards the emperor Jahângir Shêrpûr was always an important place and a base of operations for the imperial troops

VI — BĪHÂR

The following six Bihâr inscriptions belong to four different portions of the history of that province If we follow Blochmann's division (*Journal of As Soc Beng*, vol. XLII, p 245), the two first inscriptions fall into the 'Initial period,' or the reigns of the Governors of Lak'hnautî appointed by the Dîhlî sovereigns, from the conquest of Bengal by Muhammad Bakhtyâr Khuljî, viz, from A H 600 to 739, when Fakhr addîn Abu'l Muzaffar Mubârak Shâh, armour-bearer to Bahram Khân, the Dîhlî Governor of Sunârgâon, on his master's death, proclaimed himself ruler and established an independent dynasty in Bengal But Bihâr was detached from Bengal and remained to the Dîhlî empire till the foundation of the Jaunpûr kingdom, A H 796. This is the second period of the history of Bihâr The third under the Sharqî rulers lasted till 881, when Jaunpûr again became subject to Dîhlî To this fourth period belongs one inscription (No 22) while Nos 21 and 24 are of the second, and No 23 of the third period In-scription Nos 19, 20, 21, and 23 have been published by Blochmann.

19 On a fine slab of basalt leaning against the wall of the Chota Dargâh, measuring 3 feet by 8 in , it contains two lines—

بني هـد المسجد في بونه السلطان الاعظم سمس الدنيا والدن ابى المظفر مبرور شاه السلطان وادام اماره
حاجان الرمال المحاطب بحاجان
ادام الله طلالهما العدد الزائف ناله ولكرمه الرحي احقر الحلاف دهرام بن حاجى باب الله عليه رعم
لوالده في العره من رحب سنة خمس و عسرة سدعمانه

TRANSLATION.

'This mosque was built in the reign of the great Sultân Shams addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Fîrôz Shâh, the king, and during the governorship of the Khâqân of the age, known as Hâtîm Khân—may God cause their shadows to last!—by the slave, who trusts in God and hopes for His mercy, the meanest of creatures, Bahram, son of Hajî—may God forgive him and may He pardon his parents!—In the beginning of the month of Rajab of the year 715' (1st October 1315)

Hatim Khân was a son of Fîrôz Shâh, as we see from the inscription published by Blochmann (*ut sup*) He must have been governor of Bihâr during the years 709—715.

20. Over the gateway of the *Sukûnat* or residency of the Imperial governor in Bihâr, was a beautiful inscription¹⁶ (now in the Bayley Sarai) of three lines, measuring 4 feet by 1' 10"—.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
شاه تاجد عماره ابى درواره على عالم اراى راين طاب ربيع ملك ساسى
درام حلاف حلقه جهانده اسمان ناره حدانكل سلاطى

¹⁶ See facsimile No 3

کهنای ورمای ورمای عالمی دى الامى والامى الاهل الامان وارث ملك سليمان ابراهيم محمد بن
علاء السلطان خلد خلافته سلطانیه فی العرة من السهرالمبارک رمضان سنه [] ابی ر بلنس وسمانه

TRANSLATION

'In the name of the merciful and compassionate God

This high and world-adorning gate, and this lofty, heaven-touching portico were renewed in the reign of the Khalifa, the asylum of the world, whose court is the heaven, the lord of the kings of the universe, the ruler of mankind, who gives security and safety to the people of the Faith, the heir of the kingdom of Salomon, Abu'l Mujahid Muhammad, son of Tughluq Shâh, the king—May his kingdom and rule be perpetuated ' In the beginning of the blessed month of Ramayân, 732' (27th May, 1332)

Muhammad Shâh's inscriptions, which have been published up till now, are of the years 726 (*Proc of the As Soc Beng* for 1873, p 199), 732 (*Proceedings* for 1874, p 72), and 737 (*Journal of the As Soc Beng*, vol XLII, p 299),—the last also being from Bihâr

21 On the Dargâh of Ibrâhîm Abû Bakr Malik Bayyû's shrine, which lies on a hill to the north-west of the town, dimensions 5' 1" by 1' 2" two lines—

بهد دل شاه جهان کور	تکی نادا در بهار ملک برور
شه شاه جهان درور سلطان	کی در شاهان کینی کسب ویرور
ملک سرب ملک نرو برهم	کی بد در دس حو ابراهیم کس تور
نماد دى الحقه یکسند ار دهر	ندسب حو سدره از مهر درن سوز
بهرت هعصد و نینه سه ناریم	مسافر شد ملک در حن ابی رور
حداردا بعصل حویس برور	کنی اسان حساب احرین رور

TRANSLATION

Metre *Haazaj*—

'In the time of the reign of the world-conquering Shâh (may the power of the new-year's day be in Bihâr¹), the king of the world, Fîrôz, the king who was victorious over the kings of the universe The king of virtue Malik Bayyû Ibrâhîm, who in the faith was as zealous as Abraham, in the month of Zi'l Hijja, on a Sunday, of the time when thirteen sun-burnt (days were passed) (?), in the year 753 A H (20th January 1353), travelled on that day to Paradise O Lord, in Thy kindness, make the account of the last day light for him !'

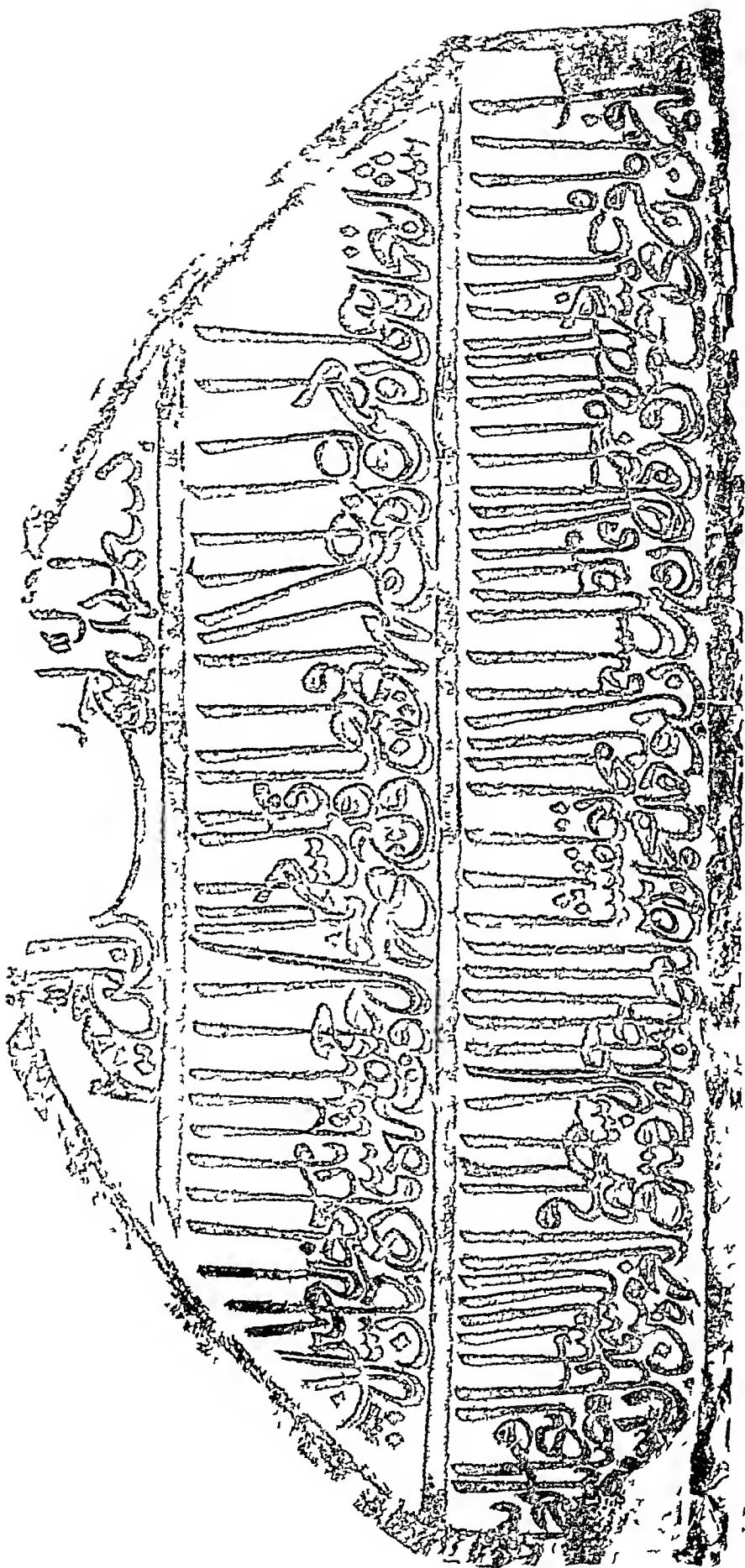
Respecting Malik Bayyû, who is, *par excellence*, the saint of Bihâr, see *Journal As Soc Beng*, vol XLII, p 300

22 From the Bayley Sarâi at Bihâr Two lines (size 1' 5" by 8 in) —

ناریم ناریم ماء رحب رحب قدره سنه سدرن تسعمایه ناران شهید پسر خاکی اسکان مرسحل [?]
درین مقام هغه ارناع و حوص بناء ایضا برسد برور حقه فاحه کل ادا لنا [س] [?]

¹ This unique spelling, instead of *kih*, occurs several times in the inscriptions

NO 3 BIHAR INSCRIPTION OF A H 732



J Burgess, impres

Scale 1-5th of original

TRANSLATION

'On the date of the 11th of month Rajab—may its honour increase!—of the year 960 (*the 23rd January 1553*) Nārān Shakhīd, son of Hājī Ishāq . .

On this place . . . ¹⁸

23. From a mosque which stood opposite to the Chotā Takya on the other bank of the Adyānādī, in Bihār The mosque has disappeared, only a large square stone platform is left, where the slab was found The inscription is in two parts, each measuring 3' 5" by 1' 2" and bearing two lines—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال عليه السلام من بنى
مسجدا لله بنا الله له بنا في الحنة
سُد بُنْدُو الهی رار طعلد مصطفی
مسجد حمعه بعد شاه دس برور بنا
شاه محمود اس ابراهیم شاه عادل انك
كشور ار شاهل ستاند باج نكشد بركد
دابی اس مسجد ان مسند شریع هسب كر
داب ناكش قره العین بنی ورمرضا
سرور و صدر جهان اس سَنده احمك كه سَد
ملك و ملك و دین و دولت را درار السجا
كرده فرمایش بناء حدر ملك الشرب كان
مقطع دارد درین خطه نصیر اس بها
ان بنا شد استوار ار طاب كسری در بهار
كعبه در عظم برقع لب معمور عا
عمره ماه رحب ند هیصد و چهل و هف سال
كادرین مسجد امام شد نتایید خدا

TRANSLATION

Metre. *Ramal*—

'In the name, etc He upon whom be peace (*the Prophet*) says "He who builds etc."

By divine grace and for the sake of Mustafā (*Muhammad*), the Jum'a mosque was built in the reign of the faith-nourishing king Shāh Mahmūd, son of Ibī āhīm, the just king who takes realms from kings, (*and*) gives beggars crowns. The builder of this mosque is the throne of law, who is pure in nature, the beloved of the Prophet and of Murtaza ('*Alī*'), the chief and the lord of the world, the perfect Sayyid, with whom realm and faith, religion and empire, take refuge. The *muqta'*, the David¹⁹ in this district, Naṣīr, son of Bahā, ordered this building (*to be erected*), the best in the Eastern kingdom (*Jaunpūr*). This building in Bihār is stronger than the portico of Kīsrā, it is a Ka'ba in grandeur, and in loftiness the edifice of sublimity. It was in the beginning of Rajab, of the year 847²⁰ (*25th October 1443*), when, with the assistance of God, the (*first*) *iqāma* took place in this mosque'

The metrical Bihār inscriptions are all remarkable for their very bad poetry. This is the fourth known inscription of Mahmūd Shāh of Jaunpūr, the others being dated in the years A H 847 (from Bihār), 850 (above No 1), and 859 (also from Bihār, published by Blochmann)²¹

¹⁸ I have not succeeded in making out the meaning of the second line

¹⁹ In this inscription the letters *re* and *dāl* often cannot be separated Blochmann has read *dāwar*

²⁰ The form *hisad* instead of *hashtad*, is not at all, seldom in Indian inscriptions

²¹ The Mahmūd Shah inscription on a stone in the Hindu temple at Bedīban is very dubious, see General Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Reports*, vol. XVI, p. 25, Plate 17

..... مقدار
..... رقم حائزادہ سلعل
..... شمار کرکار
..... شمار نار از ماه محرم می شحر
..... دمبراز تاریخ شحرر شعصد و ناسب و هعب
..... اسمکار اهل سدع و کار هعبا اعتبار [۶]

Metre Ramal—

VII.—MUNICIPAL

In the *Ain* (vol. I, p. 419) Munêr is registered with 89,039 *bighas*, 15 *biswas*, 7,049,179 *dâms*, (say) 325,380 *dâms*. Bâbar and Sikandar Shâh Lôdî are related to have made pilgrimages to the shrine of Shaikh Yahyâ, father of Shaikh Sharaf addîn (*Târikh-i Dâûdî* in Elliot-Dowson's *History*, vol IV, p. 462, Bâbar's *Memoirs*, p. 478), from whom the *pargana* occasionally is named *Munêr-i Shaikh Yahyâ*. Shaikh Sharaf addîn was also a renowned saint, in his honour his disciple Ibrâhîm Qiwâm Farûqî has called his dictionary *Sharafnâma* (*Journal of As. Soc. Beng.*, vol XXXVII, p 7). Munêr now belongs to the district of Patna, subdivision Danâpûr.²³

محمد الله در عهد شه الحب
 بهیں مسجد کہ نڈ نانی اول
 حو حمان حطراو
 رھج رھصد رھشب ر برن برن
 شہ محمرون سلطان مہذب
 حلیل الحق راقطاب معرفت
 عمارت کرن نار ار سر مرتب
 عصمت دار بنادش بو ای رب

²² No information is given about the places where the following three Münster inscriptions have been found

TRANSLATION

Metre *Hazaj*—

'By God's grace (*it was*) in the time of the most noble king Mahmūd, the sincere monarch, when this fine mosque, whose first builder was Jalīl al Haqq, one of the confidential chiefs, was rebuilt and newly adorned by Hammād Khātir

It was in 798 A H (*began the 16th October 1395*) Preserve its foundation in security, O God'

This and the Mahmūd Shāh inscription of A H 799 (*Journ of As Soc Beng vol XLII, p 304*), are valuable, because they show that Nusrat Khān, the opposing king, who was advanced as a claimant to the throne by Sa'adat Khān A H 797, was not acknowledged in Bihār. It is not easy to form a correct picture of the complicated conditions then existing in the empire. Khwāja-i Jahān (*Malik ashsharq Khwāja-i Sarāi*), the founder of the Jaunpūr kingdom, had got into his possession the provinces of Qanauj, Karah, Audh, Sandēla, Dalamau, Bahrāich, Bihār, and Jaunpūr, the emperor Mahmūd was confined for some years only to old Dīhlī, the fortress of Sirī, and the Jāhānpanāh, while the districts of the Doāb, of Sambhal, Panīpat, Jhajhar and Rohtak were occupied by Nusrat Khān, viz, Sultan Nasiraddīn, who had his residence at Firōz-ābād. Other provinces perpetually changed their masters, ambitious *amīrs* and *malīks*, who combatted each other angrily. The harvest was fully ripe for the bloody reaper Timūr.

26 Three lines (size 5' 9" by 1' 4")—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
وسبق الديدن انقرا رثهم الى الجنة رموا حتى اذا حاروها و سحق ابنائها وقال لهم حردتنا سلام عليكم طمتم
' نحلرنا خالدین

كُنْتُ فِي فِكْرِ سَنَ هَذَا النَّابِ كَانَ قَلْبِي بِحَوْلِهِ سَاكِنًا
قَالَ تَعْلِي عَلَى طَرِيْقِ الْأَمْرِ قُلْ مَنْ نَحَلُّهُ كُلُّ امِينًا
حَرَمٌ دَرِ رَوْضَةٍ مَعْدَسِ شَاهِ رَوَى رَعْبُ بَهَادٍ [دُرِ اَتْمَامِ]
سَالِ الْحَامِشِ ارْ حَرَمِ حَسَمِ حَرَمٌ نَهْرِ اِيْنِ حَسَمَتِهِ مَعَامِ
نَدَعَا لَبَ كَسْرَدُهُ رَ كَعَا دُرِ دَوْلَتِ كَسَا [نَدَ نَادِ دَرَامِ]

TRANSLATION

'There is no God, etc But those who fear their Lord, etc (*Qur'ān, Sūi xxxix, 73*)

Metre *Ramāl*—

I was thinking to make out the chronogram of this gate, my heart was quiet by His (God's) power. My mind said by way of command "say, who entered it was safe"

Metre *Khafīf*—

When the gate of the holy sepulchre of the king raised its face towards completion, I asked the mind the year of its finishing. For this auspicious place the mind opened the lip of blessing, and said, "may the door of power remain open for ever."

Both *tārīkhs* give the year 1022 (*began the 21st February 1613*)

27 Three lines (10' 9" by 1' 3")—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم - لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله اللهم صلى على محمد وعلى آل محمد وبرك
سلم اسعد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له واسهد ان محمد عبده ورسوله قال الله تعالى ان
ارسلنا نبيا لم يصح للناس لئلا يهدى بكم مناركا وهدى للعالمين فبه ايات تنان مقام ابراهيم ومن دخله كان
رميا والله على الدنس حتم الدنس من استطاع الله سبيلا ومن كفر فان الله غيى عن العالمين
جو ايش عالي سراى كعبه تمثال جهان ارا بعض صانع داور نامى انصا كرده
دل عاصى همى حسب از حرد سال بنای او حرد كعبا حو ابراهيم نب الله بنا كرده

TRANSLATION

'In the name, *etc.* There is no God, *etc.* O God, have mercy on Muhammad and on the descendants of Muhammad I testify that there is no God, but God who is alone and has no partner. I testify also that Muhammad is His slave and His Apostle God Almighty has said, "Verily, the first house, *etc.*" (*Qor'ān*, Sûr iii, 90-91).

(*Metie Hazay*)—

When this high, Ka'ba-like, world-adorning edifice, through the benevolence of the powerful Creator, was completely erected, the heart of 'Âsî was consulting the mind for the year of its erection The mind said, "just as Abraham has built the house of God"

According to the *abjad* reckoning the *tārīkh* gives 1028 A.H (*began the 19th, December 1618*)

The *tārīkh* betrays the name of the builder, *viz* Ibrâhîm Khân Fath Jang, son of Ghiyâs Beg of Tahrân. This combination relies upon the very similar *tārīkh* in the '*Haft Qulzum*' (Ruckert-Pertsch, p 223) *banâ-yî Ka'ba-ya sânî nihâd Ibrâhîm*, 'the erection of the second Ka'ba has been made by Ibrâhîm,' where Ibrâhîm Khân Fath Jang is expressly named as builder He became governor of Bihâr A.H. 1024, and afterwards of Bengal A.H. 1028, and stayed there till 1032, when he was killed in the battle with Prince Shahjahân The *tārīkh* of the *Haft Qulzum* gives the date 1040, but as Ibrâhîm Khân had already died in 1032, this date cannot be correct Perhaps the *izâjat* after *banâ* should not be reckoned, so that the year would be 1030

XXIII —BENARES COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF KARNADEVA.

THE [CHEDI] YEAR 793

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN

This inscription was first brought to public notice, about eighty-five years ago, by Captain Wilford, who, in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. IX, page 108, gave the following account of it —

“A few years ago (in 1801) this grant was found, at the bottom of an old well filled with rubbish, in the old fort of Benares. It is engraven upon two brass plates, joined by a ring, to which is affixed the Imperial seal. It is of the same size nearly, and in the same shape, with that found at Mongu. The writing is also the same, or at least without any material deviation. The Imperial seal is about 3 inches broad on it, in *bas-relievo*, is Pārvatī with four arms, sitting, with her legs crossed. Two elephants are represented, one on each side of her, with their trunks uplifted. Below is the bull, Nandi, in a reclining posture, and before him is a basket. Between Pārvatī and the bull, is written *Śrī-Kaṁṇa-deva*.¹ The grant is dated the second year of his new Era, and also of his reign, answering to the Christian year 102. . The ancestors of Śrī-Kaṁṇa-deva, mentioned in the grant, were, first, his father Gāṅgeya-deva, with the title of *Vijaya-kantaka*. He died in a loathsome dungeon. He was the son of Kōkalla-deva, whose father was Lakshmana-raja-deva.”

The plates, thus described by Captain Wilford, were lost for a long time, but they were rediscovered about 1862, when, through the kindness of Mr. Griffith, then Principal of the Benares College, Sir A. Cunningham received an impression of the inscription, together with a transcript which had been prepared by one of the students of the College.² Both were made over to Dr. F. E. Hall, who now at my request has placed them at my disposal,³ and has thus enabled me to publish the text of this inscription the original of which has again been lost sight of. Fortunately the impression, which has thus come into my hands, has been prepared with great care, so that the loss of the original plates will be less felt than would have been the case otherwise.

The inscription is on two plates which appear to measure about 1' 4" broad by 11½" high each, and each of which is inscribed on one side only. Each plate contains a round hole, about ½" in diameter, for a ring to which was affixed the seal, described by Wilford. The plates probably are thick and substantial, for, to judge from the impression, the letters must have been deeply engraved. The first plate contains twenty-eight lines of very close writing, the second only twenty lines. The writing is well preserved almost throughout, so that, with the exception of about half a dozen *alshayas*, the actual reading of the text is hardly at all doubtful. The size of the letters is between ⅓" and ⅔". The characters are Nāgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs, the 11th century A.D. The language is Sanskrit, excepting a verse in line 13, which is in

¹ I give the names which occur in this extract as we should spell them now.

² See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. IX, page 82. In justice to myself I must say here that the transcript, mentioned above, has not been of any use to me.

³ I have to thank my friend Professor Lanman for having personally communicated to Dr. Hall my request, which has been granted most readily.

Māhārāshtrī Prākṛit Excepting the introductory *om om namah Śivāya* and the words *kim-vāpuraṇa* in line 13, lines 1-32, which mainly contain the genealogy of the grantor, are in verse, the rest of the inscription, being the formal part of the grant, is in prose, but includes six of the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses, in lines 44-45 — As regards orthography, *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, the dental sibilant is used instead of the palatal everywhere, except in the word *śi*, which ordinarily is spelt correctly, *lsh* is employed instead of *lhy* in *saulsha*, line 7, and *lshālam*, line 27, and *ly* instead of *lsh* in *haukyeyako*, line 26, *j* and *y* are confounded, e.g., in *parjjanaishit* (for *paryyanaishit*), line 10, *durjjasah* (for *duyyaśah*), line 27, and *anuya* (for *anuja*), in lines 16 and 22, and the dental nasal is employed instead of the lingual in *āmnya*, line 8, and *lāunya*, line 20, and instead of *anusiāra* in *vansa*, in lines 6 and 45. In addition to these, the inscription contains many other errors, due to the carelessness of the writer or engraver. Thus, the signs of *anusiāra* and *visarga* and whole *aksharas* (or even groups of *aksharas*) are often omitted, short vowels are used instead of long ones, and medial *e* and *o* are employed instead of *ai* and *au*. Such and other mistakes, too numerous to enumerate here, occur especially frequently in the bottom lines of the first plate, and they have sometimes rendered it impossible for me to restore the correct wording of the original text. Nevertheless, there is no doubt whatever as to what historical facts are intended to be recorded in the poetical part of the inscription, and I am particularly glad to be able to state that the date of this document is so clearly written and engraved as to remove any doubts which may have been entertained in this regard.

The inscription is one of the *Paramabhattachāraka Mahārājadhīrāja* and *Parameśvara*, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the lord over Trīkalīnga, the illustrious Kāṇadeva, who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhattachāraka Mahārājadhīrāja* and *Parameśvara*, the illustrious Vāmadeva (lines 33-34). The epithets which are here officially applied to Kāṇadeva are the same which are used with reference to Nārasimhadeva in the Lāl-Pahād rock inscription⁴ of the Chedi year 909, to his younger brother Jayasimhadeva in the Rewari copper-plate grant⁵ of the *Mahārājaka* Kīrtivāman of the Chedi year 926, and to Jayasimhadeva's son Vijayasimhadeva in the Kumbhī copper-plate grant⁶ of the Chedi year 932, and which apparently were applied also to Kāṇadeva's immediate successor Yaśāhkāṇadeva in the Jabalpur copper-plate grant⁷ [of the Chedi year 874]. As regards the meaning of these epithets, I have already had occasion to state⁸ that I agree with Sir A. Cunningham in considering the term Trīkalīnga to denote, or to be an older name of, the province of Telīngana, but that I am unable to explain the exact significance of the phrase 'who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhattachāraka Mahārājadhīrāja* and *Parameśvara*, the illustrious Vāmadeva,' which we thus find employed with reference to five different kings. In accordance with ordinary usage, that phrase ought to mean that Vāmadeva was one of the ancestors of the princes who are said to have meditated on his feet, but none of the inscriptions of the Chedi

⁴ See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 212. The inscriptions of Nārasimhadeva, Jayasimhadeva and Vijayasimhadeva add *nijabhūjopār, ut āśvapati gajapati narapati śūyati ayādhipati*, after *Trīkalīngādhipati*.

⁵ See *ib.*, vol. XXII, page 226.

⁶ See *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXVI, page 119.

⁷ See above, page 5, *ib.*, page 7, line 16, the translation should have been 'And this [who] meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhattachāraka*, *Mahārājadhīrāja*, and *Parameśvara*, the illustrious Vāmadeva

⁸ See *Indian Antiquary* vol. XXVII, page 225.

rulers of Tripuri or Ratnapur mention a prince Vāmadeva in the genealogical lists which they contain

To proceed first with the prose part of the inscription, the king Karnadeva from his camp of victory,⁹ located at a place the name of which looks like Svasāga in the rubbing, (in lines 34-41) informs his queen, his son¹⁰ (or sons), his chief officials (among whom may be specially pointed out the *mahāpīamātāra*¹¹) and others, that, having bathed in the river Venī, worshipped the god Trilochana (Śiva), and performed the proper rites at the annual funeral ceremony in honour of his father Gāngeyadeva, on Saturday, the second lunar day of the dark half of Phālguna, he has granted the village of Susī¹² (or Susī) to the learned Viśvarūpa,—a son of Nāīyana, grandson of Vamana, and great-grandson of Maha,—a student of the Vajasaneya śākhā, who belonged to the Kausika *gotra*, and whose three *pravāsa*s were Audala, Devaīrāta and Vaisvamitra, and who or whose ancestors had come from the village of Vesāla. Karnadeva further (in lines 41-43) directs the inhabitants of Susī to make over to the donee all taxes and whatever else may be due to him by this donation, and he also, in six of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses (in lines 44-48), appeals to future rulers to keep the grant intact, and warns them not to resume it. The date of the deed with which the inscription ends is Monday, the 9th of the dark half of Phālguna of the year 793.

As regards the localities mentioned in the preceding paragraph, the only thing certain is, that the river Venī, near which Karnadeva was encamped when making the grant, and on the banks of which Svasāga (?) should be looked for, is the Wen-Ganga of the Central Provinces, which rises about 40 miles south of Jabalpur and flows in a southern direction, about 30 miles east of Nāgpur¹³. The villages of Susī and Vesāla¹⁴ I am unable to identify.

The date,—Monday, the 9th of the dark half of Phālguna of the year 793—must of course be referred to the Chedi or Kalachuri era, and I feel confident that its European equivalent is Monday, the 18th January¹⁵ A.D. 1042, as I have given it in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 216, and *ante*, vol. I, p. 33. Since I wrote my paper on the epoch of the Chedi era four years ago, I have ascertained from the best materials the exact reading of eleven out of the twelve Chedi dates which contain sufficient *data* for verification, and there can be no doubt that all these dates, without exception, work out satisfactorily, as dates in current years with the 26th August (= Āśvina-śudī 1¹⁶) A.D. 249, or as dates in expired years with the 5th September (also = Āśvina-śudī 1) A.D. 248 as the initial day of the era, and with the *pūṇimānta*

⁹ The Sanskrit for 'camp of victory' is *vijaya-lātaka*, for which Captain Wilford put *vijaya lantika*, and which he took to be a title of the King Gāngeyadeva. Wilford's *vijaya lantika* has found its way even into the St. Petersburg Dictionary.

¹⁰ Compare the Kumbhi copper plate, where, instead of *mahādevīm mahārājaputram*, we have *mahā ājñāsri(?) mahā śumāśrī Ajayasimhadeva*.

¹¹ See *ante*, vol. I, page 73, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXI, page 254.

¹² The original also gives the name of the district in which this village was situated, but I am not able to make out its proper reading.

¹³ See Plate I in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeol. Survey of India*, vol. XVII.

¹⁴ I hardly think that Vesāla could be the ancient Vaisali, the position of which is shown by Sir A. Cunningham in his *Ancient Geography of India*, vol. I, page 413, and Plate XI.

¹⁵ On this day the 9th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pūṇimānta* Phālguna ended 17h 9m after mean sunrise.

¹⁶ Writing at Nāgpur (which once must have belonged to the Chedi Kings), on the 30th October 1799, Colebrooke, whose words may certainly be relied upon, says 'The new year begins here with the light for night of Āśvina', but, opening in the midst of Durgā's festival, New Year's Day is only celebrated on the 10th lunar day'. See *Life of H. T. Colebrooke*, page 163.

scheme of the lunar months. The complete agreement of all the twelve dates proves that the date given in the last line of this inscription,—*samvat 793 Phālguna-vadi 9 Some*,—is correct, but it also shows that the statement in line 40, according to which Karnadeva performed the funeral rites in honour of his father on Saturday, the second lunar day of the dark half of Phālguna, is incorrect. For the second *tithi* of the same lunar fortnight in which the inscription is dated commenced on Sunday, the 10th January A D 1042, 4 h 15 m after mean sunrise, and ended 5 h 49 m after mean sunrise of Monday, the 11th January, and cannot therefore in any way be connected with a Saturday.¹⁷ I suspect that the day on which the funeral ceremonies were really performed was Saturday, the 12th December A.D. 1041, when the second *tithi* of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Māgha ended about 11 hours after mean sunrise, and that the writer of the grant, who cannot be absolved of carelessness in other respects, wrongly put down in line 40 the month in which he was writing the grant. However this may be, there can be no doubt that Monday, the 18th January A D 1042, is really the date of this inscription, and that this is as trustworthy a date for the reign of the king Karnadeva as we could wish to have.

Having thus disposed of the formal part of the grant, I have still to give an account of the thirty-one verses with which the inscription opens. As is the case with most copper-plate inscriptions, these introductory verses contain little more than the genealogy of the grantor, but they furnish some names which have not become known yet from other inscriptions of the same dynasty.

After the words '*om om*, adoration to Śiva,' the inscription opens with a verse in honour of the god Śiva, who is identified here with the supreme Brahman.¹⁸ It then records, in verses 2-4, the origin of the powerful prince Kārtavīrya, the vanquisher of the demon Rāvana,¹⁹ and further relates, in verses 5 and 6, that, sprung from Kārtavīrya's family, there were the famous Haihaya princes, the clan of whom was rendered illustrious by the valorous and pious prince Kokkalla.²⁰

According to verse 7, the hand of this prince Kokkalla granted freedom from fear to Bhoja, Vallabharāja, the illustrious Harsha who is described as the sovereign of Chitrakūṭa, and to the king Śamkaragana. It does not seem difficult to identify these four contemporaries of Kokkalla. From verse 17 of the Bilhari inscription we know that Kokkalla, having conquered the whole earth, 'set up two unprecedented columns of his fame,'—in the south the well-known Krishnarāja, and in the north Bhojadeva, and, in commenting on that passage,²¹ I have already adopted Sir A Cunningham's suggestion that the former of these sovereigns can only have been the Rāshtrakūṭa Krishna II, who married a daughter of Kokkalla, the king of Chedi, and who reigned from about A D 875 to about A.D. 911, and the latter Bhojadeva of Kanauj, for whom we have the dates A D 862, 876, and 882. Now Krishna II also bore the name Krishna-vallabha,²² and it is therefore clear that the Bhoja and

¹⁷ On Saturday, the 9th January 1142, the full moon *tithi* ended 3 h 7 m after mean sunrise.

¹⁸ The same verse occurs at the commencement of the Rewah copper-plate grant of the *Mahārāṇaka* Salakhanavarma-deva, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 228. Compare also the first verso of the Tewar inscription of Jayasimhadēva, above, page 19.

¹⁹ See verse 9 of the Bilhari inscription, *ante*, vol. I, page 263.

²⁰ This name is spelt both *Kokkalla* and *Kokalla*.

²¹ See *ante*, vol. I, page 253.

²² See Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, page 36. Since the above was written, Prof. Bhāndārkar has published an inscription in which Krishnarāja's father Amoghavarsha is named Śri-vallabha, and it is just possible that he may be the Vallabharāja of this copper-plate inscription.

Vallabharaja of the present inscription are the Bhojadeva and Krishnaraja of the Bilhari inscription. The proper identification of the illustrious Harsha is suggested both by the circumstance that he is called the sovereign of Chittrakûta, and by the fact, to be mentioned below, that Kokkalla's wife was a Chandella princess, for, as Chittrakûta is a well-known locality of Bandelkhand²³ which was ruled over by the Chandellas, Harsha must be the Chandella Harshadeva, the successor of Rahila and predecessor of Yaşovarman. It is true, we have no absolutely certain date for the reign of Harshadeva, but, since he apparently had dealings with Kshatipaladeva of Kanauj²⁴ for whom we have the date A D 917, and as his grandson Dhangadeva²⁵ was on the throne in A D 954, he undoubtedly must have ruled about A D 900, and must certainly have been a contemporary of Krishna-vallabha. Lastly, the Śamkaragana of our inscription I believe to be Kokkalla's own son (also called Ranavigraha), whose daughter Lakshmi was married²⁶ by Krishna-vallabha's son Jagattunga. One of the Ratnapur inscriptions tells us²⁷ that the Chedi ruler Kokkalla had eighteen sons, of whom the first-born was ruler of Tripuri, while the others became lords of *mandalas*, and it does not seem at all improbable that Kokkalla already during his life-time may have assigned part of his dominions to Śamkaragana, one of his younger sons, to be governed by him independently.—With all these coincidences, I can only endorse the conclusion, arrived at by Sir A. Cunningham,²⁸ that the reign of Kokkalla, who, as we shall see below, was Kokkalla I, 'may be fixed with certainty to the period between 860 and 900 A.D.'

Our inscription further tells us that Kokkalla married a lady, named Nattā or Nattadevi, who was born in the Chandella family (verse 8), and who bore to him a son, named Prasiddhadhavalā (verse 10), and that this prince had two sons, who reigned one after another, Balaharsha (verse 13), and his younger brother Yuvarājadeva (verse 15).

According to the Bilhari inscription,²⁹ Kokkalla was succeeded by his son Mugdhatunga, and his son again was Keyûravarsha-Yuvarājadeva, who married Nohalā, a daughter of the Chaulukya Avanivarman.

Comparing these two accounts with each other, it is clear that Prasiddhadhavalā and Mugdhatunga are names of one and the same prince, and that the Yuvarājadeva of the copper-plate is the Keyûravarsha-Yuvarājadeva of the Bilhari inscription, which omits to mention his elder brother Balaharsha. In the copper-plate grant all these princes are eulogized in general terms which mean very little. In the Bilhari inscription the only thing definite recorded of them is, that Mugdhatunga (Prasiddhadhavalā) conquered the lines of country by the shore of the eastern sea and took Pālī from the lord of Kosala. Of Keyûravarsha-Yuvarājadeva it is intimated in the same inscription that he was engaged in many successful wars with different nations, but, on the other hand, an inscription of the Chandella Yaşovarman, who probably was a contemporary of Yuvarājadeva, informs us³⁰ that that Chandella king defeated the Chedi king, and 'brought distress on the shameful Chedis.'

²² See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XXI, page 10.

²³ See *ante*, vol. I, page 171.

²⁴ See *ib.*, page 124.

²⁵ See Fleet, *Dynasties*, page 36.

²⁷ See *ante*, vol. I, page 33.

²⁸ *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. IX, page 103.

²⁹ See *ante*, vol. I, pages 264—266.

³⁰ See *ante*, vol. I, page 132.

The next three princes mentioned in the copper-plate, again without any remark of the slightest value, are Yuvarajadeva's son Lakshmanarajadeva (verse 17), and his two sons Śamarajaganadeva (verse 19) and his younger brother Yuvarajadeva II (verse 21) who are all described as ruling sovereigns. The Kanitakai inscription³¹ has preserved the name of Lakshmanaraja's wife, Rahadâ, and the Bilhari inscription records³² that Lakshmanaraja defeated the lord of Kosala, and undertook, difficult to be obstructed in his progress, an expedition to 'the very pleasant western region,' in the course of which he braved in the sea and worshipped the god Someśvara in Gujarât. Almost the same story is told of Yuvarajadeva II in the Kanabhel inscription of Jayasimhadeva³³. As regards the times of these kings, it may be mentioned that Lakshmanaraja's daughter Dantihadevi was the mother of Tailapa³⁴ who restored the Western Châlukya dynasty and ascended the throne in A D 973-74, and that, according to the Udaypur *prâśasti*,³⁵ Yuvaraja was defeated and his capital Tripuri conquered by Vâkpati-Muñja of Mâlava, for whom we have the dates A D 974, 979, and 993³⁶.

According to the copper plate grant, Yuvarajadeva II was succeeded by his son Kokkalladeva II (verse 23), he by his son Gângeyadeva (verse 25), and he again by his son Kaina (verse 28) who issued the grant, and this agrees with the information furnished by other Chedi inscriptions. Of Kokkalladeva II we know nothing beyond his name. Gangeyadeva, according to the Jabalpur copper-plate of Yaśahkarnadeva,³⁷ also bore the name Vikramāditya, and the same inscription records that, 'fond of residing at the foot of the holy fig-tree of Prayâga, he found salvation there together with his hundred wives'³⁸. Other Chedi inscriptions also eulogize both his valour and piety, and even in a Chandella inscription³⁹ he is styled the conqueror of the universe. Gângeya is mentioned as the ruler of Dâhâla (or Chedi) by Alberûnî,⁴⁰ in A D 1030. We also possess a short inscription of his reign which, according to Sn A Cunningham,⁴¹ is dated in the (Chedi) year 789 = A D 1037-38, and we know him to have been a contemporary of the Chandella Vijayapâla,³⁹ who had ceased to rule⁴² before A D 1051. In all probability Gângeyadeva's reign ended about A D. 1040, not more than a year or two before the date of Kaina's copper-plate.

Of Kainadeva, 'the lord of the Kalachurns,' the Jabalpur copper-plate,⁴³ besides eulogizing his valour, records that he founded the town of Kainâvatî, and that at Kâśî or Benares he built a splendid temple, called Kaina's *Meru*. The Bhoja-Ghât inscription of Alhanadevi⁴⁴ represents him as having subdued or held in check the Pândyas, Muralas, Kungas, Vangas, Kahngas, Kîras and Hûnas, and similarly the Kanabhel inscription of Jayasimhadeva⁴⁵ makes him be waited upon by the Choda, Kunga, Hûna, Gauda, Gujara and Kîra princes. As we possess an inscription of his son which is dated

³¹ See above, p. 175

³² See *ante*, vol I, page 268

³³ See *Indian Antiquary*, vol XVIII, page 215

³⁴ See *Fleet's Dynasties*, page 41

³⁵ See *ante*, vol I, page 237, verse 15

³⁶ See *Indian Antiquary*, vol XX, page 103

See above, page 6

³⁷ I believe, Captain Willard got the 'loathsome dungeon,' in which he lets Gujara deva die, out of the words [*Śasatî*]
in verse 23 of the copper plate

³⁸ See *ante*, vol I page 219, and page 222, l. 14

³⁹ See Sachau's Translation of Alberûnî's *India* vol I, page 262

⁴⁰ See *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol XXI, page 113

⁴¹ The copper plate of Vijayapâla's successor Devavarmadeva is dated in Vikrama 1107, see *Indian Antiquary* vol XXV, page 364, No 178

⁴² See above, page 6

⁴³ See above, page 15

⁴⁴ See *Indian Antiquary*, vol XVIII, page 215

a daughter of the king Vijayasimha,—a son of Vairisimha, who was a son of Hamsapala of the Guhila family of Mewād,—and his wife Śyāmaladevi, a daughter of Udayaditya of Mālava. And Alhanadevi bore to him two sons, Narasimhadeva and Jayasimhadeva, who succeeded their father one after the other. Of Narasimhadeva's reign we possess three inscriptions,⁶⁸ dated in the Chedi years 907 and 909 = A D 1155 and 1158, and in the Vikrama year 1216 = A D 1159, and of Jayasimhadeva's reign three inscriptions⁶⁹ have been edited, two of which are dated in the Chedi years 926 and 928 = A D 1175 and 1177. Jayasimhadeva married⁶⁹ Gosuladevi, and was succeeded by their son Vijayasimhadeva, of whose reign we have two copper-plate inscriptions,⁷¹ of the Chedi year 932 = A D 1180, and the Vikrama year 1253 = A D. 1196, the first of which gives us the name of Vijayasimha's son, the prince Ajayasimhadeva. Of all these princes the inscriptions mention not a single fact which would be worth noticing here.

According to the preceding account the list of succession of the Kalachuri rulers of Chedi or Dahala, beginning with Kokkalladeva I, would be as follows —

- 1 Kokkalladeva I, contemporary of Bhojadeva of Kanauj (A D 862, 876, 882), of the Rashtrakūta Kṛishna II (Kṛishna-vallabha, about A D 875-911) who married a daughter of his, of the Chandella Harshadeva, and of (his own son) Śamkaragana. He married the Chandella princess Natta.
- 2 His son Mugdhatunga-Prasiddhadhavalā
- 3 His son Bālaharshā
- 4 His younger brother Keyānavaisha-Yuvarājadeva I, married Nohala, a daughter of the Chaulukya Avamīvarman
- 5 His son Lakshmanarājadeva, married Rahada. His daughter Bonthadevi was the mother of the Western Chalukya Tailapa (A D 973-71)
- 6 His son Śamkaraganadeva
- 7 His younger brother Yuvarājadeva II, contemporary of Vakpati-Muñja of Malava (A D. 971, 979, 993)
- 8 His son Kokkalladeva II.
- 9 His son Gangeyadeva-Vikramāditya. An inscription of his is dated in A D 1037-38(?) Contemporary of Alberūni (A D 1030), and of the Chandella Vijayapala
- 10 His son Karnadeva. His copper-plate grant is dated in A D. 1012. Contemporary of Bhūmadeva I of Anhilvad (A D 1021-63), of the Western Chalukya Someśvara I (A D 1012-68), of Udayāditya of Malava (A D 1080), and of the Chandella Kirtivarman (A D. 1098). He married the Huna princess Āvalladevi
- 11 His son Yaśahkarnadeva. A copper-plate grant of his is dated in A D 1122
- 12 His son Gayakarnadeva. An inscription of his is dated in A D 1151. He married Alhanadevi, a daughter of Vijayasimha of Mewād and grand-daughter of Udayaditya of Malava
- 13 His son Narasimhadeva. Inscriptions of his are dated in A D 1155, 1158 and 1159

⁶⁸ See above, page 10, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol XVIII, pages 212 and 214

⁶⁹ See above, page 18, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol XVII, page 226, and vol XVIII, page 216

⁷⁰ See *Indian Antiquary*, vol XVIII, page 219

⁷¹ See *Journal As Soc Bengal*, vol XXXI, page 120, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol XVII, pages 228, and vol XIX, page 171 No 104

14 His younger brother Jayasimhadeva. Inscriptions of his are dated in A D 1175 and 1177 His wife's name was Gosaladevi

15 His son Vijayasimhadeva Inscriptions of his are dated in A D 1180 and 1196, one of them mentions his son, the prince Ajayasimhadeva

These fifteen princes, who may be taken to have ruled from about A D 875 to about A D 1200, represent twelve successive generations, which gives to each generation an average of about twenty-seven years

TEXT

First Plate

- L 1 ओ ' [॥^x] ओ नम सि(गि)वाय ॥
 निर्गुण व्यापक नित्य सि(गि)व परमकारण(ण) ।
 भावग्राह्य पर ज्योतिस्तस्मै सद्ब्रह्मणे नम ॥¹—[1].
 यद्देधस्थितमव्य[य] प-
- 2 रमपि जो(ज्यो)तिस्मि(द्यि)दमु(श)प्रभ ।²
 सूर्याग्न्यस्य च [भा]स्वरप्रभृतयो यस्य स्फुरत्यग्नेय [१^x]
 सर्वज्ञान[म^x]यो व(व)भूव भगवास्तस्मान्मनुष्मानसो
 यस्मात्सृष्टिरभूदि[य] [गु]-
- 3 णवती स्त्रीपुत्रिमित्ता ततः ।(॥)³ —[2]
 देव श्रीकार्तवीर्यं क्षितिपतिरभवद्भूषण(ण) भूतधाव्या
 नेनोत्तिष्ठामाद्रिवि(वि)भ्यत्तुहिनगिरिसुतास्त्रे(त्रे)पसन्तोपितेस(श)म [१^x]
 दोहण्डा-
- 1 काण्डमेतुप्रतिगमितमज्ञापूररेवाप्रवाह-
 व्याधौनवाक्षप्रजागुरुजनितरूप रावण यो ववस्व" ।(॥)⁴ —[3]
 यस्य भ्रम[ङ्ग]भीता ददति नृपतय क्षि[ष्ट]-
- 5 सवि प्रतिप ।
 आ जे(जे)नाम(मा)त्सर्गेल हरवृषभमसुत्वातमृ(श्र)गाग्रमित्ते ।
 आ च प्राच समुद्रात्सुरमरिदतुलस्थलमुक्तावलीका-
 टाम्भोधेक्षित्तिणाञ्च [स्फु]-
- 6 रदतुलमणे सेतुमीमन्तभाजः ।(॥) —[4]
 तद्वन्मप्रभवा⁵ नरेद्रपतय व्याता[⁶] क्षितौ हैहया-
 स्तपामनृ(न्व)यभूषण(ण) रिपुमनोविन्द्यस्ततापानलः ।
 धर्मध्यानध-

From an impression, received in 1862 by Sir A Cunningham from Mr Griffiths then Principal of the Benares College and now given to me by Dr F F Hall

¹ Expressed by a symbol

² Metre Śloka (Anuṣṭubh) The verse also occurs at the commencement of the Rewah copper plate grant of the Mahoanaka Śāhānārāyadeva, *Indian Antiquary*, vol VIII page 228

This is what is offered by the rubbing, but as I do not quite understand the first two lines of the verse, I am

not sure that the reading is correct Perhaps the right reading, may be यद्देध स्थितं

³ This sign of punctuation is superfluous

⁴ The *akṣara* in brackets looks in the impression like हो

⁵ Metre Śāhānārāyadeva

⁶ Read यद्वन्म — Compare *ante*, vol I, page 263, verse 9

⁷ Metre of verses 3 and 4 Śāhānārāyadeva

⁸ Read दपति नृपतय क्षिष्टमारे प्रतिदाम् (१)

⁹ Read च

¹⁰ Read तद्वन्म

- L 7. नानू(नु)सधितमुखः सखत्व[तां]⁷⁴ सौच(ख)क-
 खेयास(न्म)र्वगुणाद्धितप्रभुतया श्रीमानभूकोकलः⁷⁵ ।(॥)⁷⁶ —[5].
 सम्यक्ता(व्या)स्त्रविचारणा प्रतिदि[नं] धर्माय योगाय च
 इष्टा-
- 8 पूतपरोपकारकृतये यस्म्यसक्तो(क्ता) मति. ॥(1)
 आनृन्या(खा)धिगमाय दाननिरतिः सदस(श)पुष्टेस्तथा
 ज्ञानाभ्यासवसान्मुचपदवीमते⁷⁷ च यः प्राप्तवान् ।(॥) —[6].
 भोजे व-
- 9 [लभ]राजे⁷⁸ श्रीहर्ष(र्षे) चितकूटभू(भू)पाले ।
 स(श)ङ्करणे च रा[ज*]नि यस्यासीदभयद पाणि ।(॥)⁷⁹ —[7].
 सचिमिवेन्द्र[ः*]⁸⁰ कमलामुपेन्द्रो नगेन्द्रकन्यामिव चन्द्रमौलि. ।
 चन्द्रेल्लवसप्रभवा⁸¹
- 10 सुसिला नद्याख्यदेवी स तु पर्जन्यपितृ⁸² ॥⁸³ —[8]
 उद्दामदर्पद्विपती जयन्तं क(क)दर्पमापि(पी)नघनस्तनीनाम् ।
 अजीजनत् स्थितये जनस्य तस्यां महास(श)क्तिध[र] कु-
- 11 मारम् ।(॥) —[9]
 नाम्ना प्रसिद्धो भुध(व)नतयेपि प्रसिद्धपूर्वो(र्वो) धवलः स राजा ।
 वोढु⁸⁴ धुर यो गुरुहारहा योऽन्यानृपेन्द्रात्क[हा]र चकार ॥ —[10]
 एकैक(क) ददता भुजङ्गमनि-
- 12 स(शं) स्त्र(स्त्र) जीवित(त) रचता
 भक्ष्यार्थ(र्थ) गरुडाय नागपतिना न्यक्कार उन्मीलित⁸⁵ ।
 चारित्राय ददो(दो) जलं सुरपतिर्गच्छन्[ह*]ल्यामृतौ
 वन्यासा(या) भुवनत्रयेष्वयमभू[दो]-
13. चित्त(त्य)वृत्ते पद ॥⁸⁶ —[11]
 किम्वापरेण⁸⁷ ।
 होहिन्ति एष व(व)से पुरिसा एहद्वयगारवमङ्गघा [।*]
 इअ हाविज्जण जेणं पात्थीण परिग(गा)हो गहिओ ॥⁸⁸ —[12]
 तत्सु(त्सु)सु ख्यात-

⁷⁴ Read शत्रुसता

⁷⁵ Read श्रीमानभूको — The word कोकलः offends against the metre, but the first line of verse 23 shows that the spelling with double l is correct

⁷⁶ Metro of verses 5 and 6 Śārdūlavikrīḍita. The hiatus between lines 1 and 2 of verse 6 offends against the metre

⁷⁷ Read °वशान्मुचपदवी°

⁷⁸ Originally लभजे was engraved at the commencement of line 9, but afterwards a letter seems to have been inserted between the aksharas ल and रा

⁷⁹ Metro Ārya

⁸⁰ Read शचीमिवेन्द्र

⁸¹ Read °वशप्रभवा सुशीला

⁸² Read °देवी स तु पर्यंषेपीत्

⁸³ Metro of verses 8 10 Upajāti

⁸⁴ I give this line exactly as it is in the impression वोढु probably should be वोढ, and the fourth Pada may be योऽन्यानृपेन्द्रात्करदीषकार, but the proper reading of the whole line I am unable to restore

⁸⁵ Metro Śārdūlavikrīḍita

⁸⁶ Read किं वापरेण

⁸⁷ Metro Ārya 'In this family there will be men highly precious on account of their great dignity, thus considering, he took possession of the regions' Professor Fischel informs me that पात्थी is given as a synonym of दिश in Hemachandra's *Deśināmāvalī*, VI, 37

[illegible]

[illegible]

L. 14

कर्मा दिगिभकरनिभाजानुवा(वा)हुर्महात्मा
भूमेभ(भं)र्त्ता व(व)भूव क्षतरिपुनृपतिर्व्वा(व्वा)लहर्ष. सु[ज^x]न्मा ।
यं सहत्तानुरागानुक्ततक्तय(यु)गाचारमाष्ट(त्रि)त्य जात-
स्व-

15 क्लान्द्योन्योपमर्द्दं स्थिरवसतिरपास्तारिवर्गत्रि(स्त्रि)वर्गं ।(॥)⁸⁸ —[13]
धन्योत्र दास(श)रयिरेव रिपुर्द्दसा(शा)स्यो यस्याभवत्किमपरं समरोत्सवाय ।
भूमङ्ग[भ^x]ग्नसकलद्विपतो

16. धिगस्मानात्मानमाहवरसादिति य. सुसोच⁸⁹ ॥⁹⁰ —[14]
सत्यव्रतैकनिरतस्य युधिष्ठिरस्य तस्यानुय(ज). प्रयितवा(वा)हुव(व)लो व(व)भूव ।
दुर्योधनारिव(व)लवि(वी)रवधैकध-

17 न्वी पार्थोपरः कलियुगे युवराजदेव. ।(॥) —[15].
भु(भू)भारक्षमदृक्(क्यु)तिप्र[ण^x]यिनीमालम्ब(म्ब)मानस्तन(नु)
कुर्वाण समरेपि नाग(क)पथगानागच्छतो विद्वि[प^x]. ॥(१)
विश्या-

18 ता भुवि भूरिमार्गगमनामुच्चैर्दधद्वाहिनी
य' साक्षात्परमेस्व(श्च)र[^x] समभवत्सम्यक्कि(क्वि)वाराधनात् ॥⁹¹ —[16]
तस्मादभूत्क्षमणराजदेव पुण्यौ(ण्यै)र्जनाना(ना)

19. जनितव्यवस्थः ।
आ(अ)वाप्य य धर्ममिव क्षितीम(श) चिराय लेभे जनता सुखानि ॥⁹² —[17]
य' सत्यस्य निधिः सि(चि)या च सरणि. साम्ना च धाम्ना [च^x] यो
यो दाता च दयालु-

20 रेव च पद कीर्त्तिसु(श्च) नीतिसु(श्च) यः ।
तस्यासीत्परमेप द्रूपणकण[^x] कारुण्य(ण्य)पुण्यात्मन
पात्रापात्रविवेचन न यदभूत्सव्यस्वदानेष्वपि ॥⁹³ —[18]
श्रीस(श)ङ्करगणदेव-

21. स्ततोभवत्सकलभुवनतलतिलक ।
सा(शा)सति वसुधा यस्मिन्पलायित(त) कापि कलिनापि ॥⁹⁴ —[19].
असौ निस्तृसता⁹⁵यत्र वक्रत्व पलितागमे [।^x]
रयचक्रेषु चारि-⁹⁶

22. त्व वायो[यो] स्वच्छन्दचारिता ॥^x ॥⁹⁷ —[20]
तस्यानुयो(जो)भु(भू)युवराजदेव पति क्षिते क्ष[त्र]कुलप्रसु(स्)तिः ।
यस्यासिधाराजलधौतसु(म्)र्त्तिसु(चि)र स्थिरासि(सो)च(च)पलापि लक्ष्मि⁹⁸[॥^x]⁹⁹ —[21].
अयि-

⁸⁸ Metre Sragdhara⁸⁹ Read शुभोच⁹⁰ Metre of verses 14 and 15 Vasantatilakā⁹¹ Metre Śardulavikṛita⁹² Metre Upajati⁹³ Metre Śardulavikṛita⁹⁴ Metre Āryā⁹⁵ Read निस्त्रिगता⁹⁶ *Aritva*, derived from either *arī* 'a wheel,' or *arī* 'an enemy'⁹⁷ Metre Śloka (Anushtubh)⁹⁸ Read लक्ष्मी⁹⁹ Metre Upajati

- L. 23. सा[र्था]वधिस्थागः सेसं सूरजयावधिः¹⁰⁰ ।
 यस(श)सा(सां) धर्मरासे(शे)स्व(श्च) नावधिर्यस्य भूपतेः ।(॥)¹—[22]
 सासास्वतोयायत² यातकीर्तुः काकलदेवी वस्वधिकनायः ।
 ज(य)न्मण्ड-
24. लाग्री रिपुमण्डलानि पुरो दधातीति ययार्धस(श)ब्द(न्द): ।(॥)³ —[23].
 नम⁴ कामुकवत् कृत नियमित तूणीरवत्पृष्ठतः ।
 काष्ठासु चणमात्र[ह]स्त्रविहितः [भा]न्तरादादण्डवत् [1^x]
- 25 कृत्वा सा[त्र]परिच्छदेन रहित सम्यक्[रे] स्थापित
 सत्रणामखिल कुल नरपति[यिथेभ] येनासिवत् ।(॥)⁵—[24]
 काकलनृपादवास्तसकल[का]णी[व]पद⁶
 ची-
- 26 रक्षालितहारगो(गौ)रगुणभूर्गागवदेवाभत् ।
 यस्याजायत केवल रणमुखे कौक्ये(चे)यकोयेसरः ।⁷
 स्तत्रैव प्रतिविवि[थ] पुनरभूदालाव[रं] स[न्मुख?] [1^x]⁸—[25]
- 27 अगुनेज्जोजलोलिति¹⁰ चात यदिह दुर्जसः ।
 लक्ष्म्या तदधुना धौ[त] दिव्यमादाय तद्वपुः ॥¹¹ —[26]
 ख्यात[^x] सत्यतया स धर्मतनय¹² त्यागेन वि(वै)रोच-
- 28 निः
 सोयेनेद्रसुर¹³ न चैतदसवत्स[त्य] गता[चि]तसि ।
 एकस्मिंस्त्रितयं कलो¹⁴ समनिक गागीयदेवे नृपे
 [दृ]स्ता रिस्त्रित[मि]व तेर-¹⁵

¹⁰⁰ Read शीर्थं सूरजयावधि

¹ Metro Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

² Read श्रीमास्वतोयायत जातकीर्तौ कौकलदेवी वसुधैकनाय

³ Metro Upajati

⁴ I am not, perhaps, able to restore the exact reading of this verse, but would suggest the following —

नम कामुकवत्कृतं नियमित तूणीरवत्पृष्ठतः
 काष्ठासु चणमात्रदृष्टविहितमानं च दीर्घवत् ।
 कृत्वा साधु परिच्छदेन रहित सम्यक्करे स्थापित
 शत्रूणांमखिलं कुल नरपतिश्रेष्ठेन येनासिवत् ॥

⁵ Metro Śārdūlavikrīḍita

⁶ For the commencement of this line I would suggest कौकलान्नृपादवास्तसकलचीपीविपद⁶, the end of the line I am unable to restore

⁷ Read गान्धियदेवोभवत्

⁸ Read सरसवैव प्रतिविस्त्रित पुनरसुर⁸, for the end of the verse I cannot suggest a suitable reading

⁹ Metro Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹⁰ Read अगुधिलीयलोलिति ख्यात यदिह दुर्जसः ।

¹¹ Metro Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

¹² Read तनयस्यागेन

¹³ I would suggest here शीर्थेनेद्रसुती न चैतदसवत्सत्यं मत श्रीदमि, but am not sure about the last word of the line

¹⁴ Read कलो समनिक

¹⁵ I would suggest reading this line दृष्टा निश्चितमेव वैरवितथ पूर्वे ययोक्ता नृपा I take the meaning of the verse to be that, while formerly people did not believe in the truthfulness of Yudhisṭhira, etc., they now no longer entertain any such doubts, since they have seen that, even in this Kali age, Gaṅgeyadeva possesses all the virtues ascribed to those ancient kings, in a higher degree even than they did

Second Plate

I. 29

वितय पूर्व्वे वेयोक्ता भृपा ॥¹⁶—[27]

तस्यात्मज कर्ण इवावतीर्ण कर्णं पृथिव्या(व्या) प्रथे(धि)तपृ(प्र)भावः ।
यस्याभिसे(पे)कस(श्च)वणा[हि]य-

30

द्विर्नष्ट प्रहृष्ट द्विजमितवर्गे ॥¹⁷—[28]

यत्कीर्तिलतया दूर प्रसरन्त्या दिने दिने ॥(1)
व्र(त्र)ह्माण्डमण्डपाभोग स्वल्पतामुपनीयते ॥¹⁸—[29]
स्वय समु-

31

तृजन्नर्थानर्थिसार्थेष्वचिन्तितान् ।

कोपे(प्ये)ष भूपण(ण) भूमेर्जङ्गम कल्म(ल्य)पादप ॥ —[30]
स(श)क्तितमै(यै)कने(नि)लयस्य गुणाकरस्य धर्मात्मन

32

स्तुतिपदं किमिहास्ति कि(किं)चित् ।

आसा(शा)स्यते परमिद कृतिभि सदे(दै)व राजन्वती वसुमती भवते(तै)व भूयात् ॥¹⁹—[31]
तवे(दै)व गुणगणालकृत-

33

स(श)रीर [स्वसा]ग²⁰समावासितश्चीमद्विजयकय²¹त्परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व-
(श्च)रश्चीवास[दे]वपादानुधान(त)परमभट्टा-

34

रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्च)रपरममाहेस्व(श्च)रतृ(त्रि)कलिग्या(गा)धिपतिश्चीमत्कार्ण-
देव[*]कुस(श)ली महादेवी महाराजपु[त्र]²²महाम-

35

वि[णो] महामात्या²³महासन्धिविग्रहिका महाधर्माधिकरणिका महाक्षपटलिका महाकर-
णिका स(म)हाप्रतीहारो महासामन्तो

36

महाप्रमातारो महास्व(श्च)साधनिको महा[भा*]ण्डागारिको महाध्यक्ष²⁴एतानन्यासु(श्च)
कीर्त्तिताकीर्त्तितासु²⁵ययार्ह मानयति वो(वो)धयति समाज्ञापयति विदित-

37.

म[स्तु] भवता(ता) यथा [हपाथा]²⁶कासि[भूम्य]²⁷न्त[र्ग]त[सु]सियाम. सात्र(स्त्र)मधूकः
सगर्तस्वलयलोपर²⁸सर्वाकरख[नि*]प्रमृत्तिसमुत्प-

38

त्तिसमेतसु(श्च)तुराघ(घा)टसीमापर्यन्त ।²⁹विसालग्रामविनिर्गताय कोसिकगोत्राय³⁰ओद-
लदेवरात्रविस्वामित्रवि³¹

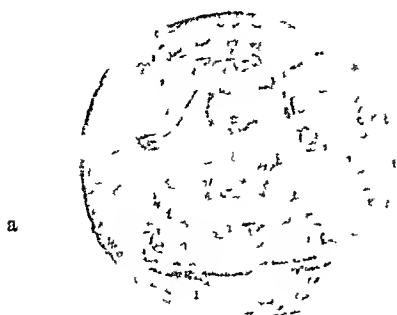
39

प्रवराय वाजसनेयसा(शा)स्त्राय ।³²महप्रनम्ने वा[म]ननम्ने नारायणपुत्राय पण्डितश्चीविस्व-
(श्च)रूपाय ।³³इहैव पितु शी-

¹⁶ Metre Śardulavikrīḍita.¹⁷ Metre Indravajra.¹⁸ Metre of verses 29 and 30 Śloka (Anushtubh)¹⁹ Metre Vasantatīlaka²⁰ Of the word preceding समावासित only the third *akshara* (ग) is quite clear, the first *akshara* might perhaps be read न, and the second या²¹ Read "द्विजयकटकापरम"²² The *akshara* in brackets may have been altered to वान्²³ What was meant to be engraved here and in the following, was perhaps महामाता । महासन्धिविग्रहिका, etc. Compare, e.g., the Mingir copper-plate grant of Devapāladēva, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXI, page 256, line 31²⁴ I suspect that one or more *aksharas* are omitted in this word²⁵ Read "कीर्त्तिसाय"²⁶ The *aksharas* in these two brackets are very indistinct and doubtful, and I cannot suggest the exact name of the district in which the village of Susi was situated²⁷ These signs of punctuation are superfluous²⁸ Read कौशिक²⁹ Read ओदलदेवरात्रवैश्यामित्रवि

- L 40 महाङ्गेयदेवस्य सवत्सरे³⁰साहे फाल्गुनव(व)हुलपञ्चद्वितीयायां स(श)नैसु(श्च)रवासरे वेण्यां
 सात्वा भगवत देवं देव³¹त्रिलोचन-
 41. मस(श)नस(म)भारप्रकल्पितपचोपच(चा)र[प्र^x]पचेन परया भक्त्या समभ्यर्च्यसासमस(श्च)-
 द्व(द्ध)या सा(या)द्ध विधायोभयभोगेन³²सासत्वेन³³यप्रदत्त । अत. श्रीमत्क-
 42. र्णदेवपादा[^x] सुमीगामनिवासिन. समस्तजनपदान्समादिस(श)ति विदितमस्तु भवता-
 (ता) यथा ग्रामीय³⁴स्माभिः सा(शा)सनत्वेन प्रदत्त इति मत्वा
 43. भागभोगकरहिरण्यदण्डादायकासीत्यन्ति³प्रभृतिसमस्तराजप्रत्यादाय(या)अस्योपनव्या³⁶इति
 तटपचिकीर्षया मध्ये वातेनापि न
 44. गन्तव्यमिति ॥ अभ्यर्थना ॥³⁷
 सर्वानेताभा(न्भा)विनी राजपुत्राभू(न्भू)यो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ।
 सामान्योय(य) धर्मसेतुनृ(नृ)पाणा(णा) काले का-
 45. ले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ।(॥)³⁸—[32].
 व(व)हुभिव(र्व)मुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ।
 यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ।(॥)³⁹—[33]
 अस्मिन्वन्ने⁴⁰द्वि[ग्नो?]
 46. पि यस्मा(श्चा)न्यो नृपतिभवेत् ।
 तस्यापि हस्तलग्नोह सा(शा)सन न व्यतिक्रमेत् ॥ —[34]
 यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रेर्दानानि धर्मार्थयस(श)स्कराणि ।
 17. नृमाख्यवान्तप्रतिमानि⁴¹तानि को न(ना)स साधुः पुनराददोत ॥⁴²—[35].
 अस्त्र(श्च)मेव(ध)सहस्रेण राजसु(स्त्र)यसहतेन⁴³च [।^x]
 गवा का(को)टिप्रदानेन भूमिह-
 48. र्त्ता न सु(श्च)ध्यति ।(॥)⁴⁴—[36].
 सुवर्णमेक(कं) गामे[का] भूमेरप्येकमहुल(लं) ।
 हरन्न[रक]माप्नोति यावदाहुतसप्तव⁴⁵॥—[37].
 सवत् ७८३ फाल्गुनवादि ८ सोमे [।^x]

³⁰ Read सवत्सराह³¹ Read देवदेव³² This is what was originally engraved, but some of the *aksharas*, especially म and य, seem to have been altered, and I believe the intended reading to be °योदकासर्गेण³³ Read शासनत्वेन सप्रदत्त³⁴ Read °यमस्माभि³⁵ I would suggest reading °दायाकसीत्यन्ति°³⁶ Read °नेतव्या³⁷ Compare the Kumbhi copper plate, *Jour As Soc Beng*, vol XXXI, page 120,—अत्र चाभ्यर्थना दातुर्भवति यथा.³⁸ Metre Śālinī³⁹ Metre of verses 33 and 34 Śloka (Anushtubh)⁴⁰ Read निर्माय⁴¹ Metre Indravajrā⁴² Metre of verses 36 and 37⁴³ Śloka (Anushtubh)⁴⁴ Read °यशतेन⁴⁵ Read अस्मिन्वन्ने द्वितीयो (१).⁴⁶ Read °हस्तसप्तवन्.



a



b

AN AYAGAPATA (b) AND CENTRAL FIGURE OF ANOTHER (a)

XXIV—SPECIMENS OF JAINA SCULPTURES FROM MATHURÂ

BY G. BUHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

In the several articles on Dr Fuhrer's discoveries in the Kankâlî Tîlâ at Mathurâ (*ante*, vol I, pp. 371ff., 393ff., vol II, pp. 193ff.) it has been stated repeatedly that large numbers of statues, reliefs, and other sculptures have been found. As the inscriptions incontestably prove the great age of the temples which are buried under the mound, and as hitherto very little has become known regarding the earlier Indian art except what the Buddhist Stûpas furnish, it seemed to me desirable that some specimens of the sculptures found should be published at once without waiting for the comprehensive work which Dr Fuhrer eventually intends to give us. On my application Dr Fuhrer in 1890 kindly forwarded to me ten photographs, taken from the most remarkable and best preserved pieces, a selection from which is given in the four accompanying plates.

The first plate gives under figure *B* a specimen of the most common form of an *Āyāgapata*, and under figure *A* the central portion of another sculpture of the same class. The addition of *A* was made advisable by the mutilation of the central figure of *B*. The slab, from which *A* has been taken, is apparently in a state of perfect preservation, and it, moreover, bears an easily legible inscription (No. xxx of the second Series of Mathurâ inscriptions, published, *ante*, vol II, pp. 195ff.), in which it is clearly stated that the object dedicated is an *Āyāgapata*. But the photograph is pitted all over with small white spots,¹ which in parts make it difficult to recognise the details.

The slab, represented under *B*, is oblong and measures 3 feet by 2' 8". At the lower end a space (some inches in breadth) has been cut off, the middle of which was intended for a dedicatory inscription, faint traces of which are still visible. On both sides there are sacred symbols, among which a *Svastika* and one or two *Trisûlas* are recognisable. The remaining nearly square portion of the slab is divided by four concentric circles into (1) a central disc, (2) three bands of unequal breadth, and (3) four triangles at the corners, each with a circular basis. The central disc is occupied by a cross-legged seated Jina, with the hands in his lap. The posture is the usual one, in which all seated Jinâs are represented even in the present day. Above his head there is a canopy, from which on either side very thick garlands hang down. Their shape is very peculiar and differs somewhat from that used on Buddhist sculptures (see, *e.g.*, Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plates xxiv, 2, xxvi, 1—2). It is found on all the Jaina sculptures from Mathurâ (see, *e.g.*, Dr Bhagvânâl's ancient slab,² where these sausage-like garlands are visible at the top of the Stûpa), and it may possibly be a characteristic mark of the early Jaina customs. On the side of the Jina appear three or four marks which at first sight look like representations of leaves. On examining the photograph with a magnifying glass, it seems to me that they are intended for snakeheads with expanded hoods. If my interpretation is correct, the Jina is Pârśva, whose mark is Śeṣha. In an article in the *Vienne Or. Jour.*, vol IV, p. 327, I have

¹ This is due to the nature of the slab, which is of speckled sandstone.—*A. F.*

² *Actes du sixième Congrès int. des Orientalistes*, tome III, 2, p. 142.

pointed out that on another slab Śeṣha's hoods appear behind the head of a Jina. Here the addition of the canopy prevented their being placed in the proper position.

The first circular band is rather narrow and bears representations of four highly ornamental *Trisūlas*, which, no doubt, with the ancient Jainas, just as with the Bauddhas, were considered as emblems of "the three Jewels" which with the Jainas are right faith, right cognition, and right conduct.

They differ somewhat from those found on the Buddhist buildings (see, e.g., Cunningham's *Bharhut Stūpa*, plates vi and vii), as the lotus, which the Bauddhas usually place below them, is missing and the central point is longer and feathery at the top, being formed by the ends of two semicircles, held together by a band. The latter peculiarity re-appears in a *Trisūla* on a pillar in the Indrasabhā at Elura, (Burgess, *Arch. Reports West Ind.*, vol V, plate xxviii, 3). The *Trisūla* was, no doubt, in ancient India a symbol, used by all sects for various purposes and with various interpretations. It was also commonly used for personal ornaments and appears in earrings (Cunningham's *Bharhut*, plate xli), in necklaces (*op cit*, plate I), and in women's girdles (Cunningham's *Arch Surv Rep*, vol III, plate xi, A). In such ornaments it has frequently the very same shape as on our slab.

The second much broader band of the slab is occupied by four curvilinear ornaments, ending each on the left side in two horns and enclosing in the centre a sacred symbol. Just below the spot where the two horns separate are four bands or garlands, to which rosettes or small lotuses are tied, and from the interstices between the horns issue the stalks of half-opened larger lotuses, which rest with their open faces on the second circle. A comparison of the four large ornaments with the *Trisūlas* in the first circular band leaves no doubt that they represent halves of these sacred symbols. The smaller emblems enclosed by the larger ones are,—(1) at the top, a *Spastika*, which is commonly used as a lucky or sacred mark by all Indian sects, (2) below, two fish, which are likewise considered very generally as marks of good omen, and are found as such over the doors of the great Jaina caves at Junāgadh, called Bāwā Pyārā's Math (Burgess, *Arch Surv. Rep West Ind.*, vol II, plate xviii, 3), and on Brahmanical temples, e.g., on those of the ruined city of Ghumli⁴ (Burgess, *op. cit*, plate xlii), (3) on the left, another variety of the *Trisūla*, common on Buddhist monuments, and (4) on the right, a mark which looks like a monogram, formed of the syllables *na* and *vo*, and is not uncommon on Buddhist sculptures, and is also used for ornaments (Fergusson, *op cit*, plate iii, fig 4).

The third circular band, which is again very narrow, shows,—(1) below a seated Jina, (2) above a Stūpa, resting with its base on the fourth or outermost circle, and hence looking as if it were turned topsy-turvy; (3) on the right and on the left two sacred trees, rising out of a square enclosure. The interstices between these four emblems are filled up by pairs of half recumbent male and female figures, probably worshipping deities (*Vidyādharas*). Each compartment contains two pairs, one facing one way, and the other turning in the opposite direction.

³ An exception is found in Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, plate xxxii, Fig 4.

⁴ Compare also Dr Bhagvānlāl, *Actes du sixième Congrès int des Or* tome III, part 2, p 137. The *Tishnu Scripti* XLIII, 33 (Jolly's edition) enumerates the fish among the Mangalas, to which Brahmins must pay reverence. In his notes to the passage Nandepandita most absurdly adds that the rule refers to 'boiled or fried' (*pakta*) fish. On Buddhist sculptures the two fish appear as parts of personal ornaments, (see Fergusson *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plate iii, fig 4).

With respect to the Stûpa, which we shall meet again more than once on the other plates, I repeat that it is a form of the funeral monuments, once used and worshipped by all Indian sects that followed the *Jñāna* and *Bhakti Mārgas*, and I refer for some of the reasons for this theory to my article *Vienna Or Jour*, vol IV, pp 328f I may add, however, that Brahmanical Chaityas are occasionally mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* Thus we read *Mah* I, 109, 13—14

भोक्षेण धर्मती राजन्मवतः परिरक्षित[त] ।

वभूव रमणीयश्च चैत्ययूपयताङ्कत. ॥

स देश.

“That country, O king, protected on all sides by Bhīshma in accordance with the sacred law, became lovely, being adorned with hundreds of *Chaityas* and sacrificial posts”

The juxtaposition of the Chaityas and Yûpas shows that Brahmanical sacred buildings, probably Stûpas, are meant

The worship of sacred trees by the Jainas has been discussed by Dr Bhagvānlāl (*op cit*, p 142), and he has given the names of the Bodhi-trees of three Tīrthamkaras⁶ The worship of trees in India is older than Jainism and Buddhism Quite irrespective of its traces, found in the Vedic ritual, all the Brahmanical Sûtras bear witness to its existence, as they mention Chaitya trees, which Brahmins and all Āryans must treat with reverence, and it is common to all the sects following the *Bhakti Mārga*, which assign a sacred tree to each deity Like a great many other practices, it has been taken over by the Jainas and Bauddhas from the Brahmins, when their prophets became deities, a new meaning being given to the ancient rite

The four triangles in the corners are each occupied by a female figure holding up her arms and supporting the part of the outer fourth circle just above it On both sides of the heads of these figures there are small projections, which look like rudimentary horns, but appear to be the ears with ornaments hanging down from them The lower extremities of the four figures have been turned into spirally rolled snake-tails with split or fin-like ends, which fill the right and left corners of the triangles Figures, supporting sculptures or statues, are so common in ancient Indian art, that it is unnecessary to cite particular examples

Among the other *Āyāgapatas*, of which Dr Führer has forwarded photographs, there are two more with Jinās in the central medallion or disc, *viz*, that a portion of which has been given in fig A of plate I, and another bearing the inscription No xxxi of my second Series⁶ A third, which bears the archaic inscription No. viii of the same Series, has in the centre a wheel with sixteen spokes, apparently a *Dharmachakra*, regarding the worship of which more will be said in connection with plate IV, and a fourth, which was dedicated by the wife of a dancer (see Inscr No v of the second Series) offers the representation of a Stûpa, in front of which two naked women dance on the lower

⁶ The fact that each Tīrthamkara has his *Chaityayatrikṣha* is also stated by Hemachandra, *Abhidhānachintāmani*, verse 62 (Böhtlingk and Rieu) The commentary to the passage is, however, mutilated or corrupt. A complete list of the sacred trees is given in the *Ratnaśāstra*, vol. II, p 708E.

⁶ *Ante*, pp 195f

rail, exactly in the same indecent posture as those on Dr. Bhagvānlāl's Mathurā slab. The latter seems therefore to belong likewise to the class of the *Āyāgapatas*?

From all these specimens it appears that an *Āyāgapata* is an ornamental slab, bearing the representation of a Jina or of some other object of worship, and the term may be appropriately rendered by "tablet of homage or of worship," since such slabs were put up in temples, as the numerous inscriptions on them say, "for the worship of the Arhats." The *Āyāgapatas* seem to be a distinctive feature of the ancient Jaina art, as neither the Buddhists⁷ nor the orthodox sects mention them. The Buddhists have, however, the term *udhapata*, i.e., *śrīdhvapata*, (see, e.g., Burgess, *Arch. Rep. South Ind.*, vol 1, pp 90f). Even among the Jainas they probably went out of fashion at an early period, as the inscriptions on them invariably show archaic characters, and are in no case known to me dated. In the more modern Jaina temples we find instead of them slabs, called *pañchaparameshthipatta* (Satruñjaya inscriptions, Nos 58, 66, *ante*, pp 31f), *chaturvimsatitūthamkarapatta* (*ibidem*, Nos 57, 67), and so forth.

The sculptures of the second plate are the most interesting of the whole collection. Figure A bears an inscription, legible even on the photo-lithograph, which I read originally as *bhagavā Nemiso*, the "divine lord Nemi," as I believed that the sculpture represented some scene from the life of Neminātha. But a careful investigation of various lives of Neminātha, in which Professors Jacobi and Leumann have kindly assisted me, failed to bring to light any legend that could be turned to use. Finally, Professor Jacobi suggested to me that it might be possible to read *bhagavā Nemiso* "divine Nemesa," to refer these words to the figure with a goat's head just above them, and to identify the goat-headed Nemesa with Indra's divine commander of the foot troops Harinegamesi, who is represented in mediæval pictures as a man with the head of an antelope⁸. The reading *Nemiso* is no doubt as good as *Nemiso*. The vowel-stroke of the second consonant lies in the proper position of an *e*, though the *z* frequently looks exactly alike on these inscriptions. More difficult was the identification of the two names, but, on looking through the *Nemināthacharita* I found a passage, where *Nainameshin* appears instead of the longer word.

It stands in the beginning of the seventh Sarga, where it is narrated how Krishna tried to obtain for Satyabhāmā a son equal to Piadyumna in luck and good qualities. The text¹⁰ runs as follows —

प्रद्युम्नस्य महाकृतदया ताम्यन्ती द्राघयापि च ।

भामा कोपयति गत्वा शिष्ये जर्जरमश्वके ॥ ८ ॥

तत्रायातय कसारिव्याजहार ससभ्रमम् ।

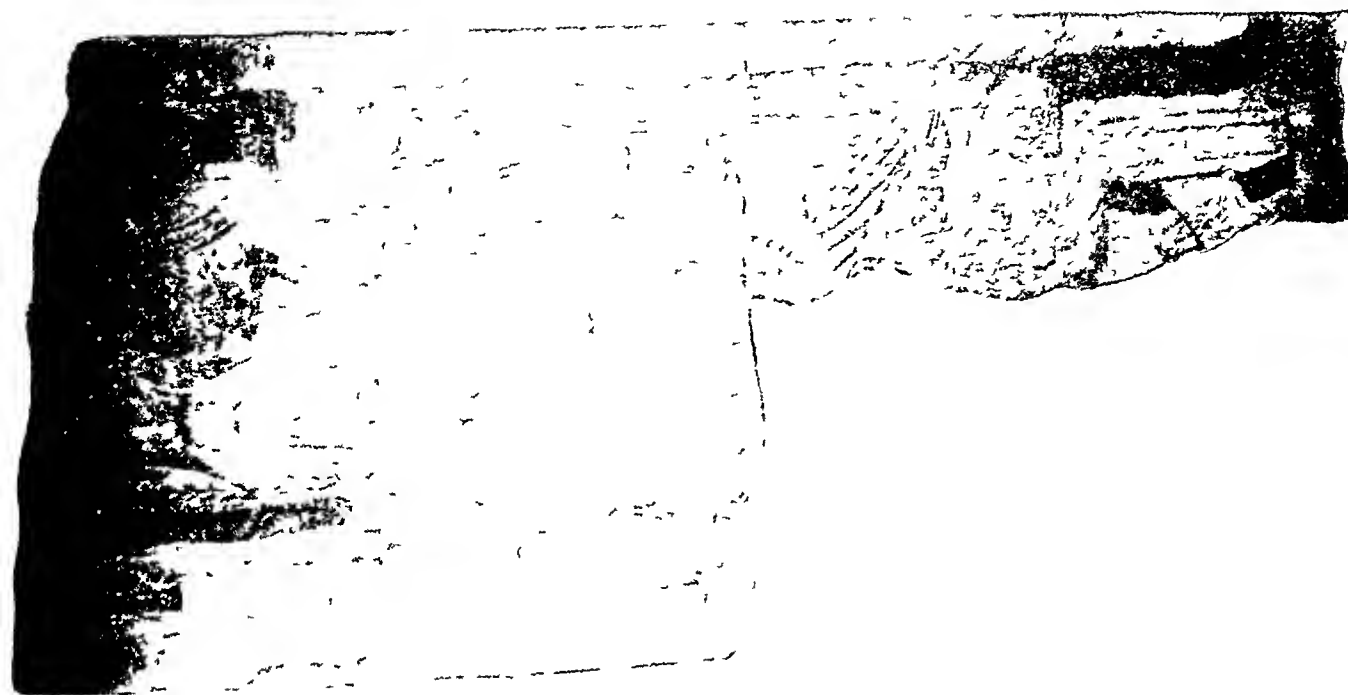
⁷ Possibly the word *ayaga* which occurs in l. 4 of the inscription may be meant for *udga*. Regarding the performances of dancing girls at Jaina festivals, see below the remarks on plate III.

⁸ A Buddhist *āyāgapata* was excavated by me in January 1882 at the ancient site of Adhichhatra (Ramnagar in Rohilkhand) from the ruins of a Buddhist Vihāra. The slab shows a full blown lotus in the middle surrounded by four highly ornamented Trīśūlas. An inscription in archaic characters records its dedication and object.—A 1.

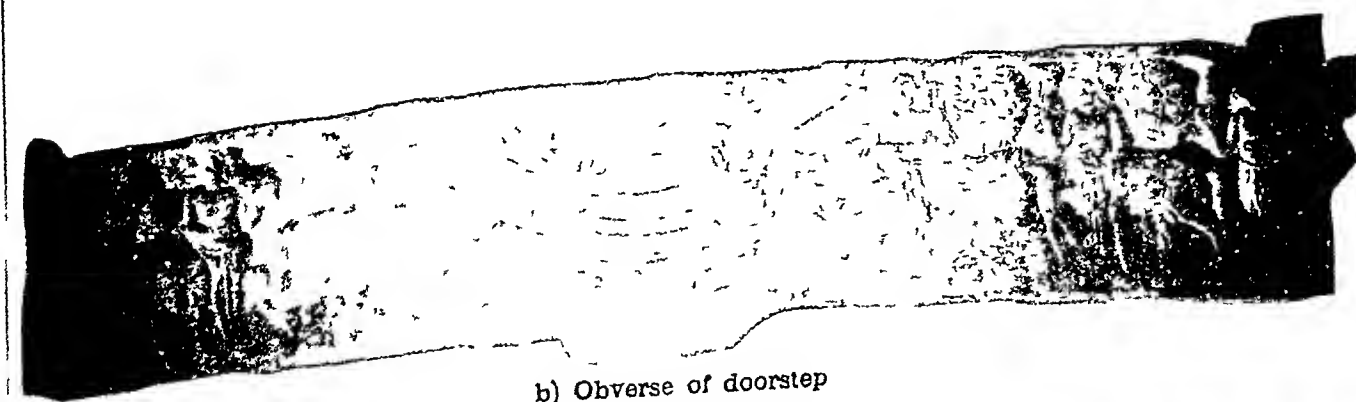
⁹ See *Sacred Books of the East*, vol XXII, page 227, note. Professor Jacobi has kindly furnished me with a sketch of Harinegamesi which is inserted in his ancient illustrated copy of the *Kalpasūtra*.

¹⁰ The MS, from which the subjoined verses have been taken, is No. 259 of the Vienna University Library collection, which was purchased in 1882 from Mr. Bhagvānlāl Kevlādas store of MSS rejected as useless by the Bombay officials in charge of the Search for Sanskrit MSS (see my paper *Ueber eine kürzlich für die Wiener Universität erworbene Sammlung von Sanskrit und Prakrit Handschriften*, *Sitzungsberichte der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol XLIX, p. 563ff).

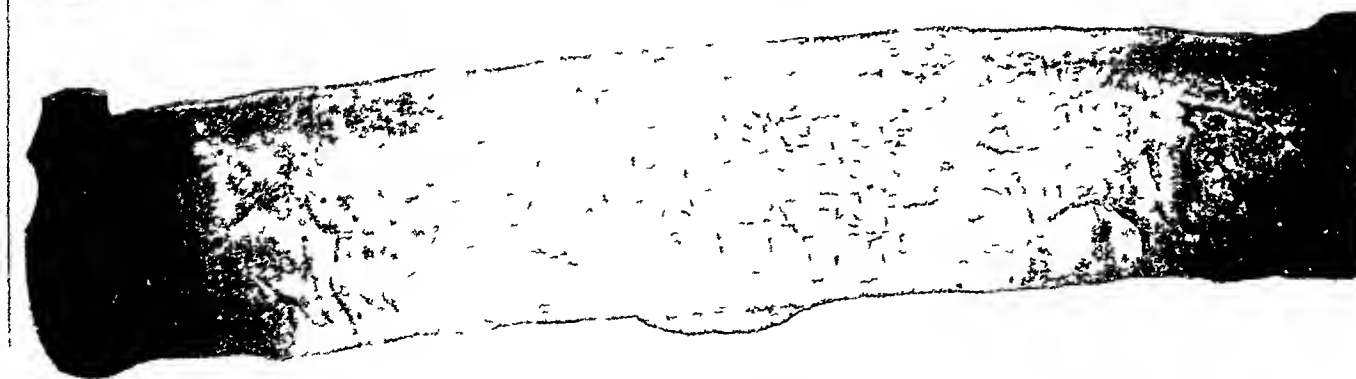
MATHURA SCULPTURES



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b) Obverse of doorstep



c) Reverse of doorstep

केनापमानितासि त्व येनैव[व] श[सु]भ्रु ताम्यसि ॥ ८ ॥
 भाम्यूचे नास्त्य[प]मानो मे कितु प्रद्युम्नसनिभः ।
 न चेन्मे भविता सन्तुर्मरिष्यामि तदा धु[धु]वम् ॥ १० ॥
 कृणत[णस्त]दाग्रह ज्ञात्वा त्रिदि[द]श नैगमेषिणम् ।
 उद्दिश्याष्टमन[भ]क्तिन पोषध प्रत्यपद्यत ॥ ११ ॥
 आविर्भूय नैगमेषी न[त]मूचे कि करोमि ते ।
 कृणोष्युवाच भामायै देहि प्रद्युम्नवत्सुतम् ॥ १२ ॥
 नैगमेष्यवदय[य]स्या पुत्रेच्छा ते भजस्व ताम् ।
 त्वममु हारमामोच्य ततो भावीप्सित. सुत. ॥ १३ ॥
 अर्पयित्वा धृ[धृ]त हार नैगमेषी तिरोदधे ।
 वासुक वासुदेवोपि सत्यायै सुचि[दि]तो ददौ ॥ १४ ॥

(8) "Annoyed at the great luck of Pradyumna and his fame, Bhāmā went into her *boudoir* and lay down on a broken cot

(9) The foe of Kamsa visited her there and spoke agitatedly 'Who has shown disrespect to thee, whereby, O fair-browed one, thou art thus afflicted?'

(10) Bhāmā answered 'No disrespect has been shown to me, but, if I do not obtain a son equal to Pradyumna, I shall certainly die'

(11) Knowing her tenacity of purpose, Krishna undertook a fast in honour of the god Naigameshin, partaking only of every eighth meal

(12) Naigameshin appeared and spoke to him 'What can I do for thee?' Krishna answered 'Give to Bhāmā a son who resembles Pradyumna.'

(13) Naigameshin replied 'Make her, whom thou desirest to have a son, put on this necklace, and then have intercourse with her, thereby she will obtain the desired son'

(14) Handing over the necklace, which he wore, Naigameshin disappeared. But Vasudeva joyfully gave the precious ornament to Satyā"

The legend shows that the Jains worshipped a divine being, called Naigameshin, and considered him to preside over the procreation of children. And Professor Leumann informs me that there are passages in older Jaina works from which the same conclusion may be drawn. Now, Hainegamesi, the deer-headed general of Indra, is, according to the *Kalpasūtra*, likewise closely connected with the same delicate matter, since at his master's command he transferred the embryo of Mahāvira from the body of the Brāhmanī Devanandā to the womb of the Kshatriyānī Trisālā. The last four syllables of his name exactly correspond with the Sanskrit Naigameshin, and the whole compound Hainegamesi means in all probability, as the note to the *Kalpasūtra* suggests, "the Negamesi of Hari," i.e., "Negamesi, the servant of Indra."

The close resemblance of the name Negamesi-Naigameshi and of Nemeso, and the fact that both deities are represented with the heads of similar animals, again tempt one to assume that both the names and the personages are identical. The difficulty, caused by the slight difference in the terminations of the names, may be removed by assuming that the word had originally, like many others, two forms, one ending in *a* and one

ending in *m*. And the correctness of this view is proved by the occurrence of the Sanskrit words *Naigamesha* and *Nejamesha*,¹¹ which in the *Gṛhya Sūtras* and the medical *Saṃhitās* are the names of a deity with a ram's head,¹² particularly dangerous to children. Our word *Nemeso* corresponds exactly with *Naigamesha* according to the analogy of the Pali *emeva* for *evameva*, *ajjhena* for *adhyayana*, *lena* for *layana*, and so forth (see E. Muller's *Simplified Grammar*, pp. 41, 43), the intermediate form being *Nejameso*.

There can be no doubt that the *Naigamesha* or *Nejamesha* of the Brahmins, who seizes children and sorely afflicts them with disease¹³ and the son-granting and embryo-exchanging *Naigamesha-Naigameshin* of the Jainas are in reality identical. They represent two different aspects of the same deity, which was conceived both as beneficent and as hurtful or destructive. Their identity comes out still more fully, if one takes into account another Brahmanical deity, *Naigameya*, whose name, as the larger Petersburg Dictionary points out *sub voce*, is certainly only a variant of *Naigamesha*. This *Naigameya* is declared to be another form, or a son and companion, of the war-god *Skanda*, which latter likewise is represented as dangerous to children. A passage of the *Mahābhārata*, quoted in the Dictionary, *sub voce naigamesha*, asserts that he is *chhāgnavakra* or 'goat-faced,' just like the *Nemeso* of our sculpture. The goat's head excellently suits a deity, who has to do with the procreation of children, as the strong sexual instincts of the goat did not escape the notice of the ancient Hindus.¹⁴ Hence, it may be inferred that the goat's head was the original attribute of *Naigamesha-Naigameshin*, the Brahmins substituting later a ram's head on account of the seeming connection of the name with *mesha*, 'a ram,'¹⁵ and the Jainas a deer's head on account of the compound *Harinegamesī*, seemingly connected with *harina*, 'a gazelle.' I may add that *Naigameshin*'s position as *Indra's* general offers another point of contact with *Naigameya*, who is either considered as identical or as closely connected with *Skanda*, the field marshal of the gods.

If we now return to our sculpture, *Nemesa-Naigameshin*'s divine rank is indicated—(1) by his ornaments, bracelets on the upper arm and a very broad necklace (see above the story of *Krishna*), (2) by the elaborately carved throne on which he sits, (3) by the female attendant to his proper left, who apparently fans him with a *Chauri*, and (4) by the fragment of a canopy or *chhattra*, which, I think, is visible above his head. *Nemesa*'s face is turned to the right, and he lifts his hand apparently addressing somebody who was represented on the lost right half of the slab. At his left knee stands a small naked male, characterised by the cloth in his left hand as an ascetic,¹⁶ and with uplifted right hand. Below this figure is a fragment of an inscription, showing on Dr Fuhrer's rubbings very plainly the syllables *bhaga*. The first word was therefore *bhaga-*

¹¹ See the two Petersburg *Dictionaries* under these words. The identity of *Harinegarisen* with *Naigamesha* has already been hinted by Bohtlingk, *sub voce Harinaigameshin*. The latter word is a faulty form, given by Mr. Colebrooke in his *Essay on the Jainas*, probably in accordance with a bad MS. of one of the commentaries of the *Kalpāsūtra*.

¹² For a representation of *Naigamesha*, as represented in the Elura sculptures, see *Trans. R. As. Soc.*, vol. II, p. 326, 1st plate.—J. B.

¹³ See, in addition to the passages quoted in the *Dictionaries* from the *Suśruta Saṃhitā*, and the *Aśtāṅghaśāstra*, *Uttarasthāna*, ii, 63, and iii, 12-14.

¹⁴ Āpastamba, *Dh. Śū.* II, 14, 13, quotes a Vedic passage to this effect: "Therefore, a he goat and a learned Brahmin evince the strongest sexual desires."

¹⁵ I am not able to offer any etymology for *naigamesha* and *naigameya*.

¹⁶ Compare the figures of monks on Dr. Bhāgvanlāl's slab from Mathurā.

सर्व 'divine,' and a proper name no doubt followed. This epithet makes it probable that the ascetic is meant for a Tirthamkara, because, as far as my observation goes, *bhagavā* is not applied in the inscriptions to ordinary monks. Next, on the left comes the female fan-bearer already mentioned. To the left of her stands another female, who raises her right arm in astonishment and looks apparently at the ascetic. She wears earrings, a necklace, armlets, anklets and the usual dress of married ladies, while a scarf, or *sāṭī*, hangs over her shoulders. At some little distance further to the left, apparently in a separate section of the slab, which is indicated by remnants of architectural ornaments, is found the upper half of a mutilated female figure, who wears the usual ornaments. She likewise raises her right arm and supports with her left on a dish or cushion the body of a motionless infant with the hands folded on its breast.

A Jaina sculpture representing Naigamesha, a small Tirthamkara and a female with a small infant can only be taken to refer to the most famous legend, in which the deity plays a part, viz., the exchange of the embryos of Devanandā and Trisalā. And it seems to me that the various figures on our slab may be explained on this supposition. The story, as related in the *Kalpasūtra*,¹⁷ is briefly this,—“When Indra became aware that Mahāvira had taken the form of an embryo in the Brāhmaṇi Devanandā's body, he paid his reverence to the Arhat that was to be born. It then occurred to him that an Arhat ought not to be born in a low Brahmanical family, but only in a noble royal race, and that it was and always had been the duty of the reigning Indra to transfer the embryo, in case through the influence of his Karman an Arhat had descended into the body of a female of the Brahman caste. In order to fulfil this duty, Indra directed Harinegamesī, the divine commander of infantry, to transfer Mahāvira from the body of Devanandā to Trisalā, a lady of the Jñātri family of Kshatriyas who was also with child. Harinegamesī then repaired first to the Brahmanical quarter of Kundagrāma, took Mahāvira from Devanandā, cleansing him from all impurity, and carried him carefully in his folded hands to the Kshatriya quarter of the same town. There he took Trisalā's embryo from her, likewise duly cleansing it, and put Mahāvira in its place. Next, he returned to Devanandā and placed Trisalā's child in her body. During these operations the two ladies and their attendants lay in a deep magic sleep. Finally, the deity returned to Indra's abode and reported to him that his orders had been carried out.”

As our slab represents Naigameshi-Nemeso, seated in state on his throne, the scene must be laid in Indra's heaven, and it can only refer either to the moment when Indra gave his orders, or to the period when Nemeso had returned from his journey and made his report. The position of the deity, who is apparently speaking to somebody,—probably Indra,—who was represented on the lost right half of the slab, speaks in favour of the second alternative. The small ascetic at Nemesa's left knee, called in the inscription “divine” . . . , is no doubt meant for Mahāvira, who is introduced by the artist with the attributes of a monk, in order to show the subject to which the conversation refers, and he is represented so small, because in reality he is not yet born and has not yet reached the position of an Arhat. The female, with the small motionless infant in the separate section, is probably Trisalā, represented in an apartment of her palace, having just received her new precious burden.

In confirmation of this interpretation, I may point to four mutilated statues now in the Museum at Mathurâ, lithographed by Sir A. Cunningham in the *Arch Surv Reports*, vol. XX, plate iv, 2-5. Two of them represent seated females. "Each of them has," as Sir A. Cunningham says, *op cit.*, p. 36, "a small child lying in a dish on her lap. The left hand supports the dish, but the right is raised up to the shoulder. Both females appear to be naked." The other two figures are males with the heads of animals. "Both," to use Sir A. Cunningham's words, "are represented in the same action. The larger figure carries a pair of children, male and female, in his left hand, each being grasped by one arm at full stretch. The right hand of the figure is raised to the shoulder in the same position as the right hands of the females. On each shoulder a small child is seated facing the head of the figure. The smaller figure is exactly the same as the larger one, excepting that it carries only one child by its outstretched arm." Sir A. Cunningham then goes on to say that he has been unable to find a clue to these curious 'ox-headed' figures, and that he abandoned his first idea that they might be Yakshas and Yakshinis of gigantic size preparing to eat the children, because the small figures, seated on the shoulders of the two males, seemed to point to a more friendly connection between the two parties.

With respect to Sir A. Cunningham's description I must state that I differ from him in one important particular. In my opinion the two males are not 'ox-headed,' but 'goat-headed,' for, between the much mutilated bodies of the children and the likewise somewhat disfigured heads, pendent goats' ears are recognisable, especially in the smaller figure. This granted, it is evident that both males are representations of Naigamesha. With this identification the other details admit of explanation. The motionless infants, represented in connection with the males, are the two embryos, which Naigamesha had to exchange. If the artist represented the larger Naigamesha with two children on his shoulders and two in his hands, and the smaller one with two on his shoulders and one in his hand, he probably meant to indicate two different steps in the transaction, *viz*, that the deity first took the children out of their mother's bodies and 'cleansed them of all impurity,' as the *Kalpavâlî* says, and later conveyed them to their new destination on his shoulders. The two female figures are, of course, No. 2 Trisâlâ and No. 3 Devanandâ, who are represented, the former with a male child on her lap and the other with a female one, in order to show what each received. And it must be noted that the higher rank of Trisâlâ seems to be indicated by the more costly necklace which she wears. The story, which the sculptures tell according to this explanation, may have differed in one detail from that of the *Kalpavâlî*, where Negamesî is said to have taken Mahâvîra in his joined palms, not on his shoulder. But it is also possible that the change is an invention of the sculptor, who wished to represent the deity as carrying the two infants, for both of which there would not have been any room in his hands.

If one compares these figures with our slab, the very close resemblance of the position of the infant, and of the attitude of the female holding it, is at once apparent. And this point, taken together with the unmistakable figure of Naigamesha-Nemeso, irresistibly leads to the conclusion that the legend referred to must be the same in both sculptures.

The other two reliefs on plate II, B and C, are found on a fragment of the doorstep

from one of the two temples, burned under the Kankālī mound. Though they bear no inscription, they cannot be later than the first century B C, for one of the two temples existed on the evidence of the very ancient No 1 of my second Series of Mathurā inscriptions already in the middle of the second century B C, while the likewise archaic inscription No IV of the same Series which records the erection of the second temple, cannot be later than about the middle of the first century. The obverse, A, represents the worship of a Stūpa by two Suparnas, half birds and half men, and by five centaurs or Kimnaras. One of the former offers a garland and the other, as well as three of the centaurs, two on the right and one on the left, bring jars or boxes filled with flower-bunches (?). The last two centaurs on the left seem to carry brooms or fans, made of branches. On both sides of the Stūpa stand trees, and the two Suparnas seem to be seated on, or hovering above, the bending branches of those nearest to the Stūpa. All the five figures wear turbans, such as many of the males of rank represented on Buddhist sculptures wear.

A somewhat similar scene, where Suparnas worship a Stūpa, occurs on a relief at Sanchi (Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plate xxviii, fig 1)¹⁸. But it must be noted that the Sanchi figures are much more like Greek harpies, while those on our slab are done in a more conventional manner like the winged figures on the Assyrian and Persian sculptures. Among Brahmanical representations, those of Garuda, the king of the Suparnas, on the Gupta seals¹⁹ are worthy of comparison. Centaurs have been discovered on the Buddhist monuments in Gayā and elsewhere, and, in all probability, they go back to Greek models. What is particularly remarkable in those on our slab is the branch which hides the place where the human body is united with the rump of the horse. As far as I have been able to ascertain from my colleagues, versed in classical archaeology, there are no Greek sculptures showing this particular

The reverse of our doorstep contains a fragment of a procession, apparently about to visit some sacred place. On the extreme right we have two horsemen, each preceded by a 'syce,' or groom. Next follows a covered cart, drawn by two enormous bullocks, as big as those of the Pālanpur breed, and filled with males and females. The cart closely resembles a modern shighram, and the driver, who lifts his goad, is seated, as is still the custom, on the pole. The tails of the animals are tied to stings connected with the yoke, just as is the case with those of the horses on the Sanchi reliefs²¹. Behind the cart comes again a horseman and finally an elephant with two riders. The elephant is very badly done. The trappings of the several animals are exactly like those represented on the Sanchi sculptures. But similar carts are not traceable on the latter, where very Greek-looking chariots drawn by horses appear instead.

The two sculptures on plate III are found on the two sides of a fragment of a *Torana*, and the scenes represented on them correspond to each other very closely. On both we have triangular pieces in the upper corners and three rows with figures, separated by semi-circular rails, or *Vedikās*, with flowers, each row of figures ending with an

¹⁸ Compare also *ibidem*, plates xxiv, 2, xxv 1, xxvi, 1, xxvii, 1, where Suparnas are represented as worshipping the Bodhi tree.

¹⁹ See Fleet, *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, vol III, plate xxxvii, and Dr. Harle's new Gupta Seal in the *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. LVIII, Pt I p 85ff.

²¹ Fergusson, *op. cit.*, Plate xxxiv, Fig 1, etc.

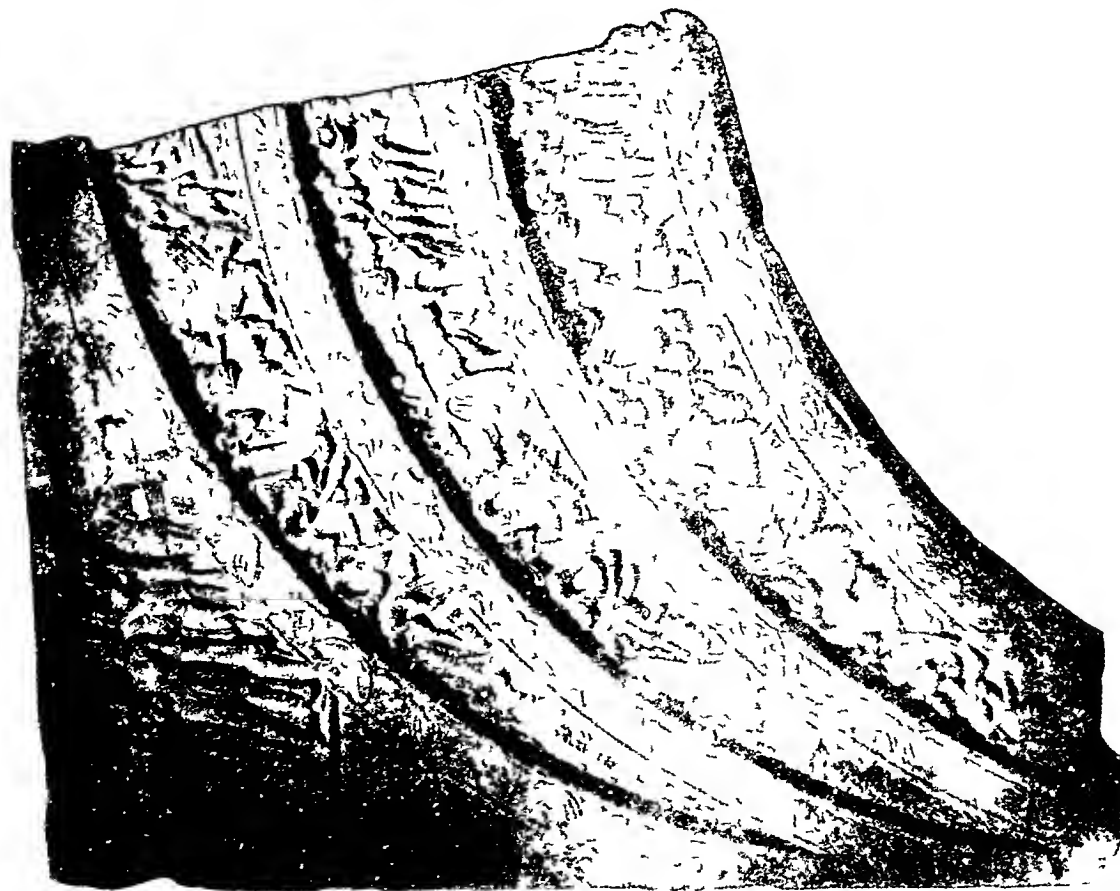
open-mouthed *Makara*, which—in five cases—a man teases by taking hold of its tongue and upper jaw. The *Makara*, filling the corner of a row of figures, is common also on all Buddhist monuments.²² In the cornerpiece on the obverse (*A*) the chief group is placed on the left side and consists of a male with a peaked ornament on his head (a crest-jewel?), holding a garland and four females in the attitude of worship; just below them appears a portion of an empty covered carriage. Further to the right stand five other smaller males (?), four in the attitude of worship, and carrying a large tray with offerings, the nature of which is not distinguishable. The extreme left is filled by five vessels of various shapes and sizes, from one of which rise the leaves of a plant. In the corresponding portion of the reverse (*B*) there is again in the back-ground a group consisting of one male with the peaked head-ornament and three or four females, one of whom holds a garland, further in front also a servant with offerings and a small male figure in the attitude of worship. Below the group appears likewise a portion of a carriage. The place, which on the other side is occupied by jars, is here filled up by a Stûpa and by two platforms of stone (*pīṭhikā*), which in the centre seem to have borne representations of sacred marks (*Padukās*?), and at the upper ends are decorated, each with two lotuses. Two of the semi-circular rows of figures on the obverse, the first and the third, contain each two covered carts (*shighram*) very similar to that on plate II, C, which are apparently each occupied by several passengers and attended by servants. In front of the cart in the first row walk three dancing girls, who may be easily recognised by the manner in which they expose their persons. It is possible, but not certain, that two of them support with their left hands trays or dishes with offerings. In the third row we have in the place of the dancing girls portions of a clothed male figure seated on a throne and attended by a female fan-bearer. The second row of the obverse shows running male figures with flying upper garments, holding bunches of flowers (lotuses?) in their hands.

On the reverse only the second, or central, row contains the representation of an uncovered bullock or horse-cart, preceded by dancing girls. Behind this cart comes a male figure riding on a marine monster, and in front there is a mutilated male figure on a throne. The riders on sea-lions and *Makaras* reappear in the two other rows. In the first there is also a mutilated male figure on a throne, attended by a female fan-bearer, at whose dress a *Hamsa* nibbles. The back-ground behind the *Hamsa* is occupied by a monument, possibly a temple, enclosed by a wall. In the third row two male figures with upturned faces and uplifted hands are visible in front of the riders, as well as a piece of the garment of a third.

The general character of the scenes represented is, of course, not doubtful. They refer to the worship of one or several Jaina sanctuaries and to processions or pilgrimages undertaken for this purpose. Many of the details must be likewise familiar to every student of Indian archæology, and they agree in part at least with the descriptions of such scenes occurring in Jaina works. The jars of various shapes, even those with plants, appear frequently on the Buddhist Stûpas, and the Jaina descriptions of the pilgrimage of the deity Suriyâbha to the Ambasâlavana Chaitya mention them

²² On the Amarâvatî Stûpa, Burgess, *Arch. Rep. South India*, vol. I, plate xxviii, C, there is a similar scene in which a female takes hold of a *Makara*'s tongue.

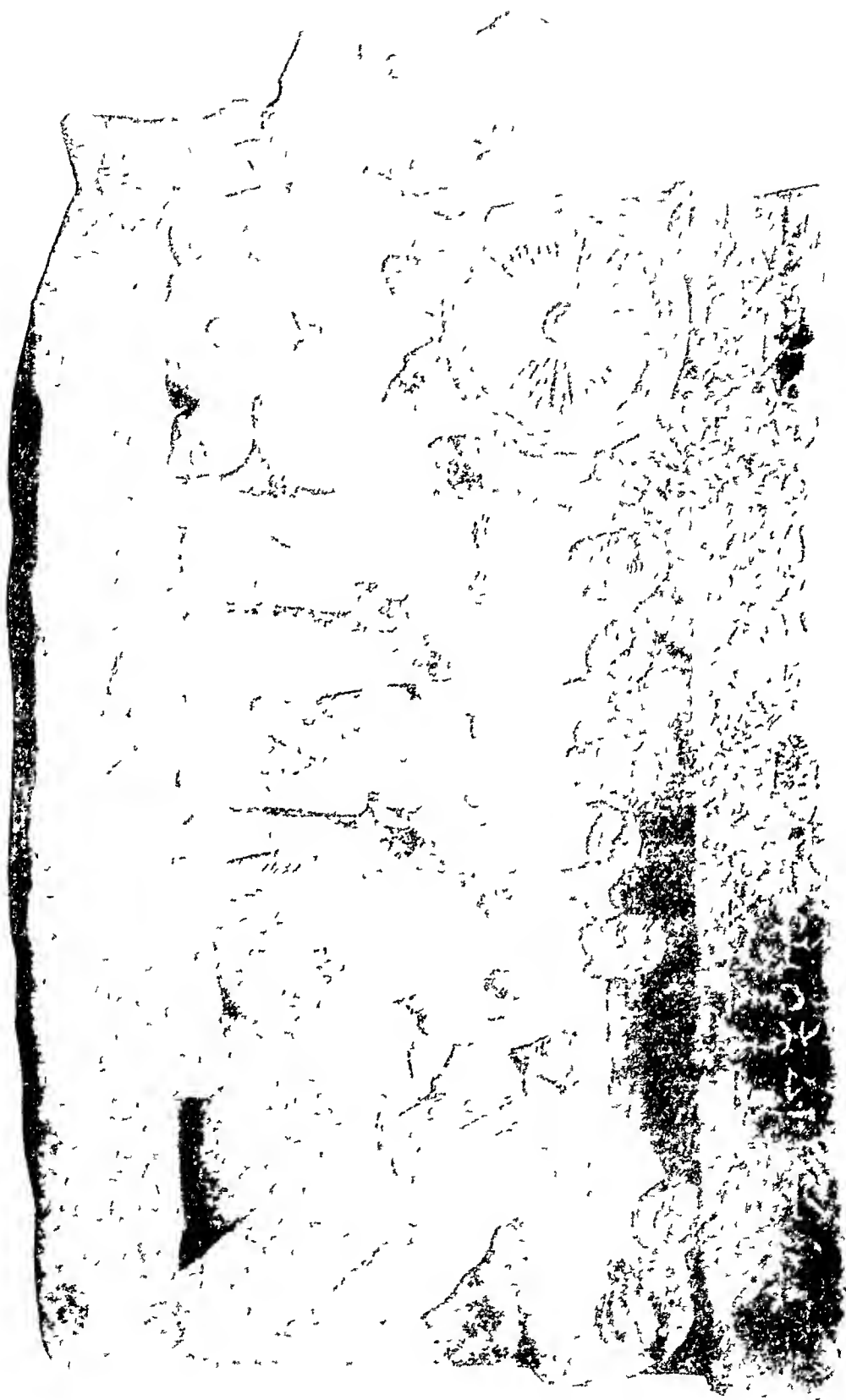
MATHURA SCULPTURES



b) Reverse of Torana



a) Obverse of Torana



distinctly as requisites of worship²³ Again, the stone platforms, with lotuses and other sacred marks, occur on the Bharhut sculptures²⁴ Nor are the riders on monsters and the running figures with flying garments unknown on the Buddhist Stûpas,²⁵ where the latter are easily recognisable as Vidyâdharas, moving through the air Similarly, the dancing girls, who, even in modern times, are engaged to perform in honour of the Tîrthamkaras, are frequently represented on the Buddhist monuments as exhibiting their art at festivals. But other points, like the introduction of the half visible clothed males, seated on thrones, and the representations of carts along with the riders on marine monsters and Vidyâdharas, are puzzling, and it is difficult to decide whether the artist intended to lay his scene in heaven or on earth, and whether all the figures on each of the two sides of the Torana must be taken as a whole or if each row represents a scene complete in itself The most probable view is perhaps that the artist did not intend to give two compositions only, based on particular texts or illustrating particular legends, but merely wished to show how gods and men are eager to pay homage to the Tîrthamkaras, to their Stûpas and temples

Plate IV reproduces the mutilated slab, which bears No. XXI of my second Series of Mathurâ inscriptions²⁶—

“The year 79, fourth month of the rainy season, day 20,—on that (*date, specified as above*, Aya-Vridhahasti, a preacher in the Kottiya gana and the Vairâ śâkhâ gave the advice to make an image of the Arhat Nandiâvarta (*Ara*) . . . the image, the gift of the female lay disciple Dînâ (*Dattâ*), wife of . . . was set up at the Vodva Stûpa, built by the gods”

The central piece on the slab is a *Dharmachakra* supported by a *Trisûla*, which itself rests on a lotus

It belongs to the class of the *Chakras*, made conventionally and with a great number of spokes, which are not uncommon on the Amarâvati Stûpa (see Burgess, *op cit.*, plates xxvi, 6, xxxiii, 2), and may be a later development of the carefully done wheels

It differs from those on the Buddhist and other Jaina sculptures by the two ear-like projections at the top, as well as by the addition of two *Śankhas*,²⁷ which lean against the basis On the right of the *Dharmachakra* there is the mutilated figure of a naked ascetic, who, as usual, has a piece of cloth hanging over his right arm This is probably the Arhat mentioned in the inscription To the left of the *Chakra* stand four clothed females, wearing the usual ornaments of married women and holding garlands in their hands with which they evidently intend to worship the sacred symbol The faces of these females look like portraits Three of them seem to be matrons of mature years, the fourth is smaller and apparently much younger The last two are half hidden by the figure of a large crouching lion, facing the left

The most noticeable point is the *Dharmachakra*, which, as the Mathurâ sculptures prove, was used and worshipped as much by the Jainas as by the Bauddhas The fact is not very astonishing, as the wheel is the emblem of rule and government with all

²³ See Professor E Leumann's translations from the *Râgapaseniyja Sutta*, *Actes du Vème Cong Int Orientalistes*, tome III, 2, p 500 and *passim*

²⁴ See Cunningham, *Bharhut*, plates xxxi, 2 4, xxx, 3, etc.

²⁵ *Arch Reports South India*, vol I, plates xxxiii, 2, xxxiv, 1, xxxv, 2, and *Cave Temples*, plate¹, Fig 1 2

²⁶ *Ante*, vol II, pp 195f

²⁷ The Śankhas have probably been added *mangalârtham*

Hindus, and the Sanskrit *Koshas* give *rāshtra* as one of the meanings of *chakra*. The epithet *apratihatachakra*, 'he whose wheel, i.e., rule, is unopposed,' is commonly given to kings in the inscriptions, and there are hundreds of passages in epic and classical poetry in which the *chakra* of kings is mentioned. Nor are the compound *dharma-chakra*, 'the rule of the sacred law,' and the familiar phrase *dharma-chakram pravartayati*, 'he sets in motion the wheel of the law,' i.e., 'he causes the rule of the law to spread,' wanting in Brahmanical literature. The larger St. Petersburg Dictionary quotes several passages from the *Mahābhārata* where they occur. It is said of Bhishma, *Mah* I, 109, 11 —

भीमेण विहितं राट्टे धर्मचक्रमवर्तत ।

"The rule of the law continued, which Bhishma had established in the kingdom," and *Mah* XII, 356, 2 —

यत्र पूर्वमिसर्गे वै धर्मचक्रं प्रवर्तितम् ।

नैमिषे गोमतीतीरे तत्र नागाह्वयं पुरम् ॥

"A town, called Nāga, lies on the bank of the Gomati in the Naimishia forest, where in a former citation the rule of the law was caused to spread."

Considering that the metaphorical meaning of *chakra* is very common with the Brahmanical poets and easily intelligible as an outgrowth of the idea that the unopposed progress of a king's chariot shows the wide extent of his power, it may be safely assumed that the application of the expression to the triumphant progress of the sacred law is likewise of Brahmanical origin, as the passages from the *Mahābhārata* indicate. And it naturally follows that the Jains and Buddhists, who both worship the *Dharma-chakra* as the emblem of the rule of their respective creeds, borrowed it from the Brahmans, and that the commonly prevalent idea is erroneous, according to which the *Dharma-chakra* is a distinctive mark of the Buddhists and their particular invention.

These new sculptures from the Kankali Tila teach the same lesson as Dr. Bhagvānśāl's Mathurā slab published in the *Transactions of the Leyden Congress*, and prove that the ancient art of the Jains did not differ materially from that of the Buddhists. Both sects used the same ornaments, the same artistic *motives* and the same sacred symbols, differences occurring chiefly in minor points only. The cause of this agreement is in all probability, not that the adherents of one sect imitated those of the other, but that both drew on the national art of India and employed the same artists. Full proof of this assumption, which modifies the statements in some standard works on Indian archaeology regarding the development of ancient Indian art, can only be obtained by the excavation of really old Brahmanical temples. And it is to this task that the Archaeological Survey in India ought to direct its attention, as a thorough exploration even of a few Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples, which date from the second or first century before our era, will do more for our knowledge of the history of the Indian religions than the excavation of a hundred Stūpas or Vihāras.

But even at present various pieces of collateral evidence are available which support the view that all the several Indian sectarians took their sacred symbols and the ornaments of their temples from one common storehouse. Chief among these is the now generally acknowledged fact that the Brahmanists, the Jains and the Buddhists, all and at the same time, contributed to the development of the cave temple architecture

which formerly was considered to be a speciality of the Buddhists. It is now conceded that the oldest known caves at Barâbar and Nâgârjuni belonged to the Vaishnava Âjivikas, and those near Katak to the Jaina worshippers of the Arhats. The undoubtedly Buddhist Lenas date from somewhat later times. It is, therefore, not in the least doubtful that all the old Indian sects used rock-excavations for sheltering their ascetics who wished to live in retirement, and sometimes also their idols, and it is highly probable that this usage goes back to times antecedent to the rise of Buddhism and Jainism. In the face of such facts one can only say that it would be surprising if the worship of Stûpas, of sacred trees, of the Wheel of the Law, and so forth, more or less distinct traces of which are found with all sects, as well as their representation in sculptures, were due to one sect alone instead of being heirlooms handed down from remote times before the beginning of the historical period of India.

XXV —THE BHATTIPROLU INSCRIPTIONS.

By G. BÜHLER, PH D, LL D, C I E

The subjoined ten inscriptions, which were discovered by Mr A. Rea in the Bhattiprolu Stupa, are published here in full according to impressions, and in the case of No. X, also according to a photograph furnished to the editor by Mr. Rea.¹

Nos. I—IX are incised on three relic caskets, partly on the circular tops and partly on the rims of the lower stones. Their preservation is good except in parts of No. III and in No. IV, which latter is effaced. No. X is scratched on a small hexagonal piece of crystal and difficult to read on account of the shallowness of the strokes. The great interest and value of the first nine documents lie in their characters, which mostly resemble those of Aśoka's inscriptions, but show also peculiarities met with nowhere else. The details are as follows —

(1) Twenty-three letters *viz*, the initial vowels *ā, â, u, o* and the consonants, *k, kh, chh, ñ, t, th, n, ð, dh, n, p, ph, b, y, r, l, s* and *h* agree exactly with those of the Southern Maurya alphabet.

(2) The letter *g* has both the usual angular Maurya form and that with the rounded top, which occurs occasionally in Aśoka's Edicts, *e.g.*, in *maḡesu* Pillar Edicts VII 2, 2, and is used invariably in the later inscriptions. The first palatal, *ch*, has a tail caused by a prolongation of the vertical. The third lingual, *ḍ*, shows slanting strokes instead of straight ones, which peculiarity is also repeatedly observable in the word *pāsanda* (Kalsi version of the Rock Edict XII, 1, ll 33—34) and in *ambāvadhā*, Allahabad, Queen's Edict, l 3. The dental media, *ḍ*, exactly resembles the Maurya letter, but is turned round like the Andhra *da* and that of the modern Devanagari. The same remarks apply to the fourth labial, *bh*.

(3) Five letters are entirely abnormal, *viz* —

(a) *gh*, which is expressed by the sign for *g* with a curve to the right denoting the aspiration (compare the Maurya *chha, dha* and *pha*, which have been formed in a

¹ See the plates. Preliminary notices treating chiefly of the phonographic peculiarities of the first nine, have been printed in the *Academy*, 1892, 1, 221, and in the *Asiatic Oriental Journal*, vol. VI, p. 125.

similar manner out of the signs for *cha*, *da* and *pa*). It occurs in the names *Vaghará*, i.e., *Vyághrapád* (II. 2), *Satugho*, i.e., *Śatrughna* (II. 8), *Chaghkañā*, i.e., *Jaghanya* (VII), *Chagho*, i.e., *Changa* (? VIII. 2), *Alhagho*, i.e., *Alshaghna* or *Rilshaghna* (VIII. 5)

(b) *j* has the angular form, which is rare in Aśoka's inscriptions, (but see, e.g., *rājā*, Gurnâr Rock Edict, IX. 1) and the usual one in later documents, minus the central horizontal bar. It occurs repeatedly (e.g., I, A, B) in the word *majusa* or *majūsa*, i.e., *mañjūśā*

(c) *m* is turned topsy-turvy. It is found in the last-mentioned word and frequently in well-known names like *Samana* (III. 5), i.e., *Śramana*, *Māho* (VIII. 5), i.e., *Māgha*, etc.

(d) *l* shows instead of the short horizontal bar on the left a long slanting line attached at an acute angle to the right of the vertical stroke. It occurs only in names, e.g., *Pigalako* (III. 9), i.e., *Pingalaka*, *Odalo* (III. 11), i.e., *Odāla* or *Audāra*, *Gilāno* (VII. 13), i.e., *Glāna*, *Gosālakānam* (III. 16), i.e., *Gośālalānām*, and so forth.

(e) The lingual sibilant looks almost exactly like the *lra* of the later inscriptions, and seems to be developed from the *sha* of the Kālsī version of the Rock Edicts by turning the latter sign completely round and converting its upper curve into a crossbar. It occurs regularly for *sa* in the termination of the genitive of vowel-stems, e.g., *Kurasha* (I, A, B), in the genitive plural *tesham* (VI), i.e., *teshām*, in the word *shamuga* (I, A) i.e., *samudga* and in many proper names.

(4) There is further the lingual *l*, which does not occur in Aśoka's Edicts. It looks like a *pa* with a short horizontal bar, attached to the right of the vertical stroke, it is more archaic than the corresponding Andhra letter and very similar to the *la* of a Sanchi inscription. It occurs in the word *phālga*^o (I, A), i.e., *sphātīla* and in various proper names.

(5) The notation of the medial and final vowels shows two very remarkable peculiarities —

(a) The short *a* is invariably marked by the horizontal stroke to the right of the consonant, which denotes long *ā* in the Maurya alphabet, except when an Anusvāra follows. The latter limitation is probably due to the circumstance that the Anusvāra was considered equivalent to *am*, in which form it is invariably given in the native lists of *mātrikās*, or the alphabets.

(b) The long *ā* is usually marked by a horizontal stroke and a vertical hanging down from its end. In *negamā*, VIII. 1, a cursive form, consisting of a long notched horizontal stroke, appears instead.

(6) In other respects the notation of the medial vowels mainly agrees with that used in Aśoka's inscriptions. The diphthong *o* is however more commonly expressed by a bar projecting to the right and to the left of the consonant than by two separate strokes. The former *o*, though rare in the Edicts, does occur occasionally, see, e.g., *ngohāni*, Pillar Edict, VII. 2, 2. Finally, in the syllables *ni* and *nī* the vowel is attached to the middle of the vertical stroke of *n*, according to the analogy of *na* and *nā*.

(7) The initial vowels *i*, *ī*, *ū*, *e* and the consonants *jh* and *dh* do not occur, and there are at least no certain traces of the palatal sibilant *ś*, though there is a sign somewhat like it in a difficult name towards the end of III. 10.

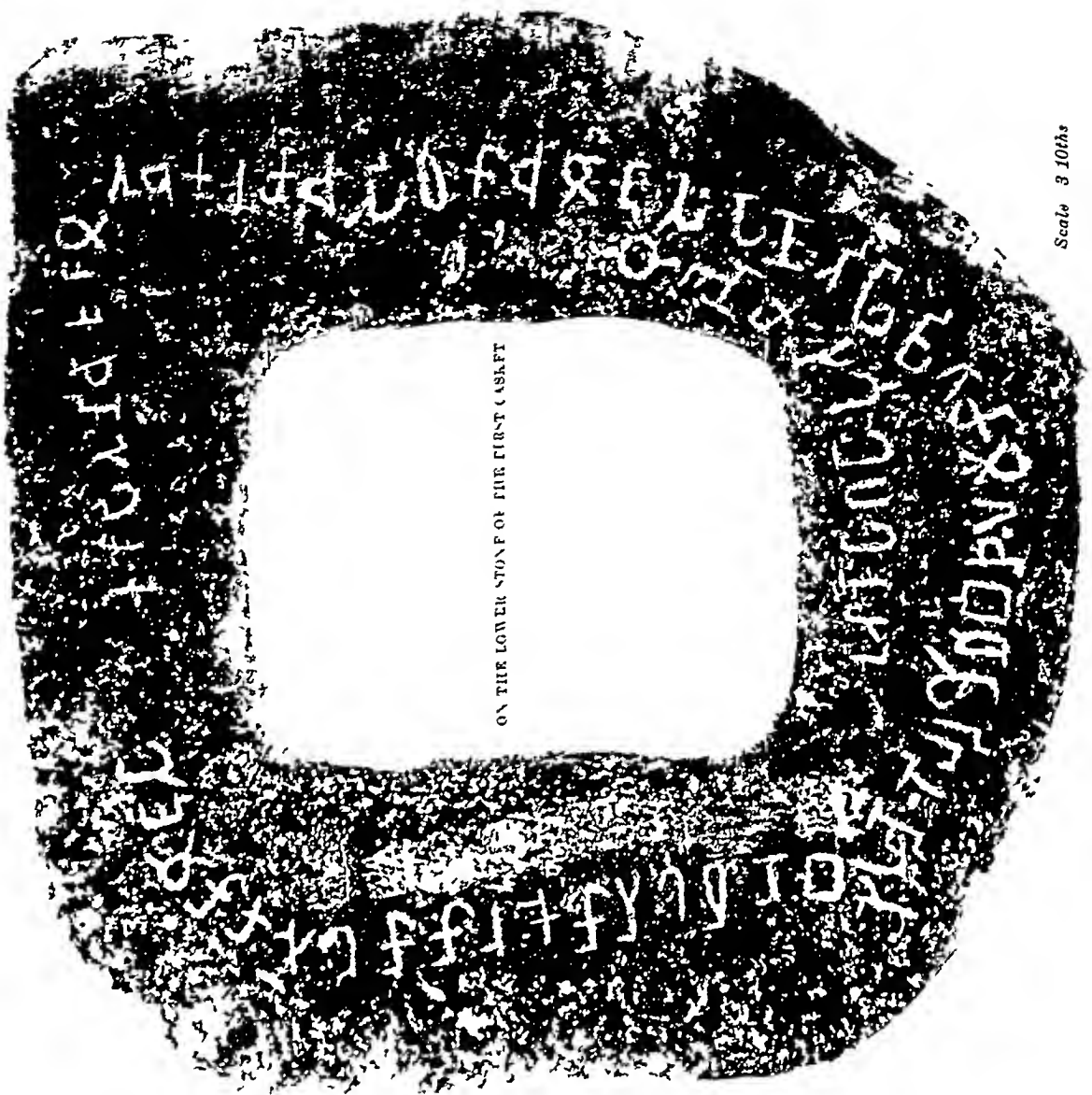
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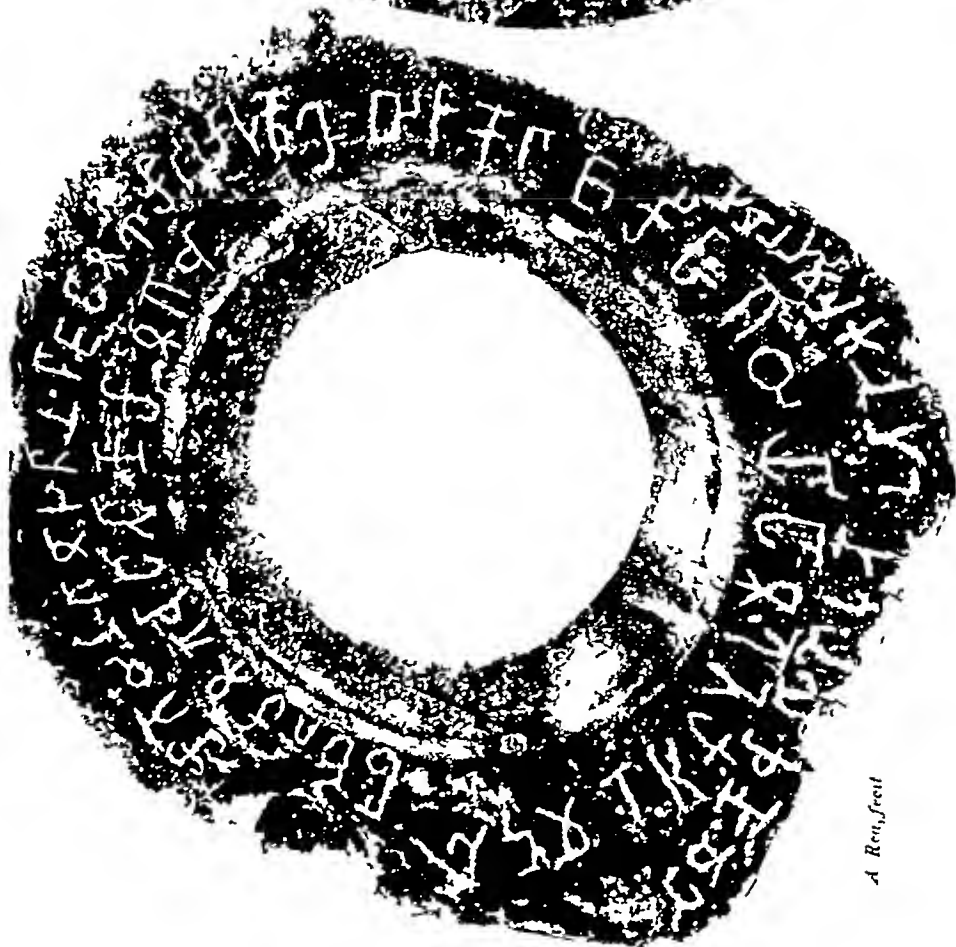
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Scale 3 10ths

BHATTIPROLU CASKET INSCRIPTIONS

ON THE EDGE OF THE BOA OF THE SECOND CASKET



A. Ravi, fecit

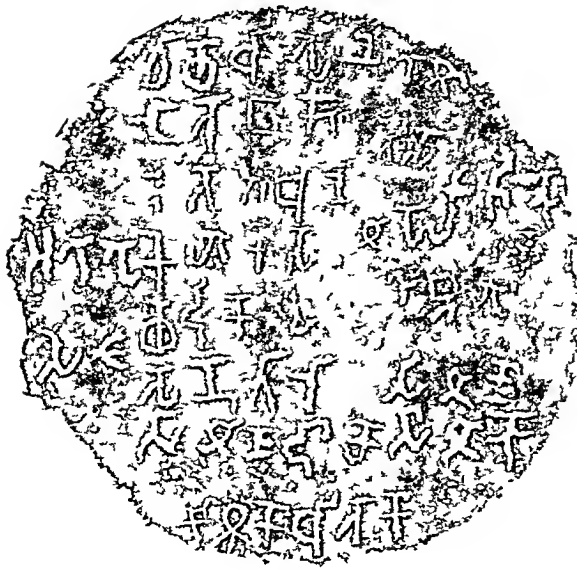
ON THE LID OF THE SECOND CASKET



Scale 3-10/16

BHATTIPROLU CASKET INSCRIPTIONS

ON THE LID OF THE THIRD CASKET



ON THE EDGE OF THE BOX
OF THE LOWER OR THIRD CASKET

ALPHABET OF THE BHATTIPROLU INSCRIPTIONS

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 𑉛 𑉜 𑉝 𑉞 𑉟

The inscription, No X, which is incised on the piece of crystal, shares only two of the peculiarities, just described. Its *cha* (1 2) has a tail and its *da* in *°deśānam* (1. 3) and in *dānam* (1 6) opens towards the left. In other respects its letters, as well as its vowel notation, fully agree with those of Aśoka's Edicts. It may be noted that it twice occurs in *Śamanudeśānam* (1 2) with the palatal sibilant exactly in the places where it would stand in Sanskrit. This agreement of its characters with those of the Maurya inscriptions leads to the supposition that it belongs to the same time as the latter.

But the first nine inscriptions are also probably only a few decades later than Aśoka's Edicts. They unfortunately contain no historical statements which might be used to absolutely prove the correctness of this estimate. They mention, it is true, the names of a king *Kubūako* or *Khūvako*, i.e., *Kuberaka*, of various families, of *gotīs* or committees and Buddhist saints. But none of them is traceable in any other historical source. Under these circumstances, all that remains is to fall back on arguments deduced from a comparison of other datable inscriptions, which, of course, may be deceptive. If one does this and places on the one side the alphabet of the Aśoka Edicts and on the other those of the Nânâghat, Hathigumphā and Bharahut-Torana inscriptions, which belong to about the middle of the 2nd century B.C., one can only come to the conclusion that the Bhattiprolu inscriptions hold an intermediate position between the two sets, but are much more closely allied to the first than to the second. On this evidence, which, I repeat, *may* mislead, they cannot be placed later than 200 B.C., but may be somewhat earlier.

If this estimate is correct, their characters prove (what, indeed, is also made probable by facts connected with Aśoka's Edicts) that during the 3rd century B.C. several well-marked varieties of the Southern Maurya alphabet existed, for they contain a system which cannot have sprung up in a short time, but must have had a longer history. The importance of this result lies therein that it removes one of the arguments of those scholars who believe the introduction of writing to have happened during the rule of the Maurya dynasty. It has been stated repeatedly that one of the facts proving the Aśoka Edicts to belong to the first attempts of the Hindus in the art of writing, is the absence of local varieties among the letters of versions, incised at places which lie at distances from each other of more than a thousand miles. This argument is based, as I have pointed out more than once, on imperfect observation, and it may be met also by the obvious objection, that Aśoka's Edicts were all issued from the same office, and that the importance naturally attributed to the writing of the royal clerks at Pataliputra might be expected to influence the copyists in the provinces and to induce them to imitate as much as possible the shape of the letters used at head-quarters. Nevertheless, if the Bhattiprolu inscriptions now show a system of writing, which in some respects is radically different and which may be reasonably supposed to have arisen in Aśoka's times or even earlier, they furnish a very great help to those who, like myself, believe the art of writing to have been practised in India for many centuries before the accession of Chandragupta to the throne of Pataliputra.

This is, as far as I can judge at present, the chief value of the new alphabet. I do not think that it teaches us much regarding the history of the Southern Maurya characters and regarding the manner in which they were derived from their Semitic prototypes. There is only one form among them which, I think, may be considered for

good reasons as more ancient than the corresponding Maurya character. This is the *m*, whose shape comes so close to the full form of the Northern *m* that I should not wonder if the two little strokes below the circle had really stood originally below the circle or semicircle and the letter had been turned topsy-turvy only later. Further, it is possible that the *gh* of the Bhattiprolu alphabet, which, as stated already, has been formed by the extension of a principle underlying the formation of *chha*, *dha* and *pha*, proves the Semitic prototype of the Southern Maurya characters to have been destitute of a sign for the guttural *media aspirata*. Though the common Southern *gha* looks like an independent character, it may have been formed out of a *ga* with a round top by the addition of a curve to the upper right corner and by then turning the whole letter round. If this view is correct, the Bhattiprolu *gh* probably dates from very ancient times and is quite as old as the sign of Aśoka's Edicts. On the other hand, two other letters, the *j* with two bars and the lingual sibilant *sh* are in all probability younger than the corresponding Maurya characters. With respect to *sh* this is self-evident. As regards the *j*, the central bar probably has to be regarded as an essential part of the letter on account of the shape of *jha*, which has been fashioned out of a *ja*, consisting of a vertical and a short horizontal stroke by the addition of a small upward stroke on the right. Nor is it possible to assume that the more elaborate system of vowel-notation in the Bhattiprolu inscriptions is more ancient than the simpler one, found in all other Indian alphabets, for the Semitic original of the Southern alphabet in all probability had no vowel-marks. Hence, a system of notation, requiring eight instead of seven signs for the purpose must be regarded *a priori* as the later one. With respect to the remaining anomalies, I am not able to say anything definite. But I would point out that, with the exception of the position of the letter *da*, not one of the peculiarities of the Bhattiprolu alphabet has left any trace in the later Indian alphabets.

The language of the Bhattiprolu inscriptions is of the type of the Pali, from which it differs only by the occurrence of the lingual sibilant in Nos I—IX, and of the palatal one in No X. Though the two signs differ, I believe that the sound for which they served was the same. There is, as far as I am aware, neither any modern nor ancient Prakrit dialect, which has or had more than two sibilants the dental one and that which comes near to, but is a little thicker than, the Sanskrit palatal *śa*.

With regard to the contents of the inscriptions, I may confine myself to the remark that two of the caskets are said (see Nos I and V) to be intended for relics of Buddha. This point, I think, speaks too in favour of the antiquity of the inscriptions.

TRANSCRIPTS AND TRANSLATIONS

I²

(A) Kuṇapituno cha Kuṇamā[t]u cha Kurasha Siva[śha]³ mānasaṃ-
phāḥiśaṃgum¹ cha Budhasannanam nikheta [11]

(B) Banavipul cha Kuṇasha śhapitukasha majusa [11].

¹ Ac I and II are incised on the rim of the lower stone of the first casket

² I, u, l, h, c, ś, r, e, r is the lower curve of the *sha* has not been formed properly

³ For *śha* *pauliṣam saṃgum*

TRANSLATION

"By the father of Kura, the mother of Kura, Kura (*himself*) and Siva (*Śiva*), (*has been ordered*) the preparation of a casket and (*has been given*) a box of crystal in order to deposit some relics of Budha (*Buddha*)

"By Kura, the son of Banava, associated with his father (*has been given*), the casket

II

Utarō Pigahaputo lānītho⁶ [11]

TRANSLATION

"Utarā (*Uttara*), the youngest son of Pigaha (*Vigraha*)

III

- | | | |
|---|----|---------------------------------|
| L | 1 | Gothī |
| | 2 | Hirañavaghavā |
| | 3 | V[u]gālako K[ā]laho |
| | 4 | Visako Thorasisi |
| | 5 | Samano Odalo |
| | 6 | Apaka Shamudo |
| | 7 | Anuga[h]o Kuro |
| | 8 | Satugho Potako [P]oto Ālmaka |
| | 9 | V[a]runo Piga[la]ko Koshako |
| | 10 | Suto Pāpo Kabherakh[o] [Gālc]ko |
| | 11 | Samana[d]āsho Bharado |
| | 12 | Odalo Thoratiso Tiso |
| | 13 | Gilāno Jambho |
| | 14 | Pudara (?) [B]ūbo |
| | 15 | Gālavata . . . (?) Janako |
| | 16 | Gosālakānam Kulo |
| | 17 | Uposhathaputo Utaro |
| | 18 | Kārahaputo [11] |

TRANSLATION

"The Committee (*consists of*) —

Hirañavaghava (*Hiranyavyāghri apād*) Vugālaka (*Udgālaka*), Kalaha, Visaka (*Vishaka*), Thorasisi (*Sthaulāsishu*), Samana (*Śīamana*), Odala, Apaka, Shamuda (*Samudra*), Anugaha (*Anugaha*), Kura, Satugha (*Śatughna*), Potaka, Pota, Ālmaka (*Ālmaka* ²), Varuna, Piga[la]ka (*Pingalaka*), Koshaka (*Kauśika* ²), Suta, Pāpa, (Kabherakha ²) (*Kuberakha* ²), Gāleka (²), Samana[d]āsha (*Śīamanadāsa*), Bharada (Bharata) (L 12), Odala (*Audāra* ²) Thoratisa (*Sthaulatishya*), Tisa (*Tishya*), Gilāna (*Glāna*), Jambha, . . . Būba . . . Janaka, of the Gosalakas (*Gosālaka*), Kūra, the son of Uposhatha, (*Uposhatha*), Utara (*Uttara*), the son of Karaha

⁵ The genitive *sarirānam* has to be taken as *genitivus partitivus*

⁶ This seems to be meant for *lanittho*

⁷ For the change of *va* to *pa*, compare words like Pali *payāpati*, Sanskrit *prayāvatī* and the inscriptional *bhagapati*, for *bhagavato*, *pyite* for *vyite*, and the like. Probably Uttara was the stone cutter who made the casket.

⁸ Nos III V are incised on the top stone of the second casket, and No III in a central disc, lines 1-11 running lengthwise, lines 12-13 breadthwise on the left, and lines 14-18 breadthwise on the right

IV.⁹

Sama[nadā]sha[to hita] . a . . Budhasha sarirāni mahiyānukammā . . .

Remark

Nothing can be said regarding the contents of this inscription, except that it mentions relics of Buddha

V.¹⁰

- L 1 Gothisamano Kubo [I]
2 Hiranakāragāmanīputo Būbo [II]

TRANSLATION

"Kuba (*Kumbha*), the ascetic of the Committee (?) "

"Būba, the son of the village-headman Hiranakāra (*Hiranyakdra*)."

VI.¹¹

Shaga[th]ingamaputānam rājapāmukhā¹²[I] Sha . 1[sha] puto Khubirako rajā
Shihagothiyā pāmukho [I] tesham amnam maj [ū-]s[am] phālgashamugo cha
pāsānashamugo cha [II]

TRANSLATION.

"By the sons of the Shāgathi *ngama* (*guild or town*), chief among whom is the king—king Khubiraka (*Kuberaka*), the son of Sha -1, is the chief of the Shīha (*Śimha*) Committee—by these (*has been given*) another casket, a box of crystal and a box of stone "

VII.¹³

Samano Chagha[ña]puto Utaro Āramutara . . [II]

TRANSLATION

"Samaṇa (*Śramana*), the son of Chaghaña (? *Jaghanya* ?). Utara (*Uttara*)

. . . .

VIII.¹⁴

- L. 1 Negamā
2 Vachho Chagho
3 Jeto Jambho Tiso
4 Reto Achuno Shabhluko
5 Akhagho Kelo Keso Māho
6 Seto Chhadiko Okhabūlo
7 Sonutaro Samano
8 Samanadāsho Samako
9 Kāmuko Chitako [II]

⁹ Incised on the rim to the left and below the inscription on the central disc

¹⁰ Incised on the outer rim, to the right of the inscription on the central disc Possibly *Kubo* is to be read

¹¹ Incised on the rim of the lower stone of the second casket

¹² Read '*pāmukhānam*'

¹³ Incised on the rim of the lower stone of the second casket, outside the No VI, the letters being turned the other way

¹⁴ Incised on the upper stone of the third casket

TRANSLATION

“The members of the guild (*are*) —

Vachha (*Vatsa*), Chagha (Changa?), Jeta (*Jayanta*), Jambha, Tisa (*Tishya*), Reta (*Ravata*) Achina (*Achirna*?), Shabhika (*Sabhika*), Akhagha (*Akshaghna*), Kela, Kesa (*Keśa*), Mâha (*Mâgha*), Seta (*Śvatra*?), Chhadika (Chhandika?), Okhabûla, Sonutara (*Suvarnottara*), Samana (*Śāmana*), Samanadâsha (*Śramanadâsa*), Sâmakā (*Śyāmaka*), Kâmuka, Chitaka (*Chitraka*)

IX¹⁵

Arahadinânam gohiyâ majûsa cha sha[m]ugo cha [1] tena kama yena Kubirako rajâ am[k]i [11]

TRANSLATION.

“By the Committee of the venerable Arahadina (*Arhaddatta*, was given) a casket and a box. The work (*is*) by him, by whom King Kubiraka (*Kuberaka*) caused the carving to be done”

X¹⁶

- L 1 Mâtugâmasa [Nam]dapurâhi¹⁷
 2 Suvanamâhâ
 3 Śamanudeśanam cha¹⁸
 4 Gilanakerasa¹⁹ ayasaka
 5 [Sa]thiya²⁰
 6 gohiyâ a-ga dānam²¹ [11]

TRANSLATION

“An *A-ga*,—gift by the women from Nandapura (?) and by the Śrāmaneras from Suvanamâha, in the *Ayasakasathi gola* of *Gilānakera* (?).”

The arrangement of the lines of this inscription seems to be fixed, first by the *cha* after *Śamanudeśanam* and secondly by *dānam*. The latter word in all probability concludes the inscription and the former shows, that line 3 is preceded by something else. Nevertheless the exact meaning remains obscure, as the word immediately preceding *dānam* is mutilated and those from *gilānakerasa* down to *gohiyâ*, though plain enough, are for me at least, inexplicable with any certainty.

¹⁵ Incised on the rim of the lower stone of the third casket

¹⁶ Incised on the sides of a hexagonal piece of crystal, found inside one of the boxes

¹⁷ The first syllable is abnormal and the reading uncertain. The last syllable is visible only on the tracings, not on the photograph

¹⁸ The *cha* has a tail, like in the other nine inscriptions

¹⁹ There is also a short stroke to the left of the top of *ra*, and it is possible to read **keresa*, which however would be perfectly inexplicable

²⁰ The left limb of *sa* is abnormal

²¹ There is on the photograph a letter between *a* and *ga*, which I am not able to make out. Possibly the word may have been *dyaga*. The *da* of *dānam* opens to the right, just as in the other nine inscriptions

XXVI—GOVINDPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE POET GANGADHARA

THE ŚAKA YEAR 1059.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH D, C.I.E., GOTTINGEN

About five years ago Dr. Fleet sent me a rubbing, received by him from Sir A Cunningham in October 1883, of an inscription, described as being on a slab of stone in Narsingh Māli's house at Govindpur, in the Nawādā sub-division of the Gayā district of the Province of Bengal. And some time afterwards I received another rubbing of the same inscription from Dr Burgess, to whom it had been made over by Mr Beglar.¹ Both rubbings are very faint, and I know that, with a good impression, the wording of the text of this inscription which I now publish may be improved upon, but I feel confident that everything of importance has been made out correctly, and that a renewed examination of the original inscription will not add materially to what I now have to report regarding the contents of it.

The inscription contains thirty-five lines of writing which cover a space of about 1' 8½" broad by 1' 3½" high. At the upper proper left corner a small piece of the inscribed surface is broken away, causing the complete loss of altogether a dozen *akṣharas* at the end of lines 1-6. Of the rest of the inscription nothing is actually lost, but, to judge from the rubbings, the proper right half of the writing, from about line 11 to 24, has suffered either from exposure to the weather or from careless treatment, and a few *akṣharas* are more or less illegible on the left side. The size of the letters is between $\frac{5}{16}$ " and $\frac{7}{16}$ ". The characters are the peculiar kind of Nāgarī which was used in parts of Eastern India during the 11th and 12th centuries A.D., and the most characteristic feature of which is, that *r*, preceding another consonant, is written by a short line, sideways attached to the right side of the *akṣhara* of which *r* forms part, not by the ordinary superscript sign. Essentially the same alphabet is used, *e.g.*, in the Dinājjpur plate of Mahipāla and in the Āmgāchhī plate of Viṅrahapāla III, and the closest possible resemblance to the writing of the present inscription is shown by the writing of the Cambridge palm-leaf MS. Add., 1693,² which was written in A.D. 1165, and by that of the Hodgson³ palm-leaf MS. 1 of the Royal Asiatic Society, written in the fourth year of the reign of Govindapāla.⁴ In the inscription here edited the sign for *r*, described above, is so small and so shallow that often it can hardly be recognized in the rubbings, and this, as well as the fact that the sign of *anusvāra* and the superscript strokes which turn *e* and *o* into *ai* and *au* are equally faint, and the close resemblance of the signs for *p* and *y*, *t* and *bh*, *m* and *s*,

¹ I saw at once that the inscription, of which these two rubbings had thus been sent to me, was of some value, but have long hesitated to attempt a full decipherment of the text, because the imperfect state of my rubbings suggested the advisability of waiting for a proper impression. To secure one, I applied in April 1892 to Mr Grierson, and he again, having then left the Gaya District, kindly communicated my request to Mr D. J. Macpherson, of the Bengal Civil Service. Mr Macpherson most readily at once sent two of his men to Narsingh Māli's house at Govindpur, but they were told there that two or three years ago a Sahib had come and examined the stone which contains the inscription, and that next day the same Sahib had returned on a camel, and taken the stone away. If this story is really true, I need hardly say that even now I should be grateful to the present owner of the stone for an impression.

² See Bendsall's *Catalogue*, plate 11, 2.

³ See Cowell and Eggehn's *Catalogue* in the *Journal Royal Asiatic Soc.*, N. S., vol. VIII, plate 1, 2.

⁴ For Govindapāla we have the date Vikrama 1232 = A.D. 1175, see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 358.

v and *dh*, and of the subscript *u* and *ṛ*, have caused me no slight difficulty. The inscription never employs the signs of the *jihvāmālīya* and *upadhmanīya*, and the sign of the *avagraha* is used only once, in *Gangādhara* 'bhūt in line 24.

The language of the inscription is Samskrit, and, with the exception of the introductory *om om namah Sarasvatyai* and the date *Śāka 1059* at the end, the whole is in verse. The writer and engraver have done their work with great care, so that, in respect of orthography, my remarks may be brief. As was to be expected, the letter *ḍ* is throughout written by the sign for *v*. The dental sibilant is used instead of the palatal in *Kasyapād*, line 6, and *prasrayaṇ*, line 7, and the palatal instead of the dental in *śrībhū*, line 29. Instead of *anusāra* we find the guttural nasal in the word *vanśa*, in lines 2 and 5 (but not in line 4), and the dental nasal in *avatansa*, line 4. Before *r*, *t* has been doubled in *mitta*, lines 7 and 24, *amitta*, line 21, *martti*, line 27, and *ātapatra*, line 31, and *bh* is similarly doubled in *abbhriyam* (for *abbhriyam*), line 30. As regards the rules of euphony, *t* is left unchanged before *ś* in *śīmatśankara*, line 17; and *m* before *y* and *v* in *samyatta*, line 18, *samvāsāya*, line 9, and *sarvasvam=vatatāra*, line 11, and the dental sibilant is wrongly employed instead of the lingual in *nsprabhāddham* (assuming this to be the right reading) in line 13, and *dushka* (for *dushkara*) in line 30. Of words which according to von Böhtlingk's Dictionary have been hitherto found only in lexicographical works our inscription offers *girā* 'speech, song,' in line 5, *mahallaka* 'eunuch,' in line 10, and *ātman* in the sense of 'the sun,' in line 13. Besides we find *śivirī* for the neuter *śivira*, in line 9, and the word *rama* ('husband and wife') apparently employed in the sense of 'parents,' in line 19. To a few other points, having reference to the grammar and to the construction of some of the verses, attention will be drawn below.

The inscription is dated, in lines 34-35, both in words and in figures, in the Śāka year 1059, corresponding to A.D. 1137-38. It was engraved by the artisan Śūlapāni, the son of Rudra and grandson of Uddharana (verse 39). And its immediate object is, to record that a man named Gangādhara, who has himself composed this poem, for the spiritual benefit of his parents, built a tank near which the inscription must have been put up (verses 34-38). But what is of more importance is, that the author has furnished a *prastāva*,⁵ or eulogistic account, of himself and his family which enables us to fix the time of no less than six men who were known to us as poets from other sources, and some of whose verses have been preserved, and that he has given us the names of the rulers of Magadha, hitherto unknown, under whom he and some of his relatives lived and whose patronage they enjoyed. It may also be a matter of some interest to learn that the author's family belonged to the clan of the Maga or Śākadvīpiya Brāhmins.

Opening with a verse which invokes the blessing of Viśvambhāra (Viṣṇu), the inscription, in verse 2, glorifies both Aruna (i.e. the dawn personified as the chariot of the sun) 'whose presence sanctifies the milk-ocean-encircled Śākadvīpa where the Brāhmins are named Magas,' and the Magas themselves who here, as elsewhere, are said to have sprung from the sun's own body and to have been brought to India by

⁵ According to verse 37 of the text Gangādhara composed two *prastāvas* which both must have been engraved and put up close to each other.

⁶ See Prof. von Weber's most interesting essay on the *Magavyakti* of Kṛṣṇaśāstra.

Śāmba (the son of Krishna and Jāmbavati) According to our author the first of these Maga Brāhmans was Bhāradvāja (verse 3), whose family had a hundred branches (verse 4) In one of these was born, as a son of a certain Dāmodara, Chakrapāni, who, compared as he is to Valmiki, must have been considered a poet of some eminence (verse 5) He had two sons, Manoratha and Daśaratha (verse 7), who were induced to come to the court of the ruler of Magadha (verse 15), the prince Varnamāna of the Māna family (verse 10), where one of them was appointed to the office of *pratihāra*, while the other was made superintendent of the eunuchs (verse 11) Daśaratha again had two sons, Hanhara and Purushottama (verse 22) Of Manoratha, to the praise of whose liberality,⁷ piety, shrewdness, learning, etc., our author has devoted no less than six verses (12-17) and who is spoken of as a modern Kālidāsa (verse 15), we learn that he married a daughter of Devaśarman, a counsellor of the prince of the [Ghauḍī⁸] country (verse 18), and that she bore to him also two sons, Gangādhara, the author of the inscription, and Mahādhara (verses 21-22) All these six men, Manoratha and Daśaratha and their four sons, are especially eulogized for their learning and proficiency in vedic studies (verse 23) The rest of the inscription treats of Gangādhara himself Here it will be sufficient to say that he represents himself to have been a counsellor and friend of the Māna prince, the king Rudramāna (verse 24), that he married Pāsāladevī, a daughter of Jayapāni, an official of the king of Gauda, and his wife Subhagā (verse 29), and finally, that, according to his own account, he was the author of a poem entitled *Advaitaśata* and had shown his skill as a poet also in the composition of other poems (verse 33)

The princes of the Māna family, mentioned in the above, have not, so far as I am aware, become known yet from other inscriptions, and it may therefore suffice here to state that Varnamāna and Rudramāna must have ruled over Magadha (or part of it) towards the end of the 11th and at the beginning of the 12th century A D.

As regards Gangādhara and his relatives, the inscription tells us distinctly that, like Gangādhara himself, Chakrapāni and Manoratha were poets, and it may reasonably be assumed that some of the other members of the family, learned men as they were, also were in the habit of writing poetry Now it happens that the *Saduktikarnāma*,⁹ an anthology compiled by Śīdhadāsa in A D 1205, contains verses of six poets bearing the same names as six of the Maga Brāhmans mentioned in this inscription, and, considering that these Brahmins lived in Eastern India and that the *Saduktikarnāma* also was compiled there,¹⁰ I have little doubt indeed as to the identity of the six poets mentioned by Śīdhadāsa with Gangādhara, the author of this inscription, and five of his relatives, viz his great-grandfather Dāmodara, his grandfather Chakrapāni, his father's brother Daśaratha, his own brother Mahādhara, and his cousin Purushottama

Of Gangadhara himself the *Saduktikarnāma* has two verses which were first published by Professor Aufrecht in *Zeitschrift d Deutschen Morg Ges*, vol xxxvi, p 511,

⁷ See verse 12, according to which Manoratha on the occasion of a lunar eclipse went to the sacred place *Purushottama*, which was situated near the sea

⁸ The reading of this name is doubtful, see below

⁹ See Dr Rajendralal Mitra's *Notices*, vol III, p 134

¹⁰ Professor Aufrecht states the *Saduktikarnāma* to be an anthology, culled chiefly from Bengali poets The compiler's father, Batudasa lived under Lakshmanavarma

and have afterwards been reprinted by Professor Peterson in his edition of Vallabhadeva's *Subhāshitāvalī*, Introduction, p 32 Of Dāmodara the *Saduktikarnāmṛta* contains two verses,¹¹ of Chakrapāṇi four, of Daśaratha also four, and of Mahādhara one verse As regards Gangādhara's cousin, the author of the anthology assigns six verses to Śrīmat-Purushottamadeva, one verse to Purushottamapādāh, and one to Purushottama and it seems probable that only the last is the Purushottama of our inscription All these verses have been kindly copied out for me by Professor Aufrecht and will be published elsewhere The inscription being dated in Śaka 1059, the six poets may be assumed to have composed their verses—

Dāmodara between about A D 1050 and 1075,
Chakrapāṇi between about A D 1075 and 1100,
Daśaratha between about A D 1100 and 1125,
Gangadhara, Mahādhara and Purushottama between about A D 1125 and 1150.

TEXT.¹²

- L 1 श्री¹³[॥] श्री नम सरस्वत्यै ॥
एकत्रोन्नतगात्रगौरवभरात् प्राप्ते तथा नम्रता-
मन्यत्र त्रियमुदहृत्यतिलवु तुङ्गे भुजङ्गे श्वरे ।
वच्च समुखसमभृतस्तनतटीनङ्गोपमर्ष्यत्पुख
निद्रा[णी] ॐ¹⁴
- 2 द[या] दधातु दयितामाश्लिष्य विश्वम्भर' ॥¹⁵—[1]
देवो जीयान्निलोकीमणिरयमरुणो यन्निवासेन पुण्य
शाकदीपम् दुग्धाम्बु(यु)निधिवलयितो यत्र विप्रे मगाख्या ।
वद्वस्त¹⁶द्विजाना भूमिलिखिततनोर्भा(वर्भा)स्वत स्नाङ्ग — ¹⁷
- 3 शास्त्रो¹⁸यानानिनाय स्वयमिह महितास्ते जगत्या जयन्ति ॥¹⁹—[2]
तेषां स प्रथम समस्तनिगमज्ञानात्मविद्यापदं
वु(वु)दया व्यापृत एव नित्ययजनव्यापारपारीण्या ।
भारद्वाजमुनिर्व(र्व)भूव भुवनोद्वाराभिपार्तो²⁰तपः
— —
- 4 यस्य मुखे मगद्विजमहावशावत्सोपम²¹ ॥ ²²—[3]
गोत्रञ्च तस्य शतशाखमभूटभूतपूर्वस्तपोभिरय सुप्रमरैर्यशोभि ।
यत्रापरे प[र]मतक्षविदोनवद्यविद्यावदातमतय पतयो द्विजाना ॥²³—[4]
कालेना ॐ ॐ —

¹¹ The first words of these verses and of those mentioned below are *Kailāsa re paśupati, Śilam śṭayati, Tasya nāma mayā, Yat kīndam gaganadrūmasya, Ārudhāntarāyauvanasya, Agre vṛatya charanau, Āchchhidya Jukshim, Iyam sā Kalindi, Naikam janma luvāva, Pandyosau vidhir eva, Lalottānaśayopi, and Kāntāreshu karāvalambi*

¹² From Sir A. Cunningham's pencil rubbings

¹³ Expressed by a symbol

¹⁴ The *akshara*, here broken away, was probably त्र

¹⁵ Metre Śardulavikrīṭita

¹⁶ Read वंशस्तव

¹⁷ The *aksharas* here broken away, were probably सुक्त

¹⁸ Read शास्त्रो for शान्त्रो

¹⁹ Metre Śaṅkārā

²⁰ This is what was originally engraved, but the vowel of the *akshara* मि is clearly struck out, and I believe the intended reading to be °रावपार्तो

²¹ Read °तसोपम

²² Metre Śardulavikrīṭita

²³ Metre Vasantatilaka.

L. 5.

विलुप्तविलसद्द्विधाधने धन्विना

वीराणां धुरि चक्रपाणिरभवद्दामोदरस्यात्मजः ।

यो वाल्मीकिरिवावतारितगिराधार स विश्वस्थिति-

²⁴वर्द्धस्या ७ ७ — चतुर्मुख इव ख्यातो गुणिग्रामणी ॥²⁵—[5]अतिस्थिरा पृथु . . .²⁶

6 क्लीर्त्तिर्गिरि[मास्य]द ।

दिक्कक्रं यदि नारूढा तद्भ्रमत्यन्यथा कथ ॥²⁷—[6]

जातौ वासवकेशवाविव सुतौ तस्मात्प्रसन्नामरौ

मारीचादिव कस्य(श्च)पादुपचिता धर्तुं कुले सत्क्रिया ।

ज्यायास्तत्र मनीरथो दशरथस्तस्यानुजन्मा [ययो]-

7 विद्या[चा]रगुचित्वशीलविलसत्कीर्त्त्या पवित्रं जगत् ॥²⁸—[7]

मुख्यत्वेन सता यशोभिरखिलोद्गीतै स्वकर्णश्रुतेः

सन्मिच्छोपगमेन तैरतिभूतैर्भोगैरयत्नोप[गं] ।

भ्रात्रोरत्र ययोर्नरेन्द्रनिहितैः सप्रेमभिः प्रस्र(च)यै-

8.

श्यामानि द्विपदाननानि विदधे शुभ्रीप्यदभ्यो गुण ॥ —[8]

तौ भ्रातरावतितरा सहजोदितेन प्रेम्णा परस्परमनीहरणाभिरामौ ।

सौहार्दद्वयचरितेषु ययोरधीरः कालोपि न सखनितभाप कलि कदाचित् ॥²⁹—[9].

9 आनीतौ निजराज्यमुज्ज्वलयितुं यत्नात् प्रतीतात्मना

सम्वासाय³⁰नरेश्वरेण शिविने³¹श्रीकर्णमाननं तौ ।

तस्याज्ञामवलम्ब्य(स्वयं)तत्कुलमिदं ताभ्यामपि प्रापित

काञ्चित् कोटिमनुत्तरा गुणभुवः कीर्त्तिर्विभूतेरपि ॥³²—[10].

आ

10 सि[न्धोर्ग]णनीयगौरवगुणेनैकेन [सि]व्येनयो-

स्तस्मिन्मानपतेर्महीयसि गृहे प्रापि प्रतीहारता ।

अन्येनापि पुनर्मह[त्त]कधुरा³³व्यस्तेति³⁴विस्तारिणा-

वेतौ सत्त्वयैर्व्व(र्व्व)भूवतुरिह प्रज्ञैकविज्ञानिकौ ॥ —[11]

गत्वा श्री-

11 पुरुषोत्तम [भग]वयोद्वय प्रतिष्ठापद

पारावारतटे पटीयमि लसच्चन्द्रग्रहानेहमि ।

सर्वस्वस्विततार³⁵तर्पितपितृस्तोमः करोत्सासितै-

स्तोयैर्यं पिहितस्य पर्वणि विधो साहाय्यमाप क्षण ॥ —[12].

सात[त्वा]-

²⁴ Read वयस्या The next three *aksharas* are quite blurred in the rubbings, and it is impossible to say confidently what they were

²⁵ Metre *Sardulavikrīḍita*

²⁶ The *aksharas*, here broken away, were probably तराय

²⁷ Metre *Śloka* (Anuṣṭubh)

²⁸ Metre of verses 7 and 8 *Sardulavikrīḍita*

²⁹ Metre *Vasantaśilaka*

³⁰ Read सवासाय

³¹ One would have expected the neuter शिविरे

³² Metre of verses 10—12 *Sardulavikrīḍita*

³³ The *akshara* in brackets is doubtful, and looks rather like न

³⁴ This is clearly engraved, but I believe the intended reading, to be धुरावसिति

³⁵ Read सत्त्वयै विततार

L 12

नित्यहृत्वा[हृ]तिभिरपचितौ चन्द्रमौलिस्तिकाल
न्यस्ताभिर्यस्य शैवागममहितमहामन्त्रपूतान्तरस्य ।
एन खेनोज्ज्वार त्रिजगति विदितादात्रया[न्य]त्वदोपा-
दिद धूमच्छलेनोज्ज्वलरुचिरचिराद्विद्भुतं हो-

13.

मवङ्गि. ॥³⁵—[13].

खेतादं त अयति [पितृभो]त्वात्मनो [निष्प्र(प्प)भार्ध]³⁷
घत्तेनन्तप्रमि[तिरमि]ता शक्तिमुन्दुक्ततर्कम् ।
यस्यैश्वर्यं प्रययति विभो कर्तुरित्यद्भुतश्री-
भ्रान्ति लोकस्थितिषु भजते भूयसीन्वर्मकीर्त्ति. ॥³⁸—[14]
यस्य श्रीमग-

14

धैवरो [नयवशा]न्नीतिप्रयोगार्[ख]ल-
प्राग्भा[रा]नुभवैरदुस्वि(भ्व)तमतिर्व्यासाभिधान व्यधात् ।
राजास्थानसर सरोरुहमिति खैर पुर क्षामृता
गीतो नूतनकालिदाम इति य कालेषु वैतालिकैः ॥³⁹—[15].
य सन्मन्त्रिषु चा-

15

तुरीपरि[च]यैर्वाचस्यति प्रस्तुत-
प्रज्ञासर्गविरिञ्चिरुच्चरि[तै]रौचित्यचिन्तामणिः ।
सद्भावप्रभवो गभीरिमगृह र[त्न]त्रयीताचिकी⁴⁰
भापासु प्रतिभाप्रभु कविकलासन्दर्भगर्भेश्वर⁴¹ ॥—[16].
क्षेरापागपरोपका-⁴²

16

रपरम प्रेमोपचारोत्तर-
व्याहारैर्जनतानुराग[र]चनाचातुर्यचर्यागुरु. ।
धौरिय. सुधिया सुधानिधिकलास्मीले सदाराधन-
ध्याने जन्म निज निनाय सुजन स्वान्तेन शान्तेन यः ॥ —[17].
पत्नी तस्य मनोरयस्य क-

17

तिनश्चारित्र्यसु[द्रा]पदं
[चौ]डीदेवन्नरेण्डसचिवश्रीदेवशर्मात्मजा⁴³ ।
मू[र्त्ता] स[त्य]मरुन्वतीव जग[ता] वन्द्या सतीना धुरि⁴⁴
श्रीमत्शङ्कर⁴⁵[आ?]वि[र]कुर[यि]तु सत्पुण्यबीजा[न्य]भूत् ॥ —[18]
[ना]पत्य चिरमापतुर्यदुचित तेनैव तौ द-

³⁵ Metre Śaṅkharā³⁷ This whole line and part of the following line are extremely indistinct in the rubbing³⁸ Metre Mandukhranta³⁹ Metre of verses 15—19 Śardulavikrīḍita⁴⁰ The *akṣhara* in brackets, in the original, is *am* rather than *ay*⁴¹ Read 'न्दर्भगर्भेश'⁴² The reading is clear here, but I would alter it to क्षेरीपा°⁴³ The first *akṣhara* of this line, according to the rubbing, can only be either चौ or चौ. Originally सचिव was engraved, but it has been altered to सचिव⁴⁴ I am not satisfied with the text of this line and of the next, which are quite blurred in the rubbings, but, with the exception of the bracketed letters the above seems to me to be the reading offered by the rubbings. In the place of the *akṣhara* च another letter was originally engraved, but it has been altered subsequently⁴⁵ Read श्रीमच्छ'

L 18.

पती

सम्यक्तावपि⁴⁰ नूनमन्वभवता सन्तापमन्तस्ततः ।

सामाराधयतन्नुधेयमरतिर्भावी सुतस्तेन वा

गत्विति स्वयमादिदेश गिरिशः स्वप्ने समीप ययो. ॥ —[19].

मुप्रीतयोर्वर्भ(वर्भ)गवतो मम नामधेयमाधेयमस्य पुन-

19. रित्वनुयासनेन ।

स्वाराधितस्मरहरस्वरमानुरूपो रूपानुमेयसुनयस्तनयोजनिष्ट ॥⁴⁷—[20]

गङ्गाधराख्यः स ततो जितात्मा यः शंशवाद्दिश्वजनीनवृत्त. ।

विवर्द्धमान. परलोकभीत्या सदात्मनीनं नयमातता-

20 न ॥⁴⁸—[21]

अभवदनुजो महीधर इति पुत्री श्रीमनोरथादुदिती ।

आशीर्वराभिनन्दौ हरिहरपुरुषोत्तमो दशरथात् ॥⁴⁹—[22].

सत्कल्पप्रवणाः श्रुतिप्रणयि[न.] शिञ्जाभिरुजासिता.

सज्ज्योतिर्गतयो निरुक्ताविशदाच्छन्दोवि-

21 धी साधवः ।

[ख्या]ता व्याकरणक्रमेण विदुषाम[त्युच्च]धीशील[ना]-⁵⁰हेदाङ्गप्रतिमाः प्रडेव भुयने ते वि(वि)भ्रति भ्रातर. ॥⁵¹—[23].

तदन्तरे माननरेन्द्रचन्द्रमा. स रुद्रमानोजनि येन भृभुजा ।

स्वमेदिनीमण्डलमादिकोलवह(ह)लादमिच्छा-

22 स्यु(स्यु)निधेः समुद्धृतं ॥⁵²—[24].

पाणि[र्द्धानचणः प्रभीध]लह[री] वक्षश्च यस्य स्वयं

मर्यादास्थितिमान्स् एव जगता जीवातवयेत्कृताः ।

तत्किं कल्पलताद्यहीन्द्रकमठौ सा चित्रभानुद्वयी

पद्मेन्द्र⁵³निधयोग्यसामिति विधेर्द्धिक् प्रक्लि-23. यागौरव ॥⁵⁴—[25].

सूक्ष्मं दिक्करिदन्तकोटिमटितु क्रा[न्तौ ?] गि[री]णा ल[घु]

व्यासु व्योम पृथुस्थिताविह दिशि प्रोत वर्ग भ्रान्तिषु ।

चीराब्धी[न्दु]मुधादिषु⁵⁵प्रभवति व्र(व्र)ह्माण्डगर्भा(वर्भा)ह[हि]-त्रिर्यात्यस्ति यथेत्य[मी]श्वरगुणैरित्यनुत⁵⁶यद्यश-

24. : ॥ —[26]

युधे व(व)होत्सवरिपुभटयेणि[सिद्ध]: सदा यो

व(व)न्धु. शुद्धो विपदि विसरत्कार्यनिर्याससीमा ।

येयान् सभ्यः सदसि विशदे विश्वविश्वासपात्र

पातु मित्र हृदयमितरत्तस्य गङ्गाधरो ऽभूत् ॥⁵⁷—[27].

आचाराभ-

⁴⁰ Read संयसावपि.⁴¹ Metre Vasantatilakā.⁴² Metre Upajati⁴³ Metre Giti⁴⁴ Originally धि was engraved, instead of धी⁴⁵ Metre Śardūlavahita⁴⁶ Metre Vamśastha⁴⁷ Read पद्मेन्द्रौ⁴⁸ Metre of verses 25 and 26 Śardūlavahita.⁴⁹ Read चीराब्धी°⁵⁰ Read यथेष्ट°(?)⁵¹ Metre Mandakrāntā

L. 25

रण, सुभाषितचणः सन्नीतिरत्नापणः

प्रागल्भीरमण, प्रशान्तकरणः कारुण्यपारायणः ।

य' सौजन्यनिधिः स्थितावनुपधि सख्यस्य मुख्यो विधि-
 र्हीरत्नेनवधिर्विधूतवितयव्याधिर्विद्या सेवधि. ॥⁵⁸—[28].

26. गौ-

डराजसुहृदो जयपाणिराधिकारिकपदोपपदस्य ।

आत्मजामुदवहत्सुभगाया पेशला स किल पासलदेवीम् ॥⁵⁹—[29]

आक्रान्तो न वृष कदापि गतये यस्मिन्न हीनाङ्गना

रौद्री नाद्रियते स्थितिर्न गणितास्ता

27.

गोत्रमित्सङ्गथा' ।

अन्योन्यास्यविलासवञ्चितदृशोरेक वपुर्वि(र्वि)भ्रतो-

स्तप्राय, शिवयोरपीदमनयोर्हाम्यत्यमत्यादृतम् ॥⁶⁰—[30]

सन्तोषार्जवधैर्यसयमदमानुक्रोशशान्तिक्षमा-

मैत्रीसत्यसमाधिमग्नमन-

28

सो नारायणैकात्मन. ।

दम्भद्रोहविमोहलोभममतामात्यर्थमायामद-

हेपेर्षादिनिसूदनस्य चरिते यस्यात्र साची जन. ॥ —[31]

तेनात्र दुःशकमसीम सहस्रकृत्व कृत्यं स्वभर्तुरुचितोन्नतये समाप्य ।

29 आवा(वा)[ल्य]यौवन[मसु]प्रतिरोधि व(व)भ्युलोकस्य चेतसि चमत्कृतिराचितैव ॥⁶¹—[32]

[य]स्याद्वैतशते'स्त्रयविरचिते किञ्चित्कवित्वयम'

स ब्र(व्र)ह्मोपनिषत्कथास्वधिगम शुद्धो विरुद्धोयवा ।

भाव्य शू(सू)रिभिरेव⁶²चित्कवि-

30

तायास स्तुती दुस्करे⁶³भारत्या कुरुतेपरान्निजगुणप्रस्तावना केन स ॥⁶⁵—[33]धा[त्वा १]वर्त्तवशाद्विस्तृत्वरतरप्रासादसद्भादिक-⁶⁶

व्यक्ताकारकदम्ब(म्ब)मम्ब(म्ब)रमनु खेनोद्भवत्यन्नि(न्नि)य ।

स्थित्वा तत्क्षणतो विपन्नमपुनर्भा(र्भा)वा-

31

द्ययेद तथा

मत्तैव त्रिजगन्ति येन जनित सत्कर्मधर्मादर ॥ —[34].

पुण्योत्पत्तिनिमित्तमत्र निजयो. पित्रो पवित्रात्मना

कीर्त्या तेन तयोश्चिर रचयता शुभ्रातपन्न जगत् ।

कासारोयमकारि पारदर-

⁵⁸ Metre Śārdulavikṛdita⁵⁹ Metre Srāgata⁶⁰ Metre of verses 30 and 31 Śārdulavikṛdita At the beginning of verse 30 I would suggest reading आक्रान्तेन इयं⁶¹ Metre Vasantatilaka⁶² Originally तस्या^० was engraved, but the initial त may have been altered to य⁶³ Originally शूर^० was engraved, but the sign for : has been added afterwards⁶⁴ Pead दुक्करी⁶⁵ Metre of verse. 33-35 Śārdulavikṛdita⁶⁶ The second *akṣara* of this line originally was clearly ता, but it seems to have been altered to त्वा

L. 32.

सच्छायाभूतामभसा

यस्मिन्नग्निमिपाद्यशस्तदमलं सूक्तं नरीनृत्यते ॥ —[35].

स्वकीर्त्या सरसस्तस्य प्रतिष्ठासमयोत्सवे ।

शुभ्रास्त्र(स्व)रपरीधान जगत्तेनात्र कारित ॥⁶⁷—[36]

आकाश पवन' कशानुरुदक धात्रीति लोकत्र-

33.

यो-

सूच्या व्र(त्र)ह्म विवर्त्तमानमयते यावद्विचित्राङ्गतिम् । -

नेत्रयोत्तमन.प्रसादसदने तावत् सतामादरा-

दुन्निद्रा मुदमान्तरेपु⁶⁸ कुरुता कीर्त्तिप्रशस्ती इमे ॥⁶⁹—[37].

क शक्तिव्युत्पत्तिव्यतिकरविरोधेन सुलभा

कवी-

34

ना पन्थानस्तदिह ननु केपामनुगम ।

स्वपूतं त्वेतस्मिन् मुजनजनितोनुग्रहगुण

प्रशस्ती प्राशस्य वितरति स गङ्गाधरगिराम् ॥ ॥⁷⁰—[38]

नन्देन्द्रियाभ्रेन्दुसमे शकाब्दे(ब्दे) रुद्रात्मजद्योदरणस्य नसा ।

इमा यि-

35

लाशित्पिवर. प्रशस्ति स शूलपाणि स्वयमुच्चखान ॥⁷¹—[39]शाक १०५८ [॥⁷²]

TRANSLATION

Om !

Om ! Adoration to Sarasvatī !

(Verse 1) May the supporter⁷² of the universe bestow [on us] his compassion !— who, embracing his beloved and thrilled with delight by the close contact of his breast with her bosom, is sleeping on the lord of serpents, on one side bent low by the weight of the god's lofty body, while on the other he remains upright under the very light burden of the goddess of fortune !

(2) Hail to that gem of the three worlds, the divine Aruna,⁷³ whose presence sanctifies the milk-ocean-encircled Śākadvīpa where the Brāhmanas are named Magas ! There a race of twice-born [sprang] from the sun's own body, grazed by the lathe,⁷⁴ whom Śāmbha himself brought hither Glorious are they, honoured in the world !

(3) The first of them was an abode of all vedic lore and of the knowledge of the supreme soul, and wholly occupied in thoughts⁷⁵ familiar with every sacrificial rite, that

⁶⁷ Metre Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

⁶⁸ Read 'नन्तरेप'

⁶⁹ Metre Śārdulavikrīṭa

⁷⁰ i.e., the dawn, personified as the charioteer of the sun

⁷¹ The story told in the Purāṇas is, that, to diminish the sun's intensity, Viśvakarman placed the luminary on his lathe, to grind off some of his effulgence (Viṣṇu purāṇa III, 2), and the above verse appears to intimate that the Magas were produced from some of the particles of the sun's body, which were taken away by this process of grinding it

⁷² In connection with *agāgrita* one would have expected the Loc., not the Instr. case

⁷³ Metre Śikharinī

⁷⁴ Metre Upajati

⁷⁵ i.e., Viṣṇu.

sage Bhâradvâja whose penance could both deliver and destroy the world, and in whose face there was like a garland of the great face of the Maga twice born

(74) His family had a hundred branches, distinguished for unprecedented penances and endowed with far-spreading fame, and in it there were other lords of the twice-born, conversant with the highest truth, whose minds were purified by faultless knowledge

(5) In the course of time the heroes who lift their bows to conquer the brilliant treasure of knowledge, robbed by . . . , were headed by Chakrapâni, the son of Dâmodara. Like Vâlmiki in having made the streams of song to descend, he, a leader of the virtuous, became famous . . . of his family, as Brahman is of the continuance of the universe

(6) If his everlasting, widely spread and weighty renown had not mounted the wheel of the quarters,⁷⁶ how would that wheel turn round now?

(7) As Indra and Vishnu have sprung from Kaśyapa, the descendant of Marichi so to Chakrapâni were born, to sustain the homage heaped upon their family, two sons favoured by the immortals, an elder son named Manoratha and his younger brother Daśaratha, the bright renown of whose learning, purity of conduct and good disposition has purified the world

(8) Because these two brothers were the foremost of the good and had their fame sung by all people within their hearing, and by the facts that they made excellent friends and that plentiful enjoyment came to them unsought, and because princes treated them with loving kindness, their abundant bright excellence (*which caused all this*) rendered their enemies' faces dark (*with envy*)

(9) These brothers gave extreme delight by captivating one another's hearts with their innate love, and even this capricious Kali age never saw anything to blame in their dealings (*with one another*) that were pleasing on account of their affection

(10) In order that they might render his reign illustrious, the wise prince Varnamâna besought them both to come to his royal residence, to dwell with him, and they, abiding by his commands, raised this family of his to the highest pitch of excellence and renown and prosperity

(11) In that magnificent home of the Mâna lord, which they then served, one of them, whose respectability was an object of esteem as far as the sea, received the office of *pratihâra*,⁷⁷ while the other was appointed superintendent of the eunuchs, and in these positions these learned and intelligent men became widely known for both their goodness and good management

(12) Pleased with his good fortune and youth, and a person of good renown, Manoratha⁷⁸ went to the sacred Purushottama, and on the noisy shore of the sea gave away his wealth in charity at the time of an eclipse of the bright moon, (*and*) gladdening his ancestors with the water thrown from his hands, he for a moment obtained the fellowship of the moon,⁷⁹ eclipsed at full-moon time

(13) The sacrificial fire of this man whose mind was purified by the most sacred texts of the Śaiva doctrine, in consequence of the oblations duly thrown into it three

⁷⁶ The meaning of the verse is simply that Chakrapâni's fame filled all the quarters of the compass

⁷⁷ Literally 'door keeper'

⁷⁸ The verses 12-17 refer to Manoratha, see verse 18

⁷⁹ The exact meaning of this is not clear to me. Altogether the construction is objectionable, because the two verbs *visatâra* and *dâra* are in no way connected with each other

times a day at the worship of the moon-crested god, perpetually threw up of its own accord, under the guise of smoke, the sin kindled from the blindness of the organs which is the bane of the three worlds, but quickly hid it again with its bright lustre

(17 14) In the bright fortnight the lustreless half of the sun resorts to him from fear of the manes. He, without doubt, possessed of infinite true knowledge, has unmeasured power. The fame of his piety, wonderfully glorious because it proclaims the might of the omnipresent creator, spreads far and wide in the abodes of men⁶⁰

(15) To him the illustrious ruler of Magadha gave the name of Vyāsa, because in consequence of his prudent management his own mind had not to attend to any matters whatever relating to the proper conduct of affairs. He also, even in the presence of princes, was at the appointed seasons freely sung of by the bards as the lotus in the lake of the king's audience hall, and as a modern Kāhdāsa

(16) He was a Vāchaspati among good ministers on account of his familiarity with shrewd schemes, a very Brahman in creating due knowledge for whatever was propounded, in consequence of his noble conduct a gem fulfilling all desires in regard to propriety, a source of goodness, and a home of depth. He possessed the true knowledge of the jewel-triad,⁶¹ was quick in languages, and a master by birth of all the arts of poetry

(17) With a smiling face intent on doing endless good to others, most proficient in winning the affection of mankind by loving and civil speeches, and a leader of the wise, this excellent man with a mind free from passion always spent his life in worshipping and meditating on the god whose crest is the digit of the moon

(18) This fortunate Manoratha married the daughter of Devaśarman, the stainless counsellor of the prince of the [Ghaudī] country, a lady on whom propriety of conduct had set its seal. Considering that she verily was Arundhatī in mortal frame, to be revered by the worlds as the foremost of good wives, the holy Śamkara manifested himself to cause the seeds of piety to sprout

(19) As for a long time they did not obtain the desired-for offspring, both husband and wife, though not to blame, were naturally distressed in mind. Then Śiva himself came to them in a dream, and told them that their anxiety was groundless, they should worship him, and then they would have a son

(20) To them, well pleased by this and by the god's further command that they should give his own name to their son, a son was born who was like his parents⁶² who had well worshipped the destroyer⁶³ of Smaia, and whose good conduct was proportionate to his beauty

(21) Him then they called Gangādhara, and he, self-subdued, from childhood pleased every one by his behaviour, and growing up he always, from fear of the world to come, gave ample proof of his wisdom

⁶⁰ Here again, assuming my reading of the text to be correct, the construction is unsatisfactory. In the first line of the verse we should have expected *yam* instead of *tam*, and in the second line we miss the relative *yaḥ*. The meaning of the first line of the verse the resorting of which is more or less conjectural, appears to me to be this that, when the moon is waxing the sun at night resorts to Manoratha to share in his lustre because it is afraid of being invaded by the manes whom it supposes to be anxious to get away from the bright moon

⁶¹ I am not certain what *rātnatraya* the author is referring to. With Buddhists the term would denote *buddhi*, *dharma* and *samgha*, with Jains *samyagdharma*, *samyagjñāna* and *samyakchārita*

⁶² The original has *rama*, which should mean 'husband and wife, not 'parents'

⁶³ i.e., Śiva the destroyer of the god of love

(V 22) After him came another son, named Mahīdhara. These were the two sons of Manoratha. To Daśaratha, on the other hand, were born Harihara and Puruṣhottama, blessing and fulfilment of desire.

(23) Fond of the Vedas, devoted to the proper ceremonial, illustrious for their knowledge of the *Śikshās*, well acquainted with the *Jyotiṣha*, accurately understanding the *Nirukta*, proficient in the rules of metrics, famous for their progress in grammar, these six brothers, deeply engaged in the lofty course of study of the learned, well represent the *Vedāṅgas* in the world.

(24.) Meanwhile there was born that moon of the Māna princes, the king Rudramāna, who, like the primeval boar, powerfully recovered his realm from the sea of adversaries.

(25) As his hand is famed for its liberality and his face a wave of the flood of light, and since he keeps himself within the bounds of propriety, and provides means of subsistence for the people,⁶⁴ of what account are the creeping-plant of paradise, the great serpent and the tortoise, those two bright luminaries yonder, and the lord of elephants and the seas? Fie on such cumbrous insignia of high rank of the Creator!

(26) Marvellous indeed is his fame, because it shares the properties of the supreme lord. So subtle as to pervade the edges of the teeth of the elephants of the quarters, so light as to reach the heavens in its ascent of the mountains, it extends everywhere here in the broad regions and roams freely about at will, it predominates in the sea of milk as well as in the white splendour of the moon, and it goes out of the mundane egg, and stays in it as it pleases.

(27) Of this (*king*) Gangādhara was (*as it were*) a second heart to protect friends, (*Gangādhara*), who always was in battle a magician (*in scattering*) the lines of exulting hostile warriors, in misfortune an honest friend, a check when affairs were getting beyond control, an excellent associate in a spotless assembly, and worthy to be trusted in everything.

(28.) (*Gangādhara*), who was embellished by good behaviour, famed for his cleverness of speech, a market of the gems of prudent counsel, a lover of resoluteness, tranquil-minded, full of compassion, a store-house of benevolence, fraudless in obligations, a prime promoter of friendship, boundless in steadfastness, free from the failing of untruth, and a treasure of intelligence.

(29) He married the charming Pāsāladevī, a daughter of Jayapānī who bore the title of *ādihārīka*,⁶⁵ a friend of the king of Gauda, and of (*his wife*) Subhagā.

(30.) And their matrimonial union was universally esteemed even as that of Śiva and his consort, who are prevented from seeing the charm of each other's faces, because they have only one body, a union where the wife is never left behind when (*the husband*) mounts the bull to go abroad, and where (*the wife*) never notices the (*husband's*) fearful form, nor minds being addressed with the name of a rival.

(31) The people here have witnessed the conduct of (*Gangādhara*) whose mind is brimful of contentment, honesty, firmness, forbearance, self-restraint, tenderness, calmness, patience, friendship, truth and contemplation, whose only thought is Nārāyaṇa,

⁶⁴ Here, again, the two first lines of the original verse do not admit of a proper construction.

⁶⁵ i.e., 'a superintendent of affairs'

and who destroys deceit, malice, folly, covetousness, selfishness, envy, fraud, infatuation, hatred, jealousy and other evil qualities

(V 32) Having accomplished here a thousand times, ever since he was a boy and a youth, and even to the endangerment of his life, most difficult deeds without end for the due advancement of his master, he has indeed filled the minds of his kinsmen with wonder

(33) A man who in his *Advaitaśāstra* has striven to prove that he has some portion, whose knowledge, be it faultless or perhaps otherwise, of the treatises on the supreme soul is well known, and whose attempts in the way of artificial poetry, hard even for the goddess of eloquence and to be ventured on by scholars only, have met with applause, need he say more in praise of his merits?

(34) The revolution of elementary matter gives rise to the diffused mass of trees, palaces, houses, and the rest of visible objects, the rain-cloud forms in the sky of its own accord, all this stays for a moment only and vanishes again, never to return⁵⁶ Considering such too to be the case with the three worlds, (*Gaṅgādhara*) has devoted himself to virtuous and pious deeds

(35) To secure for his parents religious merit, that pure-minded man has founded here,—covering the world for ever with their fame as with a radiant umbrella,—this tank of water shining like quick-silver, in which their spotless renown in the guise of the waves dances about in visible form

(36.) And at the festive inauguration of this lake he has made his own fame here envelop the world like a radiant garment.

(37) As long as the supreme spirit in the shape of the three worlds, as ether, air, fire, water and earth, passing through a succession of existences, pursues its varied course, so long may these two eulogies of fame, pleasing the eyes and ears and the mind, vigorously cause lively joy in the hearts of the good!

(38) How can the ways of poets be easily found in the absence of innate ability as well as of culture? And, accordingly, is it likely that the author of this should have discovered them? Yet, as this treats of himself, the favour shown to him by good men will find in this eulogy also something to applaud in *Gaṅgādhara's* words⁵⁷

(39) In the Śaka year equal to the Nandas (9), the organs of sense (5), the sky (0) and the moon (1), the excellent stone-mason Śūlapāni, the son of Rudra and grandson of Uddharana, himself engraved this eulogy

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⁵⁶ Instead of the Abl case *apunarbhāvat* I should have expected the Dat case

⁵⁷ Literally 'will bestow on this eulogy also the excellence of *Gaṅgādhara's* words'

XXVII — DUDHPANI ROCK INSCRIPTION OF UDAYAMANA

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The preceding inscription induces me to publish here, also from a rubbing of Sir A. Cunningham's, the text of another inscription which on the back of the rubbing is described as 'Rock inscription from Dudhpani Ghat near Dumduma,' with the note that 'Dudhpani' is 'in the Hazâribâgh district' (of Chutâ Nâgpur in the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, south of the districts of Gayâ and Monghyr)

This inscription contains thirteen lines of writing which cover a space of about 6' broad by 1 2½" high. With the exception of about half a dozen *akṣaras* which are broken away, but can be easily supplied, the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty throughout. The size of the letters is about ¾" The characters are essentially the same as, but somewhat more modern than, those of the Aṃśad inscription of Âdityasena,¹ and may be assigned to about the 8th century A D. In describing the writing of the Aṃśad inscription,² Dr Fleet has stated that in that inscription *r*, in combination with a following consonant, is formed throughout on the line of writing, instead of above it, and that 'in the *ry* of *śaurya*, in line 7, we have an exact reproduction of the same letter as it was written nearly two centuries before' (the seventh century). In the present inscription the conjunct *ry* occurs three times (in *parākkramair-yah*, line 1, *aparyantam* line 3, and *śauryena*, line 4), and is each time written exactly as in the Aṃśad inscription. In combination with other (following) consonants *r* occurs thirty-five times and is 21 times written on, and 14 times above the line. The sign of the *upadhmanīya* (which however is really like the sign for *śh*) is employed seven times, but is not used in four cases where it might also have been employed, and the sign of the *jihvāmūlīya* seems to be used once, before the word *khandita* in line 11. At the end of the writing there is a good engraving of a flower, and altogether the letters throughout have been drawn and engraved very well indeed, and it is much to be regretted that the rubbing is not suitable for photographing.

The language of the inscription is Samskrit, and the whole is in verse. As regards orthography, the letter *ḍ* is written by the sign for *v*, instead of *anusvāra* the guttural nasal is used in *śinḥa*, lines 1, 6 and 8, *anśuḥa*, line 5, and *mstrinśa*, line 6, and the dental nasal in *kasminśhit*, line 2, *bhānsi* and *yaśānsi*, line 5, and even in *prītin=surendrā*, line 10, and the consonants *h* and *t* are everywhere doubled before *r* (e.g., in *parākkramakṣamapadākkṛāntatṛilokī*,³ in line 5). Besides, attention may be drawn to the hiatus in *śrī Âdusinḥa*, in lines 1 and 8, and to the fact that a final *m* before a word beginning with a consonant is generally changed, not to *anusvāra*, but to the nasal of the class to which the following consonant belongs — Wrong grammatical forms which the inscription contains are *dadata* for *datta*, in line 7, and *chakhanuh* for *chaknuh*, in line 12, and the causal is improperly employed instead of the primitive verb in *achikarat*, in line 11. Wrong constructions we find in verses 15, 16 and 24, and the rules of metrics are violated in verses 1, 14, 21 and 23. Words not found in the dictionaries, or employed in unusual significations, are *prārabdhī*, in line 6, *avalagana* and *malagana*, in

¹ See Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, plate XXVIII

² See *ib.*, p. 202

line 7, *vyutthānika* (derived from *vyutthāna* as *vyñānika* is from *vyñāna*), in line 12, and *rechaka* (unless this is an error for *mechaka*) in the same line

The inscription is not dated, but, as intimated above, it may, on palæographical grounds, be assigned to about the 8th century A.D. Opening with a verse which invokes the blessing of the goddess of fortune, it tells us (in verses 2 and 3) that in former days there was a king of Magadha, named Âdisimha, to whose dominions belonged the three villages (*pallī*) of which the inscription treats and near one of which it must have been engraved,—Bhramaraśālmali, Chhingalā, and Nabhūtishandaka.³ Now, once upon a time three brothers—Udayamāna, Śridhautamāna, and Ajitamāna⁴—merchants, went on business from Ayodhyā to Tāmaliptī, and having made plenty of money and being on their way home, they for some reason or other tarried at one of the three villages, apparently Bhramaraśālmali (verses 4—5). While they were there, the king Âdisimha came to the forest near the villages on a hunting expedition,⁵ and ordered the inhabitants to give him an *avalagana* (or *avalagana*). The villagers, on receipt of the king's orders, went to the eldest brother, Udayamāna, and entreated him to do the king's behest. He thereupon did send an *avalagana* and quickly became a favourite of the king, who not only bestowed a diadem (*śrīpaṭṭa*?) on him, but also, at Udayamāna's solicitation, assured the people of Bhramaraśālmali of his royal favour (verses 12—16). When Udayamāna returned to the village, the inhabitants in their delight, and with the king's approval, requested him to become their *rājā*, and he complied with the request and long ruled the village happily and vigorously (verses 17—19). He also, at the request of the inhabitants of the two other villages, sent his brothers Śridhautamāna and Ajitamāna to rule, subordinately to himself, over Nabhūtishandaka and Chhingalā (verses 20—23). Verse 24 (if I understand it rightly) adds that people of former days had this eulogy engraved⁶ to record that the family (ruling at Bhramaraśālmali) had been founded and owed its greatness to Udayamāna, and to warn (the chiefs of) the two other villages not to act in opposition to, or to separate themselves from, the (main branch of the) family, and the inscription ends with a prayer for the uninterrupted continuance of the family of the prince Udayamānadeva.

I am not at present able to state whether any or what historical importance should be attached to this inscription,⁷ nor can I identify the three villages of which the inscription treats. The place Tāmaliptī (Tāmraliptī), to which the three brothers are said to have gone from Ayodhya, is the modern Tamrūk, the head-quarters of the sub-division

³ So the name is given in verse 3. In verses 21 and 23 originally *Bhūtishanlaka* was engraved, but both times this appears to have been altered to *Nabhūtishandaka*.

⁴ These names are given below.

The verses 6-11 only glorify the wealth, liberality, valour, etc., of the three brothers in the customary manner.

⁵ This appears to be the general sense of the original text, but I am unable to give the exact meaning of the word *pīṇābhī khelana*, and of the following words *avalagana* and *avalagana*. According to the dictionary *prārabdhī* is 'the post to which an elephant is fastened,' which would suggest that the king was out elephant-hunting. For *avalagana* (as a neuter noun) von Böhtlingk's *Dictionary* only gives the meaning 'the winning of somebody,' and *avalagana* I find in Professor Jacobi's edition of Bhadrabahu's *Kalpāsūtra*, p. 197, note 61, employed in the explanation of the word *kaṣṭhambika* where also its meaning seems to be uncertain.

⁷ See Varahamihira's *Bṛhat-samhitā*, Chapter XLIX. In the note on the *Kalpāsūtra*, quoted above, the word *areṣṭhin* is explained by *Śrīdevatādhyākṣita sauvarṇa-paṭṭa-bhūṣitottamāṅgaḥ*, what the king gave to Udayamāna was apparently such a *śrīpaṭṭa*.

⁸ Accordingly, the present inscription is recording events which had happened generations before this inscription was engraved.

⁹ The names of Udayamāna and his brothers will of course remind the reader of the occurrence of the names *Vaṇamāna* and *Rudamāna* in the preceding inscription.

of the same name of the Midnapur district of Bengal, on the Râpnârâyan river, a town which is well known from Buddhist records, and is even now one of the principal seats of commerce in the district ¹⁰

TEXT ¹¹

L 1

[श्री¹²]

श्रीरामदेहप्रतिमासहस्रमालोक्य भोगो[न्द्रफ]णामणिस्थ¹³ ।

ई[र्याकु]ला कर[तले]न हरे७प्रहा[र]मुक्ता[सय]न्ती भवतु [श्रि]ये व ॥¹⁴—[1]

व(व)भूव पूर्वम्भगधाधिराज श्रीआदिसिद्धोरिगजै[क]सिद्ध¹⁵ ।

पराक्रमैर्य७प्रथितोद्वितीयः

2

श्रीमञ्ज[रास]न्व इव द्वितीयः ॥¹⁶—[2]

अस्याम्भ[म^x]रशालमल्याञ्जिङ्गलाय[ान्त]थैव च ।

नभूतोप[ण्ड]के चापि व(व)भूवाधिपति७पुरा ॥¹⁷—[3]

अथ कस्मिन्धि[त्त]मये¹⁸ वणिजो भ्रातरस्तय ।

तामलिसि[म]योध्याया ययु पूर्वम्बणिज्यया¹⁹ ॥ —[4]

भूय प्रतिनिवृत्तास्ते स्वमावास यियासव. ॥(1)

3

प्रयोजनेन केनापि चिरञ्चक्रुरिह स्थिति ॥ —[5]

सुवर्णमणिमाणिक्यमुक्ताप्रभृति यैर्हन ।

वित्तपस्यर्द्धदेवासीदपर्यन्तमुपार्जित ॥ —[6].

सर्वभूताश्रयास्त्यदयादाक्षिण्यशालिन' ।

स्रष्टा(ष्टा)र इव लोकस्य चय चितिसुपागता. ॥ —[7]

केलास कठिन कलङ्क-

4

मलिनचन्द्रस्तुपाराचल.

प्रायस्तीक्ष्णकरप्रहारविवशो नित्यङ्गलत्येव हि ।

तारत्यञ्च समाश्रिता गुणवतो हारा इति प्रायशो

येषामन्न व(व)भूव निर्मलगुणै शीलस्य नैवोपमा ॥²⁰—[8]

दातृत्वेन समो व(व)भूव न पुरा कर्णोपि येषामसौ

शौर्येणापि जगज्जिगीपुरगमत्²¹

5

नैवाञ्जुनस्तुत्यता

ये चासङ्घपराक्रमक्रमपदाक्रान्तचिलोकीतला

वीरानाहवमूर्धसु प्रव(व)लिन७पङ्गुनिबोच्चिचिपु ॥ —[9].

दिक्काम(मि)नीतनुविलेपनचन्दनानि [रा]ज्यश्रिय स्तनतटीविकटाङ्गुकानि²² ।

अद्यापि चन्द्रकरहारतुपारभान्ति²³ सर्वा दिशो धवलयन्ति यशान्ति[न्ति] येषां ॥²⁴—[10].

विद्यासमुन्नतगुणा

¹⁰ See the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XIII, p 171

¹¹ From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing.

¹² Expressed by a symbol

¹³ The two *aksharas* in brackets are almost entirely broken away

¹⁴ Metre *Indravajrâ*, but the third Pada of the verse is as if the metre were *Vasantatilaka*—Compare Vallabhadra's *Suhâshatâvâk*, verse 41

¹⁵ Observe the hiatus in श्रीआदि°, and read °सिद्धि and °सिद्ध

¹⁶ Metre *Upajati*

¹⁷ Metre of verses 3-7 *Śloka* (Anushtubh)

¹⁸ Read कस्मिन्धि°

¹⁹ Read पूर्व व°

²⁰ Metre of verses 8 and 9 *Śardulavikranta*

²¹ Read °गमत्तैवा°

²² Read °विकटाङ्गुकानि

²³ Read °भान्ति and यशान्ति

²⁴ Metre of verses 10 and 11 *Vasantatilaka*

L 6

अपि न [स्त्रयान्हा] नन्माः सुदूरमय चोन्नतिमूर्तिभाजः²⁵निस्त्रिङ्गनिष्ठुरकराः²⁶ [क]पयाकुलाश ये चार्थिकल्पतरवः शिवशौरिभक्ताः ॥ —[11]स श्रीमानादिसिद्धोय²⁷ कदाचिदटवोमिमा ।प्रारब्धो(ब्धो)खिलनोद्युक्तः प्रविवेशावनीश्वरः ॥²⁸—[12]

आदिदेश

7 समाह्वय स पक्षीचितयाज्जन ।

यूयमद्यावलगमस्मभ्यं²⁹ ददताश्विति ॥ —[13]अस्तत्त्वस्तन्समाकर्ण्य³⁰ [तूष्णीं]स्व(म्ब)लपरिग्रहः³¹ ॥(1)

वणिजा भ्रातर ज्येष्ठमुदयमानमुपागमत् ॥ —[14]

राज्ञोवलगनार्थाय तमभ्यर्थं प्रयत्नतः ।

प्रेषयामास तन्सोपि³² वल्लभोभून्महोपतेः ॥ —[15].

8 अल्यैरहोभिरनुभूय नृपप्रसादं श्रीपट्टव(व)न्मधिमगम्य तत क्रमेण ।

श्रीआदिसिद्धनृपतिम्परिवो(वो)ध्य³³[ति]न [स]न्मानितो³⁴भ्रमरशान्मलिपद्मिनोकः³⁵ ॥³⁶ [16]

तुष्टास्ततो भ्रमरशान्मलिवामिनस्ते भूयस्तामागतमुपेत्य जनाः प्रणम्य ।

राजा भव त्वमिह पालय पश्चिमेतामित्या-

9. टि तत्परधियोभिदधुस्तमुच्चं ॥ —[17].

एवन्नाम भवत्विति प्रतिवचस्तस्मात्समाकर्ण्य ते

तस्मै राज्यपदन्दुः क्षितिभृताप्याज्ञापि[ता]स्तत्कृतं ।

सोस्मिन्विद्धमखण्डितारिसुभटत्रेणि श्रुतार्थद्विर

राज्यवर्जितसर्वपक्षिरकरोन्नाम्नोदयाग्यो नृप ॥³⁷ —[18]

यस्य त्वागनयान्वयोन्नतिगुणग्रामाधिपत्यार्जिता

10 कीर्त्तिश्चन्द्रकरावदातसुभगामद्यापि मोत्कण्डिताः ।

गेहासीनसुराङ्गनाजनकृतप्रीतिन्मुरेन्द्रालयः³⁸

प्रान्तप्रीत्यितकल्पपादपतले गायन्ति सिद्धस्त्रियः ॥ —[19].

आगत्योदयमानस्तु तैरेवाभ्यर्थितस्तदा ।

पक्षीद्वयेपि राज्यार्थं भ्रातरौ विससर्ज सः ॥³⁹—[20].श्रीमाच्छीघ्रीतमानाख्यः⁴⁰ प्रख्यातो [न]भूतिः⁴¹²⁵ Read श्रीप्रसन्नः²⁶ Read निस्त्रिङ्ग²⁷ Read चिह्नोय²⁸ Metre of verses 12-15, Śloka (Anushtubh)²⁹ Originally °अभ्यो was engraved, but it has been altered to °अभ्य³⁰ Read °नास्मा³¹ Of the aksharas in brackets the upper portion is broken away³² Read तं सोपि or तन्सोपि³³ Observe again the hiatus in श्रीआदि°, and read °सिद्धः.³⁴ Read संमानितो³⁵ Metre of verses 16 and 17 Vasantatīlakā.³⁶ Metre of verses 18 and 19 Śardulavikrīḍita.³⁷ Read °प्रीति सुरे°³⁸ Metre of verses 20 23 Śloka (Anushtubh)³⁹ Read श्रीमाच्छी°⁴⁰ The akshara in brackets was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line

L 11.

पण्डके ।

वश्यात्तोदयमानस्य चिर राज्यमचीकरत् ॥ —[21]

प्रचण्डसुभटाटोपङ्कण्डितामिच्छमण्डल ।

अभूदजितमानोपि च्छिद्गलाया महीपति ॥ —[22]

पत्युर्भूमरशालमत्यान्धिद्गला[न?]भूतिपण्डकौ¹¹ ।

वश्यौ व(व)भूवतु पूर्वमेवमेतौ यथाक्रम ॥ —[23]

आरभ्योदयमानमादिपुरुष गोक्ष-

12

क्रमीयमहा-

नस्माकम्परिवर्द्धमानमहिमेत्यालोक्य ते पूर्वजा ।

अस्मन्नोत्तमवाक्त्वादिदनाद्गुत्यानिक¹² स्यादिदसत्यस्त्रीद्वयमित्यवेत्य चखनु७प्राशस्त्यवर्णनानिमान् ॥¹³—[24]यावत्प्रान्तमरीचिरेचकचयव्याप्तद्विलोकोच्छय¹⁴

चक्र चक्रधरो वि(व)भर्त्ति गिरिशो यावद्भवानीपति ।

13 यावत्लोकमिच्छयाकुलमिलच्चिन्तालसद्यात्मभू-

र्गोत्तस्योदयमानदेवनृपतेस्तावत्स्थितिर्दृश्यताम् ॥ —[25]

XXVIII — COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF VAIDYADEVA, KING OF KĀMARŪPA.

By ALFRED VENIS, M.A., PRINCIPAL, SANSKRIT COLLEGE, BENARES

Twenty-five copper-plate inscriptions were found in October 1892 in the village of Kamrūpi, near the confluence of the Barnā and the Ganges at Benares. The story at the time was that a villager while ploughing a field had turned up one of the plates with his plough and so discovered the others, but I do not know whether this simple and (in India) not unusual story has been subsequently confirmed by official inquiry into the locality and circumstances of the find. Mr R. H. Brereton, Magistrate of Benares, sent me the plates, which are the subject of this and the next paper, viz the grant of Vaidyadeva and two grants of Govindachandra of Kanauj, for immediate examination and report. On receiving from me a few rough notes as to their general contents and approximate dates, he kindly permitted a more careful and leisurely revision of these grants¹.

The Vaidyadeva grant is engraved on three plates. A spoon-like arrangement loosely holds the plates together, its narrower, hooked end being passed through a hole in the middle of their right-hand margins. The broader, hollow end of the spoon contains a figure of Ganeśa. The plates measure 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " broad by 7" high, and weigh together

¹¹ Here again the *akshara* in brackets seems to be engraved above the line.

¹² This was originally engraved but appears to have been altered to "चिद्व न व्यु", and I believe the intended reading to be "चिद्व न व्यु".

¹³ Metre of verses 24 and 25, Śārdulavikrānta.

¹⁴ I am not sure whether the word रेषक of this line should be altered to रेषक^o.

¹⁵ All the plates were deposited in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow in July 1893.

2lbs 13oz ; their margins are slightly thickened outwards. The first plate is inscribed on the inner side only. Each side contains sixteen lines, except the outer side of the third plate, on which there are nine lines only. The height of the letters is about a quarter inch. On the whole, the writing is well preserved, being nowhere completely obliterated. The characters resemble those of the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena (*ante*, vol I, p 305), but approach more closely to the modern Bengali character. They may also be compared, in some respects, with the character of the Krishnadvârikâ Temple inscription at Gayâ (*Arch Survey Reports*, vol III, plate xxxvii), which Dr. Kielhorn describes as "a kind of Devanâgarî which appears to have been current in the 12th century A D" (*Ind Antiq*, vol XVI, p. 63)

Peculiarities, epigraphical and orthographical, are always better seen than described, but the purpose of this notice will have been sufficiently served, it is hoped, by the corrigenda in the foot-notes to the printed text. Lines 6-13 of plate III, A, have not been corrected, because they are mostly filled with names of villages, tanks, their exact boundaries, etc., in Prakrit forms. It may be remarked in passing that the engraver of the plates (or his prompter) has fallen an easy victim to the shibboleth of ऋ, ए, स. The language is Sanskrit, prose and verse.

The inscription records the grant of two villages named Śântipâtaka and Mandara situated in the *viśhaya* of Bâdâ, in the *bhukti* of Piâggyotîsha, in the *mandala* of Kâmarûpa. The donee is a Brahman named Śiddhanta, the son of Yudhishtira and Pâi his wife, and the grandson of Bharata, who was born of the *gotra* of Viśvâmitra, in the village of Bhâva in Vârendrî. Vaidyadeva, the donor, is the son of Bodhidêva and Pratâpadevî his wife, and the grandson of Yogadeva. His caste is not mentioned, but there can be little doubt that he was a Brahman. He was a devotee of both Śiva and Vishnu. His father and grandfather, in their time, had been the ministers of Râmapâla and Vigrahapâla, who were the father and grandfather respectively of Kumârapâla. The royal and the ministerial lines stand thus —

Sâmyavamśi Pâlas

- I Vigrahapâla
- II Râmapâla (son of I)
- III Kumârapâla (son of II)

Ministries

- 1 Yogadeva.
- 2 Bodhidêva (son of 1)
- 3 Vaidyadeva (son of 2)

From the inscription we directly learn but little more about the Palas than is given in the above table. Vigrahapâla is dismissed in a single verse as "perfect in every accomplishment"—a brief but appropriate intimation, perhaps, that his reign was brief. Ramapâla, a warrior, is compared to his great namesake. If the dark conceit of verse 4 has not escaped me, it means in bald prose that Râmapâla conquered (or regained?) Mithilâ, and killed a certain raja Bhîma, whom I am unable to identify. Kumârapâla is styled Lord of Gauda. He loved Vaidyadeva "dearer even than life," to whose generalship he entrusted the fortunes of the empire. Vaidyadeva was a stern minister and a victorious general. If verse 11 and verses 13—17 do not refer to the same event, he won two glorious victories for his master, the one in the southern part of Vanga (but see note 81), the other "in the East," when he killed a rebellious vassal whose name I read hesitatingly as Timgyadeva.

In the kingdom "in the East" was included Kāmarūpa, for it was here that the two villages conveyed by Vaidyadeva as Mahārājādhirāja, etc., were situated. He dates the charter from his victorious camp at Hamsākoñchī, which again I cannot identify. His younger brother (² nephew), Budhadeva, is introduced without any apparent reason, unless indeed it be to mark him as the heir. The *prāsaṁ* was written by Manoratha, the son of the *vājaguru* Murāri and Padmā his wife. The *śāsana* was delivered by Gonandana, Vaidyadeva's *dharmādhlān*. It was engraved by Karna-bhadra.

The date of the Vaidyadeva grant remains to be discussed. I have failed to work it out directly from the text. The statement in plate III, A, l. 5, appears to be only a prose repetition of the statement in verse 28, with the addition of the word *Sam* and the numerical sign 4. The syllable *m*, with which it concludes, I take as a contraction of *nibaddham* (to qualify *śāsanam*). Verse 28 will be considered below. The other statement in ll. 3, 4 of plate III, A, baffles me. The last word *Guggulī* is very doubtful. Read thus, it may be explained as an *upanāman* of Śrīdhara, the donee, in reference to the story of the *Guggulu* in verse 26. But the forms of conjunct *ggu* are entirely different in the two words. I am still inclined to think that the letters read *Guggulī* are somehow connected with the date indication.

Failing to fix Vaidyadeva's date from the inscription itself, I have been forced to enter on the much debated chronology of the Pāla and Sena dynasties. Now, in regard to the Pāla dynasty, the reign of Mahāpala from 1066 to 1060 A.D., and the accession of Govindapala in 1161 A.D., are practically the only dates unanimously accepted by the latest modern authorities. The intervening names, the order of their succession, and their dates are still disputed. Dr. Kielhorn's list of Pāla kings from Gopāla I to Vigrahapāla III, based on the Āṁgachhī plate (*Ind. Ant.* vol. XXI, p. 99), is, in part at least, confirmed and extended by the statements of the Vaidyadeva plates; for, assuming the historical accuracy of the Āṁgachhī and Vaidyadeva grants (which indeed there seems to be no reason for doubting), we see from the latter grant that the kings Vigrahapala, Ramapala and Kumālapāla must be placed together in this unbroken order, and from the former grant that no place in the Pāla line can be found for this trio previous to Mahāpala. Further, the dates discussed in the next paragraph make it almost certain that Vigrahapala of the Vaidyadeva grant is identical with Vigrahapāla III of Dr. Kielhorn's list.² Nayapāla's position is not so easy to decide. Dr. Hoernle identifies him with Devapāla, 956—991 A.D., (*Ind. Ant.* vol. XIV, p. 164). Of course there may have been two or more of his name in the Pāla dynasty. But I may observe that the exact position of Nayapāla is not material to the present inquiry.

I return to verse 28, and premising the succession given by Dr. Kielhorn, I would thus state the problem widely—Between the years 1060 and 1161 A.D., to find the year in which the *Meshasamkrānti* fell (1) on *ekādaśī* and (2) on *dvādaśī* in Vaiśakha (*kṛishna-paksha*).² The following years result—(1) on *ekādaśī* 1077, 1096, 1123, 1142, 1161 A.D., (2) on *dvādaśī* 1115, 1134 A.D. Now, the years 1077, 1096, 1115 and 1123 may at once be rejected as altogether too early for Kumālapāla, by whom Vaidyadeva was made a king. The year 1134 may also be rejected, for, since we do not know

Dr. Kielhorn confines himself to proving that the Āṁgachhī plate of Vigrahapāla III was issued after 1053 A.D.

whether Kumārapāla was the immediate predecessor of Govindapāla or not, we are not at liberty to count the years of Kumārapāla backwards directly from 1161 A.D. Then, turning to the other end of the line, even if Nayapāla's name be omitted from that part of the royal succession which is now under review, it is safer to place Kumārapāla nearer the end than the beginning of the period 1060—1161 A.D. Thus 1142 and 1161 remain. And of the two 1142 A.D. seems the more probable date for the grant of Vaidyadeva. The 4th year mentioned in Plate III, A, ll 3, 4, 5 may be the regnal year of Vaidyadeva, whose rule in Assam would then date from 1138 A.D.

Next, as to the history of the Sena dynasty, it is generally acknowledged that some time during the second half of the 11th century A.D. the Pālas lost Eastern and Northern Bengal (including Assam) to the Senas under Vijayasena. "Vijayasena's reign (Dr Kielhorn writes, *ante*, vol. I, 307) may therefore be reasonably supposed to have begun about the beginning of the last quarter of the 11th century." I have no wish to indulge in further speculation. Briefly, this is what I suppose the drift of events to have been. At first, *i.e.* roughly from 1060—1130 A.D. the Pālas were driven westwards by the Senas. Then the Senas began to lose ground rapidly and were driven back by the Pālas into a small corner of Bengal, where they were finally demolished by the Muhamadans at the beginning of the 13th century A.D. Thus, the conquest of Janakabhūmi (Mithilā) by Rāmapāla, recounted in verse 4 of the Vaidyadeva grant, may have been an historical fact, marking the return of power to the Pāla line. And thus, too, the Pāla culmination under Kumārapāla about 1142 A.D. would synchronise with the Sena decadence under Keśavasena or his successor.

To recapitulate Vaidyadeva's grant furnishes some new historical material, *viz.* a trio of the royal line of Pālas arranged in order of descent, it throws some more light on the relations existing between the rival Pāla and Sena dynasties in Bengal during the 12th century A.D., and its date, as confirmed by the history of the period, seem to point to 1142 A.D. as its probable date.

TEXT

Plate I (Inner side only)

- Line [1] ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ स्वस्ति ॥ अमरमानस्तम्भ कुम्भ संसारबीजरक्षायाः । हरिदन्तर-
- [2] मितमूर्तिः क्रीडापोत्री हरिज्यति^१ ॥^२ (Verse 1) एतस्य दक्षिणदशो वंशे मिहिरस्य जातवान् पूर्व^३ । विग्रहपा-
- [3] लो नृपतिः सव्वाकारदिसिद्ध^४ ॥ (2) यस्य वशक्रमेणाभूत्सचिवः शास्त्रवित्तमः । योगदेव इति ख्यातः,
- [4] स्फुरद्दीर्घविक्रमः ॥^५ (3). तस्योज्ज्वलपौरुषस्य^६ नृपते श्रीरामपालोऽभवत्पुत्रः पालकुलाब्धिशी-
- [5] तकिरण साम्राज्यविख्यातिभाक् । तेने येन जगन्त्रये जनकभूलाभाद्यथावद्यथ चोणीनायकभीम-

^१ Read ०मूर्ति and हरिज्यति

^२ Metre of verses 1 and 2 Pāthyarjya

^३ Read जातवान् पूर्वम्

^४ Read सव्वाकारदि^०

^५ Metre Sloka. (Pa'hyārastra)

^६ Read तस्योज्ज्वल^०

- L [6] रावणवधायुद्धार्णवोद्धनानात्⁹ ॥¹⁰ (4) यस्य शुद्धसचिव, पुराभवद्विधिदेव इति तत्त्वबोधभूः।
विश्वगेव वि-
- [7] दितोऽद्भुतैर्गुणैरुक्लितात्मसदृशं चितावय¹¹ ॥¹² (5) अस्य प्रतापदेवी पत्नी धर्मद्विकीर्त्तित्वि-
त्रान्ति
- [8] वित्रान्ति¹³ । आसीदसीमकान्ति सन्तोषस्याकृति पत्यु ॥¹⁴ (6) अभूदमुष्यान्तनयोऽस्य
विश्रुत श्रीवे-
- [9] श्रीवैद्यदेव¹⁵ परया त्रिया युत । यदुच्छलत्कीर्त्तिशरीवरोद¹⁶ पद्माङ्कुराभ शिवभूधरो-
- [10] भवत् ॥¹⁷ (7) दैवज्ञेषु च तर्कुकेषु च जनुद्दिष्टस्य दिष्टिभूतेरन्नसप्रधृतीर्णदित्यरिभटैरुन्मु-
- [11] च्य समूर्च्छित । किञ्चैतन्निजवन्मुवृन्दनयनप्रोद्धतहर्षाम्बुभिः पारव्यप्रसरप्रतापदहनस्याभू-
द्विनि-
- [12] वर्पाण¹⁸ ॥¹⁹ (8). सोऽयं रामनरेन्द्रजस्य सचिव, साम्नाज्यलक्ष्मीजुष, प्रख्यातस्य कुमारपाल-
नृपते-
- [13] चित्तानुरूपोऽभवत् । यस्यारातिकिरीटहाटककृतप्रासादकण्ठीरवग्रासत्रासवशादपैष्यति
- [14] विधोर्विम्बाङ्गरूपी²⁰ मृग, ॥ (9) सचिवसमाजशरीरजतिगमभानु²¹ प्रसरयशोऽम्बुधिरप वैद्य-
देव । स-
- [15] हजवदान्यतयैव चम्पकेश सुजनमन, कुमुदेयु शीतरस्मि²² ॥²³ (10) यस्यानुत्तरवङ्गसङ्गरजये
नीवाट-
- [16] हीहीरवतस्तैर्द्विकिरिभिस्य²⁴ यत्र चलित चेन्नास्ति तद्गम्यभू । किञ्चोत्पातुकोनिपातपत-
नप्रोत्सर्पितै

Plate II, A

- [17] श्रीकरैराकाशे स्थिरता कृता यदि भवेत्स्यान्निष्कलङ्क शशी ॥²⁵ (11) गौडेशस्य कुमारपाल-
नृपते-
- [18] द्वौर्वीयतेजस्यते²⁶ त्रैलोक्योदरपूरिभूरियशस, प्रज्ञानवाचस्यते, । सप्ताङ्गचित्तिपाधिपत्व-
मभित
- [19] सचिन्तयन्नुग्रधीः प्राणैर्भ्योप्यतिवन्धुरस्य सचिवः सोऽभूद्गुणिग्रामणी²⁷ ॥ (12). एतादृशे²⁸ हरि-
हरिङ्गवि स-
- [20] त्कृतस्य श्रीतिम्यदेव²⁹ नृपतेर्विद्वति निशम्य । गौडेश्वरेण भुवि तस्य नरेश्वरत्वे श्रीवैद्यदेव
उरुकीर्त्ति-
- [21] रयं नियुक्त, ॥³⁰ (13) सज्जमिव शिरस्यादायाज्ञा प्रभोरुरतेजस । कतिपयदिनैहत्वा³⁰ जिष्णु,
प्रयाणमसौ

⁹ Read 'भाक्' 'हृद्धनात्¹⁰ Metre Śārdulavikrīḍita¹¹ Read तत्त्वं विश्वगेव 'तावयम्¹² Metre Rathoddhata.¹³ Read धर्मद्विकीर्त्तित्वि¹⁴ Metre Pathyaryā.¹⁵ Read श्रीवैद्यदेव¹⁶ Read 'सरीवरोदरे' The रे is supplied from a *truti*, which is found at the bottom of the plate and is prefixed by the numeral sign for 9¹⁷ Metre Upajati of Vamāsthā and Indravamsa¹⁸ Read जनुद्दिष्टस्य, i.e. "of the birth time (of Vaidyadeva) समूर्च्छितम् 'निर्वापयम्¹⁹ Metre of verses 8 and 9 Śārdulavikrīḍita²⁰ Read विधोर्विम्बा²¹ Read 'सरोज'²² Read शीतरस्मि²³ Metre ?²⁴ Read 'वक्रैर्द्वि'²⁵ Metre of verses 11 and 12 Śārdulavikrīḍita²⁶ Read 'नृपतेर्द्वौर्वीय'²⁷ Read एतादृशे²⁸ This might be read तिर्र²⁹ Metre Vasantatilakā³⁰ Read 'दिनैहत्वा and द्रुतम् One would expect प्रयाण कृत्वा

- L. [22.] द्रुतं । तमवनिपति जित्वा युद्धे बभूव महीपतित्रिजभुजपरिष्यन्दैः³¹ साक्षाद्विषमप्रतिवि-
क्रमः ॥ (14).³² ए-
- [23.] तस्य प्रवरप्रयाणसमये पांशूत्करैः स्थण्डिलप्राये व्योमतले कंससिकगणै-
- [24.] लब्धोऽङ्घ्रियानयमः । किञ्चाचिद्वयगोपनेन करयोरन्यक्रियास्वचमः सुत्रामा नय-
- [25.] नानिमीलनकरं कर्म स्वकं निन्दति ॥³³ (15) दोहण्डारणिजे³⁴ हविर्भुजि भटप्रातेन्यनैरेधिते
- [26.] सग्रामाध्वरपूजिते रिपुशिरःश्रेणीलसत्प्रीफलेः ।³⁵ कृत्वा होमविधि परचितिभु-
- [27.] जा दत्वाय³⁶ पूर्णाहुति लब्धोदग्रयशो³⁷ महत्फलमसौ श्रीवैद्यदेवो बभौ ॥ (16). यदुत्समर-
मध्यात³⁸ खड्गघातो-
- [28.] त्यतद्भिः परसुभटशिरोभिर्व्योम कीर्णं निरीक्ष्य । भटिति विसरराहुव्यहधीविभ्यदर्कं स्व-
- [29.] रुचमपि रजोभिः प्रोच्छयन्³⁹ स्वं क्षुगोप ॥⁴⁰ (17) चन्द्रस्योद्भवभृमहीध्रसरण सत्वप्रधानागय
पा-
- [30.] त्रयीमहितः स्फुरद्वसमयः सोयं गभीरः पर । रत्नानां निलय त्रिय. कुलगृह स्वास्तस्थित-
- [31.] श्रीपतिः स्यादेवं सदृशोऽम्बुधेर्यदि जलाधारोऽयवा लघित.⁴¹ ॥⁴² (18) ज्ञानैर्गीप्यतिरुजितै-
द्दिनपतिः
- [32.] सत्योरूपै. श्रीपतिर्हैर्यैरम्बुपतिर्हनेनपतिहानैः⁴³ स चम्पापतिः । किञ्चैतेपि गिरीपमान-
विषयाः

Plate II, B.

- [33.] प्रायः प्रसिद्धेर्बलाद् वृम किन्तु वयं स्वयं स्वसदृशः सर्वैर्गुणानां⁴⁴ गणै ॥ 0 ॥ (19) यस्य श्रीबुध-
देव इत्यनुजभू-
- [34.] श्रीरामभट्टानुजप्रायस्ततस्सीमनिर्मलगुणैर्हर्षमहिशीलहिभू⁴⁵ । दानै. शोभनपद्मवैदिल⁴⁶-
- [35.] कुलग्रीतिप्रदानैरपि । ख्यातः कल्पमरुहप्रतिकृतिहोर्वीर्यजृम्भायसा.⁴⁷ ॥ (20). अथाभ-
- [36.] वत कौपिकसञ्जको सुनिसुनीन्द्रसुख्यो⁴⁸ निजगोत्रपूरुष । पयोजनभास्यचयभमशमात्
- [37.] यदास्यपद्मेतु सुख गिरा स्थित⁴⁹ ॥⁵⁰ (21) एतद्वसे महति भरत. प्रादुरासीतहिजाति-
र्भावग्रामे
- [38.] प्रविसरयसाः शासनोये वरेन्द्रा अस्तामन्यहुणगणसमाख्यानमाख्यानमात्राद्यन्नास्त्रोऽ-
- [39.] पि स्फुटति निखिलः किर्णपाना प्रपञ्चः⁵¹ ॥⁵² (22) अस्य विप्रतिलको युधिष्ठिर पुत्र इ-
- [40.] त्वभवत्सुधीश्वर.⁵³ । शास्त्रवेदपरिशुद्धबोधभू. श्रीत्रियत्वविलसद्यशोनिधि ।⁵⁴ (23) पाई-
- [41.] ति धर्मपत्नी धीरवरस्यास्य चित्तविर्यान्तिः । असीदसीमकान्ति श्रीलौदायश्रीया⁵⁵

³¹ Read महीपतित्रिजं.

³² Metre Harinī

³³ Metre of verses 15 and 16 Śārdūlavikrīḍita

³⁴ Read दोहण्डा

³⁵ Read लसच्छ्रीफले

³⁶ Read दत्वाय

³⁷ Read लब्धोदग्रयशो

³⁸ Read मध्यात्

³⁹ Read 'गिरीभिर्व्योम' 'प्रोच्छयन्

⁴⁰ Metre Mālinī

⁴¹ Read महीध्रसरण सत्वं लघुघित

⁴² Metre of verses 18, 19, and 20 Śārdūlavikrīḍita

⁴³ Read 'हर्षमहिशील' श्रीपतिर्हैर्यैरम्बुपतिर्हनेनपतिहानैः.

⁴⁴ Read व्रम, and सर्वैर्गुणैः

⁴⁵ Read 'सत्तटसीम' 'धर्मपत्नी' 'लघुघित'

⁴⁶ The var lect सरफजपद्मवै (with the numerical sign 2 affixed) is given in the upper margin of the plate, and श्रीमन् is cut out in the text.

⁴⁷ Read कल्पमरुहप्रतिकृतिहोर्वीर्यजृम्भायसा । जृम्भा is cut out in the body of the plate, and चयय (with the sign 3 affixed) is supplied in the lower margin

⁴⁸ Read 'भयत् कौशिक' 'सुनिम्ब'

⁴⁹ Read 'भमशमात्' and स्थितम्

⁵⁰ Metre Vamśastha.

⁵¹ Read एतद्वसे . प्रादुरासीद . प्रविसरयसा
वरेन्द्रागम् । आस्तामन्यं किस्तिषाणां.

⁵² Metre Mandākrāntā

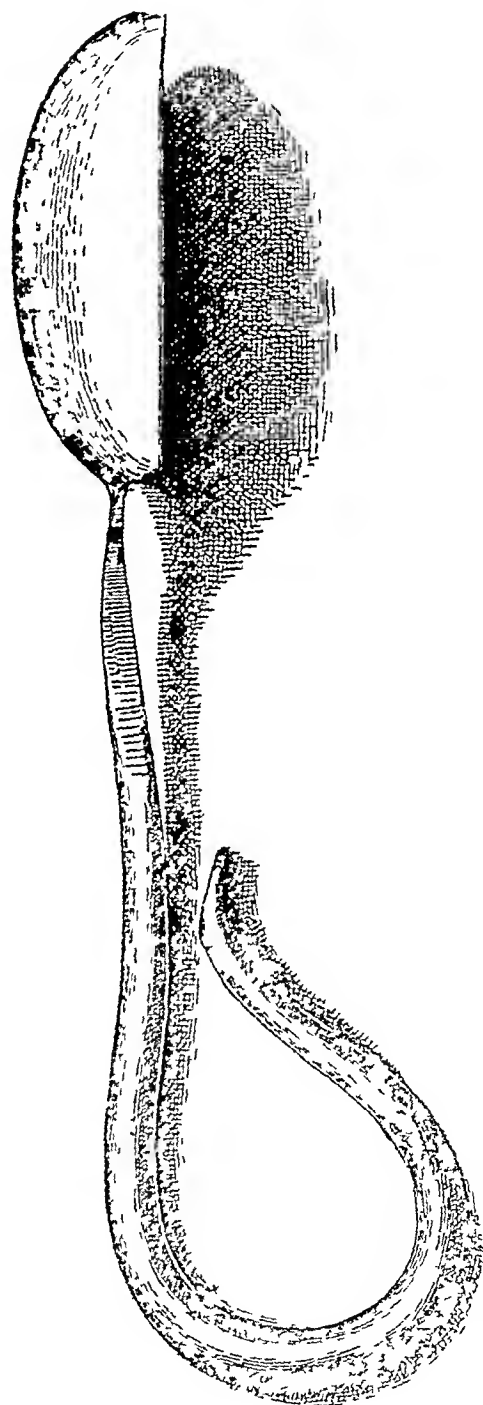
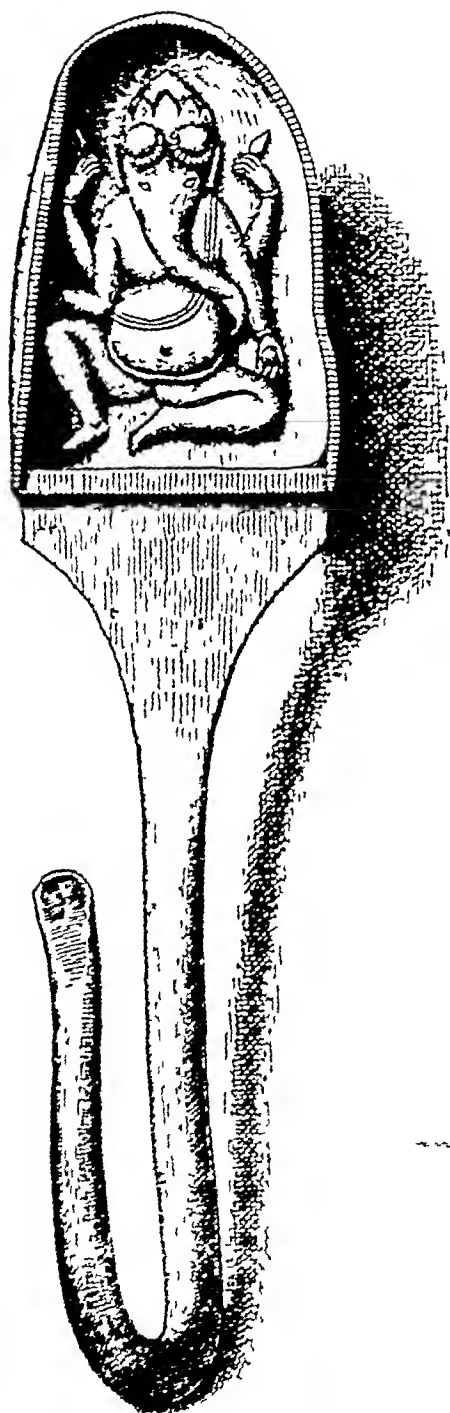
⁵³ 'मरसुधीश्वर' is faulty metre.

⁵⁴ Metre Rathoddhātā

⁵⁵ Read 'आसीद' . . श्रीलौदार्याश्रयां

GRANT OF VAIDYADEVA OF KAMARUPA

THE SEAL



Scale 3-4ths of original

[The page contains dense handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely from a manuscript. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines across the page. There are several large circular holes or gaps in the document, particularly near the top center and bottom right, which appear to be damage or intentional removal of sections.]

- L [42.] वसति ॥⁶⁸ (24) पृष्वपूष्वजनुज्जन्मकर्मपाकादभूत्सुतस्तस्यैतस्या द्विजाधीसपूज्यः⁶⁷ श्रीश्रीध-
 [43.] र पर ॥⁶⁹ (25). तीर्थेषु भ्रमणात् श्रुताध्ययनतो दानात्तथाध्यापनाप्यज्ञाना⁶⁹ कारणाद्भूते-
 कचरणात् सव्यो-
 [44.] त्तर शोचिय ॥ प्रातन्नक्तमयाचितोपवसनैर्येन स्वय गुग्गुलोराकर्पाद्वरद कृतोत्र हि कलौ
 शो-
 [45.] सोमनाथ⁶⁹ प्रभु. ॥⁶¹ (26) कर्मव्रह्मविदा मुख्य सर्वाकारतपोनिधि. श्रीतस्मात्तरहस्येषु⁶²
 वागीश इव वि-
 [46.] श्रुत ॥⁶³ (27) एतस्मै शासन प्रादाद्वैद्यदेवस्त्रीतीश्वर । वैशाखे विशुत्याच्च⁶⁴ स्वर्गार्थ हरि-
 वासरे ॥0॥ (28).
 [47.] स्वस्ति हसाकोच्चीसमावासितश्रीमज्जयकन्धावारात्⁶⁵ । परममाहेश्वर परमवैष्णवः महा-
 राजाधि-
 [48.] राज । परमेश्वर परमभट्टारक. । श्रीमान⁶⁶ वैद्यदेवदेव कुशली । श्रीप्रागुज्योतिषभुक्ती।
 कामरू-

Plate III, A

- [49.] पमण्डले । वाडाविमये भट्टगङ्गाधरभुक्तक । शान्तिवडामन्दराग्रामीय । यथाप्रधानप्रति-
 वासि । चट्टभट्टविस-
 [50.] यित्रकाटिजनपदान कर्पकाय यथात्याग मानयति । बोधयति समादिशति वः सतमस्तु
 भवता । एतत् द्वय
 [51.] चतुशीमावच्छिन्न । परिवोधशुद्ध अचट्टभट्टप्रवेश सजलस्थल । भूच्छिद्रश्च अकिञ्चितकर-
 शास्त्र⁶⁷ । चतुर्थीष्ट
 [52.] स वैशाखप्रथमादिना गुग्गुली श्रीशुद्धरश्मिरे⁶⁸ चतुश्रितिक शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तमस्माभिः
 तदेतस्मिन्⁶⁹
 [53.] विधेया भवतेति । स ४ सूर्यगत्या वैशाखदिने १ नि ॥0॥ सन्तिवडामन्दराग्रामयोरे-
 कीभूय अष्टसीमा-
 [54.] त्रिनयकत ॥ पूर्वदिशस्तावत् दिग्दाण्डिधरमादाय यावत् पश्चिमकूलशीमा ॥ ऐशा-
 नदिश शिङ्गिआध-
 [55.] रशीमालेङ्गवडाभोग्येकसपलभू १ ॥ उत्तरदिश कोण्टुवाडोङ्गीनडजोलीनवधराशीमा ॥
 [56.] शिरवडाशिलगुडिभोग्य किञ्चिदतिक्रम्य जयगतिपोला उण्णोलाविरामादाय वाय-
 [57.] व्दिम पिपामुण्डा अश्वत्थशीमा अम्भडाचौवोल । वुडिपोखिरिपूर्वधरकुलाचापडि अ-
 [58.] टवलपुराणधर्मालि पश्चिमायावत् पश्चिमदिशशीमा किञ्चिद्वरक्रित्वा नैर्ऋत्यदिशो ध-

⁶⁸ Metre Pathyavru⁶⁷ Read पूर्वपूष्वजनुज्जन्मकर्मपाकादभूत्सुत । द्विजाधीसपूज्य⁶⁸ Metre Pathyavru⁶⁹ Read तयाध्यापनाप्यज्ञाना⁷⁰ Read सर्वाकार श्रीतस्मात् प्रातन्न⁷¹ Metre Sārdulavikṛidita⁷² Read 'निधि' । श्रीतस्मात्⁷³ Metre of verses 27, 28 29, 30 Pathyavaktra⁷⁴ Read 'चिती' विपुवत्याच्च⁷⁵ Read 'श्रीमज्जयकन्धावारात्⁶⁶ Read श्रीमान्⁶⁷ Read thus, omitting the unnecessary pauses in the plate — वाडाविमये भट्टगङ्गाधरभुक्तकशान्तिवडामन्दराग्रामीययथा-
 प्रधानप्रतिवाक्चिचट्टभट्टविसयित्रकाटिजनपदान् कर्पकाय यथात्याग
 मानयति बोधयति समादिशति वः सतमस्तु भवताम् । एतद्वय
 चतुशीमावच्छिन्न परिरोधशुद्धम् अचट्टभट्टप्रवेश सजलस्थल भूच्छिद्रश्च
 अकिञ्चितकरपाय⁶⁸ Read श्रीश्रीधर⁶⁹ With the परिवोध of the text (1 3)
 compare the Pal form पालिवोध = hindrance⁶⁹ Read तदेतस्मिन्

- L. [59.] आलिमादाय नैपोश्रुहारयो विवादभूमेर्वाद्यर्हमादाय लच्छुवडास्थितैकवाटीसमेतघाट-
चम्पकः शोमा वे-
[60.] लवणीपटानवपल । दक्षिणदिश' कुम्भकारभोग्यवहि. शोमा कोण्डोहाडादुध्रवीलयावत
हेलावणामुण्डमा-
[61.] दाय दिघ्दाण्डियावत । अग्निदिश. सीमा । एवं अष्टसीमा ॥ ॥ द्वितीयपटकस्य चतुश्श-
पङ्क्ताः ॥ सन्तिपाट-
[62.] कसन्ननु मन्दराग्रामसयुत । वडाविसयसम्बद्धं भूच्छिद्रेणेति निश्चयात् ॥⁷⁰ (29). सव्वायोपाय-
सयुक्त करोप-
[63.] स्करवज्जित । यावच्चन्द्राकसभोग्य यावदिच्छाक्रियाफल । जलस्थलखिलारण्यवाट-
गोवाटसयुत⁷¹ ॥ (30). कोष्ठ य-
[64.] य करिष्यति स्वयमिदं य' कारयिष्यत्यसौ पुत्रादिचयमभ्युदीक्ष्य निरये कल्पान्तरं स्यास्यति ।
य. ज्ञाघ. परिपा-

Plate III, B.

- [65.] स्यति सुतेवितै. स वदिस्यते स्वलोक परिभुज्य यास्यति चिराद्विष्णोर्वरेण्य पद⁷² ॥ (31).
यावद्भास्करहिमकर-
[66.] ताराभूधरपधिवसुधाया. । तावद्विलशतु नृपते कीर्त्ति,⁷³ श्रीवैद्यदेवस्य⁷⁴ ॥ (32). इमा
राजगुरो' पुत्रः श्रीसुरारैर्हि-
[67.] जन्मन' पद्मागर्भोद्भवश्चक्रे प्रसस्ति श्रीमनोरथ⁷⁵ ॥ (33). देवोय रिपुचक्रविक्रमकथाप्रत्यर्थि-
दोव्विभ्रम शश्वद्विश्व-
[68.] परिभ्रमन्नवनवीन्मीलयशः श्रीधर । एतस्मै सुदितो द्विजातिपतये धर्माधिकारार्पितश्री-
गोनन्दनकोवि-
[69.] द्वैकवचसा प्रादादिदं साशन⁷⁶ ॥ (34). कर्णभद्रेण भद्रेण शिल्पिनानल्पवुद्धिना । ताम्र
विनयनस्त्रेण निर्मित
[70.] साधुकर्म्मणा⁷⁷ ॥ (35). एतादृशे मुनिवचनानि भवन्ति । स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा यो हरत वसु-
न्धरा । स विष्टाया कृमिर्भूत्वा
[71.] पच्यते पितृभिस्सह ॥ गामेका स्वर्णमेकस्वा भूमेरप्यर्द्धमङ्गुल हरसरकमायाति यावदाङ्ग-
[72.] तसंप्लव ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभि' सगरादिभि. यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फ
[73.] ल⁷⁸ ॥

TRANSLATION

Om! Salutation to the holy Vāsudeva! Hail!

Verse. (1) Glorious is Hari, the pillar for measuring the sky, the receptacle in which are preserved the germs of the transmigratory world, the boar whose form, assumed by him in sport, terminates with space, (*i.e.* is all-pervading).

(2) In the race of the Sun, who is the right eye of Hari, was born of yore the king Vighrahapāla, perfect in every accomplishment

⁷⁰ Read° सच्छ° सयुतम् विपद° निययात्

⁷¹ Read सव्वायो° वज्जितम् यावच्चन्द्राकसभोग्य° फलम्° सयुतम्

⁷² Read कोष्ठे करिष्यति कारयिष्यति परिपालयिष्यति
सुतेर्भि° वनिष्यते स्वर्लोक पदम् ॥ Metre Śardulavilīlita

⁷³ Read° मुधरपयोधि° लसतु कीर्त्ति.

⁷⁴ Metre Pathyāra.

⁷⁵ Read प्रशस्ति Metre Pathyāvakra

⁷⁶ Read° दोर्वि° लयशा, शासनम् Metre Śardulavilīlita.

⁷⁷ Metre Pathyāvakra

⁷⁸ Read परदत्तां वा वसुन्धराम् गामेकां स्वर्णमेकं वा° मङ्गुलम्।
संप्लवम् फलम् ।

[The page contains dense handwritten text in Devanagari script, which is mostly illegible due to extreme fading and significant damage to the manuscript. A large circular hole is visible near the top center.]

(3) His minister was Yogadeva, who was versed in the Śāstras and the prowess of whose arm was manifest

(4) Of this king of mighty power the son was Rāmapāla, who was the moon (*produced*) from the ocean-like Pāla family and who wielded the glory of empire. As befitted one of his name (*yathāvat*), Rāmapāla (*yena*) spread glory through the three worlds, by gaining the country of Janaka,⁷⁹ (as Rāma gained Janakabhū, the child of Janaka, *i.e.* Sītā), and by killing king Bhīma,⁸⁰ as Rāma killed Rāvana, and by crossing the ocean of war, as Rāma crossed the ocean.

(5) Bodhīdeva was Rāmapāla's faultless minister, the abode of truth. By his wondrous qualities he was known throughout the world as one without an equal

(6) His wife was Pratāpadevī, the resting-place of virtue, good fortune and good report, whose beauty was boundless, and who was the embodiment of her husband's joy.

(7) To him was born of her the renowned Vaidyadeva, who was endowed with the highest happiness, and in whose lake of leaping glory the mountain of Śiva (*i.e.* Kailāsa) appeared as it were but a lotus-sprout

(8) Hearing from astrologers and mendicants of the auspicious juncture of Vaidyadeva's birth-time, his enemies' soldiers forthwith gave up food and sleep and courage, and were stupefied. And, further, by the waters of joy that sprang from the eyes of his gathered friends was extinguished the fire-like splendour of the hostile multitude

(9) This Vaidyadeva was the minister after his own heart of the famous king Kumārāpāla, who was the son of the king Rāma, and who delighted in the glory of empire. The deer which is formed in the orb of the moon will run away through fear of being swallowed by the lions represented on the palace, which is made of gold from diadems of the enemies of this (*Vaidyadeva*).

(10) This *Vaidyadeva* was the sun in the lotus-like assembly of ministers, the ocean of spreading fame, by reason of his natural generosity he was the Lord of Champaka (*i.e.* Karna), he was the moon among the lily-like minds of good men

(11) And on the occasion of Vaidyadeva's (*yasya*) victory at the battle in Southern Vanga,⁸¹ if the elephants of the eight quarters did not run away terrified by the shouts from the enclosure of boats, it was because they had no place to run to (*i.e.* the shouts of the rowers pervaded all space!) Moreover, if the spray, thrown up by the downward strokes of the upraised rudder-oars, had remained fixed in the sky, then the moon would have become spotless (being washed clean by the spray)

(12) He (*Vaidyadeva*) chief among the virtuous, sternly keeping in mind the kingdom in all its parts, was minister, dearer even than life, to king Kumārāpāla the Lord of Gauda, who was like the sun in the might of his arm, with his great glory filling the three worlds, and like Vrihaspati in his wisdom

(13) The aforesaid renowned Vaidyadeva was appointed ruler by the Lord of Gauda in the room of Timgyadeva, who had been treated with honour in the East, and of whose disaffection the Lord of Gauda had heard

⁷⁹ *i.e.* Mithila. To take *janaka* = "father" would spoil the play upon the word

⁸⁰ I cannot identify the name

⁸¹ *Anuttara* = 'complete' may qualify "victory". For *Nandāla* see Dr. Hultzsch, — *Ind. Antiq.* vol. XV, p. 309

(14) This victorious Vaidyadeva having placed upon his head, garland-wise, the command of his glorious master, marched speedily in a few days, and having defeated that king (*viz Timgyadeva*) by the energy of his own arm, became king and appeared like the valiant India himself.

(15) When during the glorious march of this Vaidyadeva the sky became like the surface of the earth on account of the heaps of dust, the horses of the sun found it difficult to move their feet. Further, Indra, while closing both his eyes (*against the dust*), is unable to use his hands for any other action, (*and therefore*) reviles his fate,⁸² to which is due the never-closing condition of his eyes.

(16) This Vaidyadeva performed the *Homa* in the fire of his own splendour, which, produced from his arm as fire from the *arani*, was fed like fire by the fuel of his enemies' hosts, and was worshipped at the fight, as fire at the sacrifice, (*and he used as material for his sacrifice*) many heads of his enemies in the place of bright *vilva* fruits; next, he offered the *pūrnāhuti* oblation with the (*body of the*) hostile king, and having acquired vast glory as the result (*of his sacrifice*) he shone resplendent.

(17) The sun, beholding the sky covered with the enemies' heads, as at the stroke of the sword they fly upwards from the great fight of Vaidyadeva (*yad*), suddenly became alarmed at the thought of these heads being so many Rāhus and protected himself by smearing out his own lustre with dust.

(18) This Vaidyadeva might be exactly compared with the ocean, if he were (*but he is not*) a *jalādhāra*, i.e. protector of fools (*jala = jada*), as the ocean is a *jalādhāra*, i.e. receptacle of water, or if he were conquerable (*langhita*) as the ocean was crossed (*by Rāma*)—(for in other points the comparison holds, thus—) the ocean is the birth-place of the moon, and he is the source of delight (*chandra*), the ocean is the refuge of mountains (*e.g. Manāka*) and he is the refuge of kings (*mahādhra*), the ocean is the home of living things, and he is the home of a disposition in which the *sattva* element of goodness predominates, the ocean is adorned by the beauty of its bed, and he is adorned by the beauty of his ministers (*pātra*), the ocean is filled with sparkling water, and he is filled with *rasa* (*love, etc.*), the ocean is very deep, he is profound; the ocean is the abode of gems, and he the abode of what is most precious, the ocean is the chief home of Lakshmī, and he of wealth (*śrī*), Vishnu dwells within the ocean and within his heart.

(19) He was Vrihaspati as regards his knowledge, and the Sun as regards his energies, and Vishnu as regards his good actions, and Varuna as regards his stability, and Kuvera as regards his wealth, and the king of Champā (*Karna*) as regards his liberality. Further, even these names (*sc. Vrihaspati etc.*) are here employed because of their notoriety as the common objects of comparison in poetry (*girā*), but we for our part declare that in respect to all his numerous qualities Vaidyadeva was like himself alone.

(20) His younger brother⁸³ was Budhadeva, who, resembling the younger brother of Rama (*viz Lakshmana*) in possessing his well-known (*tattat*) boundless and spotless qualities, (*and himself*) the abode of perfect *dharma* and perfect character, with glory leaping in the might of his arm, was famed to be like the Kalpataru in his gifts and also in his donations to Brahmans, which are the good fruits and fresh sprouts.

⁸² It is his *arman* = (*prāabdha*) that makes him Indra with never closing eyes.

⁸³ *Anujabhūh* is ambiguous. I explain thus — *anujā bhūh* (*utpattih*) *gasya* so *anujabhūh*.

३३३

[illegible]

[illegible]

(21) Now (turning to the receiver of this grant), there was that chief of munis, named Kauśika, the first of his *gotra*, in whose mouth Sarasvatī rested after her fatigue in wandering through the (*four*) mouths of Brahmā

(22) In his great *vanśa*, in the strictly-disciplined village of Bhāva,⁸⁴ in Varendri appeared Bharata, a Brāhmana, glorious, by the bare mention of whose name,—to say nothing of his many other good qualities—are destroyed all sins

(23) His son was Yudhishtira, chief of Brāhmanas and intelligent men, the repository of knowledge purified by (*study of*) the Vedas and Śāstras, the abode of glory showing itself through his mastery of the sacred learning

(24) The wife of this learned man was Pāi of boundless beauty, the repose of her husband's heart, and the dwelling-place of virtue, nobleness and prosperity

(25.) As the result of his merit, acquired in many previous states of existence, there was born to him of her that great son Śrīdhara, honoured among Brāhmanas

(26) By reason of his pilgrimages to *tīrthas*, and study of Veda, and generosity, as well as by his teaching and by his performance of sacrifices and strict observance of vows, Śrīdhara was chief among learned Brāhmanas Through Śrīdhara's penances of eating once only either by day or by night, and living on alms without begging, and fastings, the Lord Śiva was propitiated here, in the Kaliyuga, by being drawn out of a Guggulu tree

(27.) Foremost among those who know *karman* and *brahman* (*i.e.* the *Karma-kānda* and the *Jñāna-kānda* of the Veda), Śrīdhara, the store-house of every kind of religious observances, was famed to be like Vrihaspati in (his mastery of) the hidden things of *Śruti* and *Smṛiti*.

(28) To this Śrīdhara, at the Vishuvati (*samkrānti*) in Vaiśākha on Ekādaśī, the king Vaidyadeva gave this charter, to gain heaven

[To follow line 14 of the second Plate]⁸⁵

(29) As determined by the *bhūmicchhādra* rule, the village Santipātaka⁸⁶ is joined to the village Mandarā and belongs to the Badā-vishaya

(30) The villages conveyed are provided with all sources of revenue, and are exempt from royal charges and payments in kind They are to be enjoyed as long as the sun and moon shall endure, and the profits (*phala*) of cultivation (*kṛiyā*) shall be arranged for as (*the owner may*) wish. They are provided with water and dry land, forest tracts, gardens and enclosures for cows

(31) Whoever may himself appropriate this or cause it to be appropriated, shall see his sons and property perish before him and shall remain in Naraka for the period of a Kalpa But the honourable man who respects it shall be blessed with sons and wealth; and having long enjoyed Svarga he shall go to the supreme abode of Vishnu

(32) May the glory of king Vaidyadeva continue to shine as long as sun, moon, stars, mountains, sea and earth endure!

⁸⁴ *Sānoge* I take equal to *Ugrasane*, the commoner *bahuvrīhi*

⁸⁵ The sign of omission is found in the second plate (side B) after *karivāsare*, the last word of l 14 The translation is therefore made to follow the order intended by the words *dvitīyopāṭakasya chaturdaśapanktyāḥ*, to which I supply "*agre*" to complete the construction

⁸⁶ Translation doubtful Dr Kielhorn explains *pātaka* by "outlying hamlet" (*Ind Antiq* vol XVIII, p 135) which I follow above Santī would thus be the name of the *pātaka* adjoining the village Mandarā and falling within the *vishaya* Badā, and the correcter form of the name would appear to be Śāntī, [of III, A, line 1, where, however, the final syllable of Śāntī is read only doubtfully owing to the bad state of the plate] The grammar of verse 29 seems to make *santipātakasamyām* an adjective to *śāsanam* in verse 28 (observe also *idam* in verse 31)

(33.) Manoratha, son of the brāhmana *rajaguru* Murāṇi, and Padmā, his wife, composed this praśasti

(34.) This is that king whose active arm destroyed the famed prowess of his many foes. And this is that Śrīdhara, whose glory ever spreading through the world extends anew. [*The king*] being pleased delivered this śāsana to that brāhmana through the words of his *dharmādhikārin*, the very learned Gonandana.

[Plate II, B, 1. 15] Hail! From the victorious camp at Hamsākoṇchī, his Majesty Vaidyadeva, a most devout worshipper of Śiva and of Vishnu, the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the *Paramēśvara*, the *Paramabhattāraka*, being in good health [Plate III, A, 1. 1] greets, informs and commands the people of the villages of Śānti-Badā and Mandarā possessed by Gangādhara Bhatta, in the *viśaya* of Badā, in the *mandala* of Kāmāūpa in the *bhukti* of Prāgyyotisha, beginning with the principal residents . . . (?) and peasants Be it known unto you that these two villages, having their boundaries fixed and subject to no reduction, with their water and dry land, not to be entered by regular or irregular troops, and their uncultivated land free of taxes, with a revenue of 400, we have given by charter to Śrīdhara Śarmā (surnamed) Guggulī in ? ? . . . Therefore be obedient to this charter. Written in the fourth year on the first day of Vaiśākha by the movement of the sun ⁸⁷

[Plate III, B, 1. 5] (35) This copper was engraved by the artist Karnabhadra, an intelligent, courteous and accurate workman.

To such a plate are added the words of the Munis⁸⁸ —

XXIX.—BENARES COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF GOVINDACHANDRA OF KANAUJ.

By ARTHUR VENIS, M.A., PRINCIPAL, SANSKRIT COLLEGE, BENARES

No. I.¹—Dated Samvat 1162

This grant is on a single plate, and closely resembles the Basāhi grant of Samvat 1161, both in its outward form and text ² The plate is 1' 6" long by 11" broad, and weighs 8lbs. 12oz. Like the Basāhi plate (see Dr. Fleet's description *in loco*), it has a *śamkha* engraved on its left margin with a barbed arrow below it At its top end is rivetted a turned over copper band, through which the ring of a seal was evidently intended to run, but the seal is missing

The inscription is in Nāgarī characters and is well preserved, but the technical execution is on the whole imperfect As regards orthography, *b* and *v* are denoted by the same sign, except once in line 1, where *b* (*babhūva*) is represented by the sign used in seven inscriptions of Jayachandhara (*Ind Antiq*, vol. XVIII, pp 129 *et seq*) The sibilants are used promiscuously. The letters *r* and *ś* have two forms In line 22 I

⁸⁷ See above, p 349

⁸⁸ Here follow the boundaries of the villages

⁸⁹ The usual imprecations which follow are left untranslating

¹ As to the finding of these plates see *ante*, p 347

² See Rajendra'āla Mitra, *Journal As Soc Beng*, vol XLII (1873), and Fleet, *Ind Antiq*, vol XIV (1885) for the Basāhi plates

have failed to read the two letters immediately preceding the word *purandara*. In line 23, initial *e* appears in the old form of a triangle, with the apex downwards.

The opening verses, 1—3, correspond with those of the Basāhi plate. Line 2 reads *Mahyala-sutah* —conf *Mahāla-sutah* or *Mahāla-sutah* of the Bas pl according to Drs Fleet and Mitra. Verse 4 of the Bas pl. is not found in our text. Verse 6 of our text is not found in the Basāhi plate. but these omissions are unimportant. Line 6 records the date in words and figures,⁵ viz Tuesday, full moon (bright half) of Kārttika, 1162 Samvat, date corresponding to 24th October, 1105 A.D.

Line 7 Govindachandra, the donor, was then encamped in Vishnupura and made the grant after having bathed in the Ganges, etc. This, and the succeeding names of place, I cannot identify.

Line 8 He gives the village of Usithā (?), in the Jīlavatī-pattalā in the Pañchālā country, with the usual appurtenances.

Ll 12—17 The donee, Vilhābīya Dikshita, who came originally from Śaṛvithadeśa (?), was the son of Puravira and grandson of Nāgānanda (?). These belonged to the Vaidikula-gotra with the three *pravaras* of Vandhula, Aghamarshana and Viśvāmītra, and were followers of the *Yajurveda*.

Ll. 15—16 contain the well-known crux मत्वा यद्दीयमान . . . दग्ध (व) धर्मिणित्वयकारे तुर्यद्वयप्रमृति . . .

Ll 23—24 The composer of the inscription was Vijayādāsa, who also composed the Basāhi document. The following consented to the grant.—the *pratihara* Gautama, the *gurohita* Jāgula, the *mahattala* Vāllhana (all three of whom are mentioned in the Basāhi plate) and the Queen-mother Rāhadevi.

TEXT

Front

Line [1] ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ तमाद्य सर्वदेवाना दामोदरमुपास्यरे । त्रैलोक्यं यस्य वक्तीव
क्रोडात्सम्य यन्निश्चयी ॥ (1) 'यमे गाहडयानाग्ये वभूय विजयी नृप ॥'

[2] मञ्जीयन्सुत श्रीमान्ननाभागसन्निभ ॥ (2) 'याते श्रीभोजभूपे विपुधवरवधूनेत्रपीमाति-
यित्वा श्रीकर्त्तृ कीर्त्तिमेव गतयति च नृपे आत्यये जायमाने ।

[3.] भक्तारं य धर्म्मी त्रिदिवविभुनिभ प्रीतियोगादुपेता ज्ञाता विप्रस्य पूर्व्ये समभवदिह स
आर्पति यद्रदेव' (3).⁷ ॥ तस्मादभृद्रिपदिनापतिदन्तिसिंह घोणीपति-

[4] मंदनपाल इति प्रसिद्ध । येनाक्रियन्त वभुश समरप्रयन्था, सन्नर्त्तितप्रहृतशत्रुकयन्धवन्था.¹⁰ ॥

(1) " तस्मादजायत नरेन्द्रवृद्धययापादारयिदयुगलो ज्व-

[5.] नितप्रताप । घोणीपतीन्द्रतिलकी रिपुरगभगी गोविन्दचन्द्र" इति विस्तृतनामकीर्त्तिः (5)¹¹ ॥

तिष्ठतो यस्य दो स्तम्भे मत्तमौर्यकदन्तिन । धनुर्गुणकिणयेणी म-

⁵ Dr. Fleet kindly has prepared the following note —
'For V. 1162 exp. ret. — Tuesday, the 24th October, A.D. 1105, the full moon falls commenced 2h. 29m. after mean sunrise and ended 6h. 5m. after mean sunrise of the following day.'

⁷ Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

⁸ Read वृद्ध

⁹ Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

¹⁰ Read विपु

¹¹ Read चन्द्रदेव

¹² Metre: Śloka

¹³ Read वृद्ध, 'वृद्धया कथयन्था

¹⁴ Metre: Varanatilaka

¹⁵ Read 'वृद्धययापादारयिन्द्र' रिपुरगभगी गोविन्दचन्द्र

¹⁶ Metre: Varanatilaka

- L. [6.] दराजीव लक्ष्यते ॥ (6)¹⁴ सवत्सहस्रैके द्विपठुत्तरशताभ्यधिके कार्तिकीर्णमास्ये भीमे
दिने ऽह्नेपि सवत् ११६२ सुदि ५ भीमे¹⁵ अद्येह श्रीमद्विष्णुपुरावासितश्री-
[7.] विजयकटके सकलकल्मषक्षयकारिण्यां गगाया स्नात्वा ॥ यथाविधान मन्त्रदेवऋषिमनुष्य-
भूतपितृस्तर्पयित्वा । सूर्य भट्टारक सपूज्य । भगवन्त महेश्व-
[8.] र समभ्यर्च्य । विश्वाधार वासुदेव समाराध्य । मन्त्रपूत भुतवह हुत्वा । पंचालदेशे जीष्वा-
वतीपत्तलाय उसिथागामे समस्तविषयसार्धवर्त्तिसमस्त-
[9.] महत्तमजनपदान्धबोधयति समाज्ञापयति ॥¹⁶ यथा ग्रामीय मया स्वसीमातृण्यूतिगोचर-
पर्यन्तः सजलस्थलः साम्प्रमधूकः सगर्तोपरपायाण स-
[10.] नदीवनलोहलवणाकर सदशापराधदण्डः साकाशपातालः स्वसीमाचतुराघाटविशुद्धान्त
पूर्वदत्तदेवब्राह्मणवर्जितः । नलिनीदलगतजल ।
[11.] लवतरलतर प्राणिना जीवित¹⁷ विज्ञाय । करिकलभकर्णाग्रविलसितचपलां लक्ष्मी विलोक्य ।
जलबुहुदाकार यौवन परिज्ञाय । कदलीदण्डव-
[12.] त् ससारमसारतर¹⁸ समाकलय्य ॥ साविथदेशनिर्गताय वाजरुनेयसाखीमृगाय वधुलगीत्राय
वधुल अघमर्षणविश्वामित्रप्रवराय¹⁹ ॥
[13.] दीक्षितनागानदपौत्राय दीक्षितपुरवासपुत्राय यजुर्वेदविद्यानलिनीविकासनप्रत्यक्षभास्क-
राय²⁰ दीक्षितवील्हाकाय । अद्याविशुद्धमनसा
[14.] महाराजपुत्रश्रीमन्नोविदचद्रदेवेन कुशपूतहस्तोदकेन कार्तिक्या निमित्ते सम्यगाजुयास्मै
ब्राह्मणार्यां मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च यशःपुण्यवि-
[15.] वृक्षये चद्रार्क्षेदिधिर्क्षितिपवनाम्बराणि यावत् शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्त²¹ ॥ मत्वा यद्दीयमान-
भागभागकूटकदशवधविशतिक्वथाकोरे तुरु-
[16.] ष्कदण्डप्रभृतिसर्वादायान तत् सर्वमस्मै निसेदनीय²² ॥ ये यास्यन्ति महीभृतो मम कुले
किं वा परस्मिन्पुरस्तोषामेष मयाजलिर्विरचित्ता नादेय-
[17.] सत् कियत् दूर्वामात्रमपि स्वधम्मनिरता दत्त सदा पाल्यता वायुर्वास्यति तस्यति प्रतपन
शुत्व मुनीना वच²³ ॥ (7).²⁴ अत्राय पौराणिका
[18.] श्लोका ॥ भूमि²⁵ यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यस्य भूमि प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणी नियत
स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ (8)²⁶ योर्क्षित प्रतिगृह्णाति ददात्यर्क्षि-
[19.] तमेव वा । तावुभौ गच्छतः स्वर्गं नरकं तु विपर्यये ॥ (9) बहुदिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सग-
रादिभिः । यस्य सत्यं यदा भुगिस्तम्य तस्य वदा
[20.] फल²⁷ ॥ (10) यानोह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्मात्यवत्तमप्रति
मानि²⁸ तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ (11).²⁹ अस्मत्कुल पर-

¹⁴ Metre Sloka (Anushtubh)

¹⁵ Read 'पौर्णमास्य' and १५ instead of ५

¹⁶ Read गगायां मन्त्रदेवऋषिमनुष्यभूतपितृस्तर्पयित्वा
नक्षेत्र . सजलपूत इत्यहं पञ्चाखं यामे पात्रवर्ति पदान् सन्बोध,
remove the unnecessary signs of punctuation

¹⁷ Strike out the unnecessary punctuation after जल, and
read प्राणिना जीवित

¹⁸ Read बुहुदां सारतर

¹⁹ Read 'शापामृगाय वधुलाचमर्ष'

²⁰ Read 'नागापन्द' यजुर्वेद

²¹ Read श्रीमद्दीविदचद्रदेवेन . सत्यगाह्या
ब्राह्मणार्या . 'रात्मनः' . . अष्टार्क्षेदिधिर्क्षितिपव-

नाम्बराणि

शासनीकृत्य

²² Read 'सर्वादायान्' निसेदनीयम्

²³ Read परस्मिन्पुरस्तोषामेष मयाजलिर्विरचितो नादेयमस्मात्
कियत् । स्वधम्म दत्त पाल्यतां तस्यति . शुला मुनीनां

²⁴ Metre Śārdulavikrīḍita

²⁵ Read भूमि

²⁶ Metre Sloka (Anushtubh), and in the two following
verses

²⁷ Read वदुभिर्व . यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य वदा
फलम् ॥

²⁸ Read निर्मात्यवत्तमप्रतिमानि तानि

²⁹ Metre Indravajrā

- L. [21] सुदारसुदाहरद्विरनैद्य दानमिदमच । शुभादनीय । लक्ष्मास्तडिखलिलवुद्वदचचलाया
दान फल परयश परिपालन च ज³⁰ (12)³¹ पखभदासन
[22] छत्र वराशा वरवारणा । भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि मस * * पुरदर³² ॥ (13).³³ स्वदत्ता पर-
दत्ता वा यो दरेत वमधरा । स विष्टाया कृमिर्दूला³⁴ पितृभिः स-
[23] ह मज्जति ॥ (14) प्रतीहारगौनमश्क³⁵ जागूकच पुरोहितः । जननी राल्ददेवी च वाल्ह-
णश्च महत्तकः ॥ (15) एतेषा समत्ति प्राप्य सम्यग्लिखित-

Reverse

- [24] वानिदम् । नाम्ना विजयदासाख्य' शासन राजसमतम् (16)

No II —Dated Samvat 1196

This inscription is engraved on a single plate, which measures 1' 3½" in length by 1' ¼" in breadth, and weighs 5lbs 15oz. The plate is perforated at the top margin to take the ring of a seal and it is likely that one of the loose seals now in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, belongs to this plate. The orthography calls for no special remark. Verses 1-7 correspond with the opening verses of the Chandradeva and Madanapâla grant (see *Ind. Antiq.*, vol XVIII, p. 11). Verses 8 and 9 are found again in a grant of Jayachchandra (*ibid.*, p. 130).

L. 13—Govindachandra while at Benares conveys the village of Janakadevipura in the Râna pattalâ (the latter name I read doubtfully owing to the plate being injured)

Ll. 16, 17—Contain the date, and mention a lunar eclipse on that date, viz Monday, the 15th day in the bright half of Âśvina, 1196 Samvat, corresponding to 9th October 1139 A D³⁶

19, 20 The donee was the *purohita* Jâgû Śarman, the son of the donee in the preceding grant

TEXT

- L [1] स्वस्ति । अकुण्ठेत्कण्ठवैकुण्ठकण्ठपीठलुठत्करः । संरम्भ³⁷ सुरतारम्भे स श्रियः
येयसेत्तु व ॥ (1)³⁸ आसीदसीतयुतिवसजातक्षमापालमाला-
[2] सु³⁹ दिवङ्गतसु । साक्षादिवस्त्रानिव⁴⁰ भूरिधान्ना नाम्ना यशोविग्रह इत्युदारः ॥ (2)⁴¹
तत्सुतो भूम्नहीचन्द्रश्चन्द्रधामनिभन्निज । येनापारम-
[3] कूपारपार⁴² व्यापारित यश ॥ (3)⁴³ तस्याभूत्तनयो नयैकरसिक' क्रान्तद्विषन्मण्डलो
विध्वस्तोद्धतधीरसोधतिमिर श्रीचन्द्रदेवो नृप ॥ येनो-

³⁰ Read 'सुदाहरद्विरनैद्य दानमिदमयुनीदनीयम् । लक्ष्मास्त-
डिखलिलवुद्वदचचलाया' परिपालनश्च ।

³¹ Metre Vasantatilaka.

³² Read 'शङ्खं' भद्रासन छत्र वराशा वरवारणा । फल स्वर्ग-
पुरन्दर ॥

³³ Metre Śloka (Anushtubh), and so the three following
verses

³⁴ Read 'हरेत वसुधराम् । स विष्टाया कृमिर्भूला

³⁵ Read 'प्रतीहारगौतमश्च'

³⁶ Dr Kielhorn again kindly notes,— "The year is the

northern expired year, the lunar eclipse occurred 13 h 21 m
after mean sunrise'

³⁷ Read 'अकुण्ठो' सरम्भ

³⁸ Metre Śloka (Anushtubh)

³⁹ Read 'आसीदसीत' 'वश'

⁴⁰ Read 'साक्षादिव'

⁴¹ Metre Indravajra.

⁴² Read 'पारि'

⁴³ Metre Śloka (Anushtubh)

- L. [4] टारतरप्रतापसमिताशेषप्रजोपद्रव श्रीमहाधिपुराधिरायमसमन्दोर्विक्रमेणाञ्जितं⁴⁴ ॥ (4).⁴⁵
तीर्थानि काशिकुशिकोत्तरकोशलिन्द्रस्थानी-
- [5] यकानि परिपालयताभिगम्य । हेमात्मतुल्यमनिसन्दृता द्विजेभ्यो येनाङ्किता वसुमती
मतशस्तुलाभि⁴⁶ ॥ (5)⁴⁷ तस्यात्मजो मदनपाल इति क्षितीन्द्रचू-
- [6] डामणिर्विजयते निजगोत्रचन्द्र । यस्याभिषेककलमोक्षसितैः पयोभिः प्रचालित कलिरजः
पटल धरित्रा⁴⁸ ॥ (6) यस्यासीद्विजयप्रयाणस-
- [7] मये तुङ्गाचलोच्चैश्चलन्माद्यत्कुम्भिपदक्रमाममभरन्स्यन्महीमण्डले । चूडारत्नविभ्रतालु-
गलित, स्थानासृगुद्भासित⁴⁹ शेष, पेपवभा-
- [8] दिव⁵⁰ क्षणमसौ क्रोडे निलीनाननः ॥ (7)⁵¹ तस्मादजायत निजायतवाहुवस्त्रिवधावरुद्धनव-
रायगजो नरेन्द्र । सान्द्रासृतद्रवमुचाम्पभवो ग-
- [9] वा यो गोविन्दचन्द्र इति चन्द्र इवाम्बुरासेः⁵² ॥ (8)⁵³ न कथमप्यलभन्त रणक्षमान्स्तिष्ठपु-
टिचु गजानन्य वज्रिण । ककुभि वभ्रमुरभ्रसुवन्नभप्रति-
- [10] भटा⁵⁴ इव यस्य घटागजाः ॥ (9)⁵⁵ सोय ममस्तराजचक्रससेवितचरणः स च परमभट्टारक-
महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरनिजभुजो-
- [11] पार्ष्णिताश्रीकान्यकुलाधिपत्यश्रीचन्द्रदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-
परममाहेश्वर श्रीमदनपालदेवपादानुध्यात-
- [12] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वराश्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजचयाधिप-
तिविविधविद्याविचारवाचस्पतिश्रीमहो-
- [13] विन्दचन्द्रदेवो विजयी ॥ रानपत्तलाया⁵⁶ । जनकदेविपुरग्रामनिवाग्निो निखिलजनपदा-
नुपगतानपि च राजराज्ञीयवराजमन्त्रिपुरोहि-
- [14] तप्रतीहारसेनापतिभाण्डागारिकाक्षपटलिकभिपन्नैमित्तिकान्त पुरिकद्रूतकरितुरगपत्तनाक-
रस्थानगोकुलाधिकारिपुरुषान् समा-
- [15] ज्ञापयति बोधयत्यादिशति च यथा विदितमस्तु भवता ययोपरिलिखितग्रामः सजलस्थलः
सलोहलवणाकर, समत्स्याकर, सगर्तो-
- [16] परं समधूकामवनवाटिकाविटपतृण्यतिगोचरपर्यन्त, सोर्द्धाधस्यतुराघाटविसृष्टः स्वसो-
मापर्यन्तः सवत् ११८६ आस्मिन्सुदि १५ सो-
- [17] मदिने⁵⁷ श्रीमहाशयस्या राहुग्रस्तचन्द्रमसि गङ्गाया स्नात्वा विधिवन्मन्त्रदेवसुनिमनुजभूत-
पितृगणास्त्पर्षयित्वा तिमिरपटलपाटनपटुमहस-
- [18] मुष्णरोचिषमुपस्थायौपधिपतिसकलसेपरं समभ्यर्च्य त्रिभुवनत्रातुर्वासुदेवस्य पूजाम्बिधाय⁵⁸
प्रचुरपायसेन हविषा हविर्भुजं हुत्वा माता-
- [19] पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्यशोभिवृद्धयैऽस्माभिर्गोर्कणैर्कुशलतापूतकरतलोदकपूर्वम् वधुलगोत्राय
वधुल । अद्यमर्षण । विश्वामित्रचिप्रवराय दीक्षितपु-

⁴⁴ Read नृप । 'प्रतापशमिता' गाधिपुराधिराजमसमं °तम्

⁴⁵ Metre Sandulavikṛita

⁴⁶ Read °तुल्यमनिस शतम्

⁴⁷ Metre Vasutatilala, and in the next verse

⁴⁸ Read °गनितम्

⁴⁹ Read according to Kiehlhorn ग्रय शपवशादिव and see 12d *Antiq* vol XV, p 12 no 97

⁵⁰ Metre Sandulavikṛita

⁵¹ This verse is found in Len Coll part of Javac' eliam

dra see Kiehlhorn, *Ind. Antiq*, vol XVIII, p 129, and read °वाहु °वन्मा °नवराज्य °प्रभवो °राशे.

⁵² Metre Vasutatilala

⁵³ Read °क्षमान् ति° वधुम्

⁵⁴ Metre Drutavilambita

⁵⁵ °रान° doubtful

⁵⁶ Read श्रीदाध° °विशुद्ध. आस्मिन्

⁵⁷ Read °अस्मिन् . . पूजा विवाह

- L. [20] रासपौत्राय दीक्षितवील्हापुत्राय दीक्षितपुरोहितथीजागूसम्भवे ब्राह्मणाय आदन्द्राक्कं यावत्
शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्त⁵⁸ मत्वा यथादीयमानभागभो-
- [21] गकरप्रवणिकरतुरुष्कदण्डप्रभृतिसमस्तादायान आज्ञाविधेयीभूय दास्यथेति ॥ ⁵⁹ ॥
भवन्ति चात्र । श्लोका । भूमि य. प्रतिगृह्णाति यच्च भूमि
- [22] प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतौ स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ (10) ⁶⁰ सख भद्रासन च्छच
वरास्वा⁶¹ वरवारणा. । भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलमेतत्परन्दर ॥ (11) सर्वानिता-
- [23] न् भाविन पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्र' । सामान्यय धर्मसेतुनृपाणा⁶² कालि
कालि पालनीयो भवद्भि' ॥ (12) ⁶³ बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राज-
- [24] मिः सगरादिभि. यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ (13).⁶⁴ सुवर्णमेक गामेका
भूमेरप्येकमङ्गुल हरन्नरकमाप्नोति यावदाद्वतसङ्ग-
- [25] व⁶⁵ ॥ (14) तडागाना सहस्रेण अस्त्रमेधशतेन च । गवा कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न
सुध्यति⁶⁶ ॥ (15) स्वदत्ताभ्यरदत्तास्वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरा⁶⁷ । स विष्टाया क्षमिर्भूत्वा
पितृ-
- [26] मि सह मज्जति ॥ (16)

XXX.—PALI COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF MAHARAJA LAKSHMANA.

DATED SAMVAT 158

BY A. FURBER, PH D

The original plate containing the inscription now published was found, in May 1891, buried underground in the house of a goldsmith at the village of Pālī,¹ close to Kosām, the ancient Kauśāmbī, the chief town of the Karārī pargana in the Manjhanpur tahsil of the Allahābād district. It was obtained by me from the Magistrate of Allahabād, and is now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum.

The plate, which is inscribed on both sides, measures about 7¼" by 6¼". It is quite smooth, the edges having been neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims to protect the writing. The average size of the letters is about ¼", they are cut neatly and deeply, and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the peculiar "nail-headed" type current in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. The language is Samskrit, and with the exception of the benediction and imprecatory verses in lines 9

⁵⁸ Read °तलीटकपुत्रम् . °पुरवासपौत्राय
°शर्मणे 'आदन्द्राक्क' प्रदत्त । and remove unnecessary
signs of punctuation

⁵⁹ Read °दायाना°—The asterisk is represented in the
plate by a character like ॥ (cf *Ind. Antig.*, vol XVIII, p 12)

⁶⁰ Metre Śloka (Anushtubh), and in the following verse

⁶¹ Read वरस्वा वरवारणा ।

⁶² Read °नृपाणा

⁶³ Metre Śāhī

⁶⁴ Metre Śloka (Anushtubh), and in the three following
verses

⁶⁵ Read °हगुलम् । °सप्तवम्

⁶⁶ Read चय° . शुध्यति

⁶⁷ Read स्वदत्ता परदत्ता वा

¹ See *ante*, vol. II, page 240

to 14, the inscription itself is in prose throughout. In respect of orthography we have to notice (1) the doubling of *dh* in conjunction with a following *y* in *māddhyandināya*, line 5, (2) the doubling of *t* in conjunction with a following *r* in *pittor*, line 4, and in *gottrāya*, line 5, (3) the doubling of *n*, *g*, *th*, *bh*, *v*, and *sh* in conjunction with a preceding *r* in *paurṇnamāsyām*, line 15, in *svargge*, line 13; in *artthe*, line 8; in *vidheyar bhbhavitavyam*, line 7, and *krimir bhbhutvā*, line 10, in *parvatikā*, line 2, and *bahubhir vvasudhā*, line 11, in *varshshā*, line 12, (4) the doubling of *v* after the *anusvāra* in *samvvatsara*, line 15, (5) the use of *v* for *b* in *lutumvinah*, line 3

Towards the proper right side of the plate, about the centre, a circular copper ring is fastened through a hole to an oval brass seal, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ " by 2". In the upper part it bears a rather good figure of a lion, squatting on its haunches and brandishing its tail, facing to the right, below it, separated by two lines, is in relief the legend *śrī-mahārāja-lakshmanasya*, "of the illustrious Mahārāja Lakshmana" The seal itself rests on two low leg-fashioned supports. The weight of the plate is $37\frac{3}{4}$ *tolas*, and of the ring and seal $27\frac{1}{4}$ *tolas*, total 65 *tolas*

The inscription is one of the Mahārāja Lakshmana, and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city Jayapura. The date of the writing of the charter is given in words as the year one hundred and fifty-eight, and the full-moon day of the month Jyaishta. There is no indication as to the era, but in all probability it refers to the Gupta era. The corresponding European date can, however not be calculated as the week-day, *nakshatra*, or other astronomical details are not given, which could be utilized in checking the calculation. The object of the charter is to record the grant, by the Mahārāja Lakshmana, of an *agrāhāra* in the village Phelā-parvatikā,—undoubtedly the ancient name of the modern village Pāli,—to the Brāhmana Revativāmin of the Kautsagotra. The *dātaka* is the Mahārāja Naravāhanadatta. Neither the capital Jayapura nor the names of the two feudatory princes are known to us from earlier or contemporaneous inscriptions.

TEXT²

Obverse

- L [1] श्री स्वास्ति जयपुरात्परममाहेश्वरः श्रीमहाराज-
 [2] लक्ष्मणः कुगली फेलापर्वतिकाग्रामे ब्राह्मणदी-
 [3] ग्गतिवासिकुटुम्बिन. समान्नापयति विदित वोस्तु य-
 [4] यैष ग्रामो मया मातापितृरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिद्वये
 [5] कौत्सगोत्राय वाजसनेयिसब्रह्मचारिणे माह्यन्दिनाय
 [6] ब्राह्मणरेवतिस्वामिनेग्राह्यारोतिसृष्टस्तदुष्माभिर-
 [7] स्यान्नाश्रयणविधेयैर्भूवितव्य³ समुचिताश्च प्रत्यायाः
 [8] मेयहिरण्यादयो देयाः[॥]अपि चास्मिन्नर्थे व्यासकृताः
 [9] श्लोका भवन्ति[॥]स्वदत्ता⁴ परदत्ता वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां [॥]
 [10.] स विष्टाया कृमिर्भुत्वा⁵ पितृभिः सह मज्जति [॥]

² From the original plate

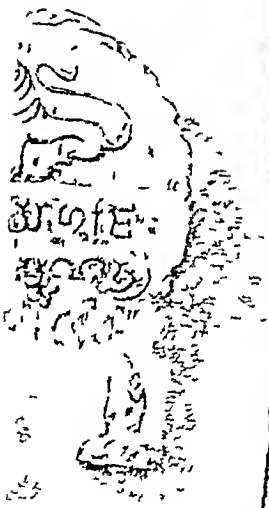
³ Read **rbbhucstaryam*

⁴ Metre Anushtubh, and the following two verses.

⁵ Read **rbbhucstā*



SEAL



calc 3 ittx



Reverse.

- L [11] बहुभिर्बुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभि. [i] यस्य यस्य
 [12] यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फल [ii] षष्टि वर्षसह-
 [13] स्नाणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिंदि [i] प्राच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव
 [14] नरके वसेत् [ii] दूतकथाव श्रीमहाराजनरवाहनदत्त.
 [15] सव्वत्तरशतेष्टपचाशदुत्तरे ज्येष्ठमासे पौर्ण-
 [16] मास्या लिखित बलदेवेनेति १५८ [ii]

TRANSLATION

Om! Hail from Jayapura! A most devout worshipper of the god Māheśvara, the illustrious Mahārāja Lakshmana, being in good health, issues a command to the residents, beginning with the Brāhmanas, and to the cultivators, at the village of Phelā-parvatikā — “Be it known to you that, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of my parents and of myself, this village is granted by me as an *agrāhāra* to the Brāhmana Revativāmin, of the Kautsagotra, a student of the Vājasaneyā-Māddhyandina (*kālha*) You shall be obedient to his commands, and you shall render to him the customary taxes, that which is to be measured out, gold, etc” And on the same subject there are also the following verses by Vyāsa — “He who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, becomes a worm in ordure, and sinks into hell together with his ancestors The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara, whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)” The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years, (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*) and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!” The *dūtaka* (*is*) the illustrious Mahārāja Naravāhanadatta. This charter has been written by Baladeva in a century of years, increased by fifty-eight, on the full-moon day of the month Jyāishtha, 158.

XXXI.—FURTHER INSCRIPTIONS FROM SÂNCĪ.¹

BY G. BÜHLER, PH D., LL D., C.I.E.

In the course of a tour through Eastern Rajputana and the Central India Agency in March 1893, Dr. A. Fuhrer again visited the famous Stûpas of SâncĪ, *scilicet* in Sanskrit Kâkanâda or in Prakrit Kâkanâva (see I, No 378) and took impressions of those inscriptions which had not been found on his former visit. He also used the opportunity to clear away the rubbish round the two Stûpas and to make a few excavations. As in all former cases, his operations have yielded highly satisfactory results. The fragment of the Aśoka inscription has been recovered,² the number of the small donative inscriptions has risen, if all the fragments and almost effaced pieces are counted, to nearly 500, against Sir A. Cunningham's 240. Finally, a valuable Indo-Skythian inscription has turned up on the base of a statue of Buddha, and in a similar position have been found two inscriptions in later characters,³ the latest of which shows the Nâgarī of the 9th or 10th century A.D. These new finds prove that the Stûpas were visited by Buddhist pilgrims both during the interval between the times of the early Andhras and of the Guptas, and long after the latter had passed away. Moreover, the late Nâgarī inscription may also be considered to furnish additional evidence for the fact that Buddhism survived in India until very late times, long after the period when the stupid legends allege it to have been drowned in a deluge of blood. The recovery of the fragment of the Aśoka edict does not quite fulfil the expectations which I thought might be reasonably entertained. I am not able to decipher the whole or even to suggest a complete plausible restoration of the portion with which I declined to meddle in my former article. But I am able to settle two points. First, the two signs indistinctly visible in the beginning cannot have formed part of the word *devānam*, nor can the word *piya* have followed. The first sign of the line, which, counting from below, I number as line 7, has been lost, the second is illegible, and the third is either *ya* or *yām*. The *ya* is plain and certain, and so is the Anusvara, but the vowel is doubtful. The next consonant is certainly *bha*, and the syllable probably was *bhe*. This is sufficient to prove that line 7 does not contain the beginning of the edict, but that a probably not inconsiderable piece has been lost at the top.

Secondly, at the end of line 7 stand not only, as Sir A. Cunningham has stated (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 260), the letters *mag*, but *mage*, and after it quite distinctly *late*. This now reading removes the possibility that the Saṃgha of Magadha can be mentioned or addressed. The words mean, without a doubt, "a road has been made." The next line 6 tells us for whom this road was intended. The first sign has again been lost. Next follows a fairly distinct *khu*, and after two indistinct signs the syllable *bhi*. The two following consonants have been lost in a large abrasion, to the right of which the vowel *i* appears and immediately after it *nam*. Then comes an indistinct sign and next *ti*. Thus, we obtain—*. khu . . bhi . . i nam ti*. It is almost certain that the reading was *bhikkhunam vā bhikkhunīnam vā ti*, and that the road was prepared for the monks and the nuns of the Buddhist order. A comparison of the phrase at the end

¹ Continued from *ante*, p. 87.

² In his letter Dr. Fuhrer states that it is now lying in the jungle. It is on a frustum of a *stambha* or pillar which probably stood near the Southern gate, and might be placed in

some museum in order to keep it safe. See place of facsimiles.

³ About thirty very small fragments and illegible inscriptions have not been transcribed.

of the edict (ll 2-3) "for my wish is,—what?—that the road of the Samgha may last a long time" removes even the possibility of a doubt regarding the correctness of the reading adopted, with which the shape of the remnants of the third, fourth and ninth signs of the line agrees. Though at the end of line 6 the letters *ta pa* are quite plain and again in line 5 towards the end the letters *la* or *le*, *ye*, as well as the word *samgham*, I do not dare to propose a restoration. I must content myself with putting down the few signs I believe to recognise. The better preserved remainder of the inscription, as I have stated formerly, indeed corresponds in part with the middle of the Kosambi edict on the Allahâbâd Pillar, and there is very little to alter in the readings which I have given in my former article.

TRANSCRIPT

Allahâbâd				Sanchi			
.	.	.	samgham	y[am]	bh[e?]	.	mage late [7]
bhokhatî	bhikhu-va	bhikhu-nî	vâ .	lhu[nam vâ]	bhî .	nam [va]	tî [] ta pa [6]
[pi châ]o—(2)	dâtâ—nî	[d]-usâni	. nam dhâpa	[ikhî(?)tam]	m	rî (?)	. [ke ?] ye
	yîtu	anâpe-		samgham [5]	bhokhatî	bhiku vâ	bhikhunî vâ odâtî-
sa .	v .	s .	y .	nî du[s]	. i	sanam .	. yîtu ana [3]
				sasî v[1]s	petaviy []	Ichhâ hî me him-	[2]
				tî samghasa	mage	chilathitike	sîyâ tî [1]

TRANSLATION

. . . "A road was made both for the monks and the nuns⁴ . . . the community⁵ will dine, both monk and nun, (and), causing white cloth to be put down (for them), you will order it to be spread, for my wish is,—what?—that the road of the community (of the Buddhist monks) may endure for a long time"

It is now evident that the road (*mage*) is something material. Possibly the expression refers to the procession path or "terrace for circumambulation"⁶ which surrounds the Stûpa (see *Bhilsa Topes*, p 184). But the road may also be one which made the Stûpas more conveniently accessible.

The characters of the small donative inscriptions offer various points of interest. Among those the alphabet of which in general agrees with that of Aśoka's Edicts we find—

(1) Some like I, Nos 172, 174, 185, 203, the letters of which are very small, with short vertical strokes, giving one the impression of an attempt at reproducing the Maurya characters, used for literary purposes,

(2) Two,—II, No 61 and another,—illegible with the exception of the word *dānam*, in which throughout thin double lines are employed instead of single ones,

(3) Many, which present cursive forms for one or two consonants, or even only for some medial vowel marks. Thus, *da* has frequently (see, *eq*, I, Nos 129, 177, 186 and 188) a very shallow curve open to the left and otherwise abnormally bent strokes. Here and there *ja*, too, is irregular. In *Ujjeniyâ* (No 159) it has the angular shape, which is the usual one in the Andhra inscriptions, but occurs once in the Girnar version of Aśoka's Rock-Edicts. In *Bājuka* (I, No 177), and sometimes in the word *pajāvatī*, *ja* looks

⁴ The word *tî* indicates that the sentence is at an end.

⁵ I am inclined to take *samgham* as a neuter nominative with the *linqavyatya*-ya, so common in the Aśoka inscriptions, and as the subject of the sentence. As long as the text

has not been restored completely, this is, of course, merely tentative.

⁶ Usually called *Prālāshikā* by the Brahmans and *Bhūmī* (*Bhramantī*) by the Jains.

almost like *tā* In *Yakkhadāsīyā* (I, No. 194) the letter *sa* has been made with a single stroke, the left-hand limb being formed by drawing from the right hand upstroke a continuous line across the letter. Among the vowels *ā* and *e* often slant upwards, as in the Kālsī version of the Rock-Edicts and in the later inscriptions. The vowel *i* very commonly consists, as in the Guvān version, of a small semi-circle and occasionally (see, e.g., I, Nos 141, 285) of a long stroke, rising straight upwards. I may add that the vowel *ā* is attached against the usual practice to the inner side of the left prong of *ma* in the word *Māhsatiya*, I, Nos 313 14, and that the vowel *i* occupies a similar position in *Sirimulāyā* (I, No 355).

The unusual *cha*, with a little tail, known from Mr Rea's Bhattiprolu Stūpa inscriptions, appears in I, Nos 269 and 281. A *la*, intermediate between the form of the Bhattiprolu Stūpa and that of the Andhra cave inscriptions, is used in the name *Vāli-vahana*, a vicarious form for *Vādīvahana* in I, No 199. This is one of the few certain instances of the occurrence of *la* north of the Narmadā before the times of the Guptas.

There are also, just as in Sn A Cunningham's collection, a certain number of inscriptions, showing later characters than those of the Aśoka Edicts. To these belong—

(1) the long imprecatory document, I, No 377, which shows the dagger-like *la*, the angular *gha* and a peculiar short *da*, with a shallow curve, but has no *serifs* or nail-heads,

(2) a few inscriptions with short vertical strokes and nail-heads, but otherwise with archaic forms, like I, Nos 288, 334, 377,

(3) likewise a small number of inscriptions with still more advanced forms, like I, No. 237, II, Nos 25, 59, 66, among which the first shows curves to the left attached to *la* and *va*, while the third offers an almost circular *ba* and the looped *ta*, common in the southern inscriptions of the second century A D and of later times. It seems to me that these facts confirm the remarks made in my former article regarding the age of the Stūpas, and show that the bulk of the work belongs to the 3rd century B C and to the beginning of the 2nd, as well as that some additions and repairs were made in later times.

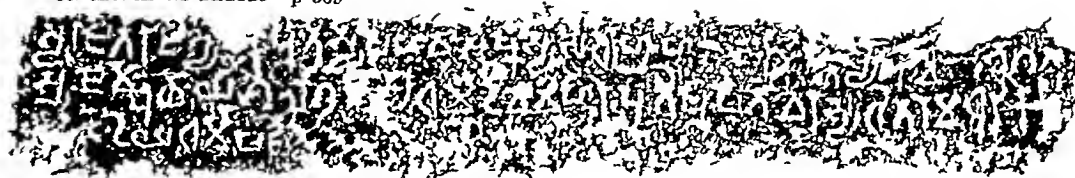
With respect to the language I have not to add anything to the notes given in my former article. The type is that of the Pālī of the Aśoka inscriptions and of the Buddhist scriptures. Anomalous forms of the kinds noticed before are also numerous. If my reading of the second word of I, No 263, is right, there is one instance of the use of a double consonant.

As regards the contents I may state that the new inscriptions mention also a number of the collective donations.

Thus, I, No 214 registers a gift of the village of Asvavatī, No. 124 one by the nuns of Vādīvahana, Nos 147 and 231 those of the female lay worshippers of Navagāma and of Ejāvatī, No 276 one by the family of Dhamu [tara] and No 366 one by the family of Ajitiguta. The number of single monks making donations now amounts to more than eighty. Among them there is (II, No 59) another *sulātaka* or teacher of the Sūtras, a *thera* (I, No 266), and, it would seem, a *tāpasa* or ascetic (I, No 260). This designation is usually not adopted by Buddhists, who despise the performance of austerities. Possibly this person may have belonged to some other sect. One of the most prominent personages among the monks apparently was Gotiputa Bhamdaka, who occurs twice (I, Nos 16 256) and had four pupils . . . ka, Budharakhita, Aya-Kana and Dhamadata. The names of nuns making donations

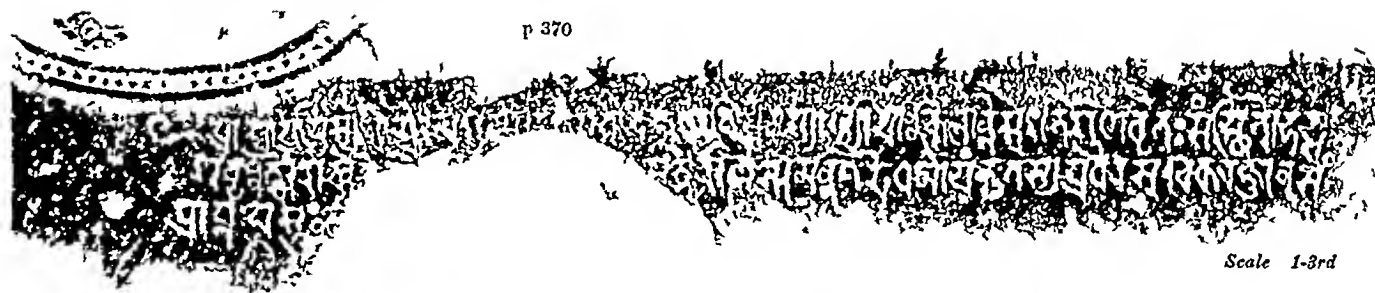
SANCHI INSCRIPTIONS

ON MEDIEVAL IMAGES p 369



Scale 2-5th

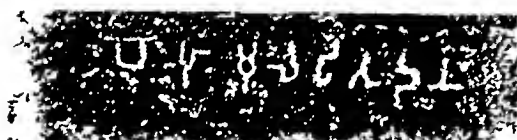
p 370



Scale 1-3rd

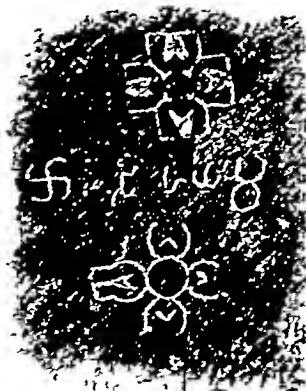
Str I, 377 — p 396

Str I, 301 — p 389

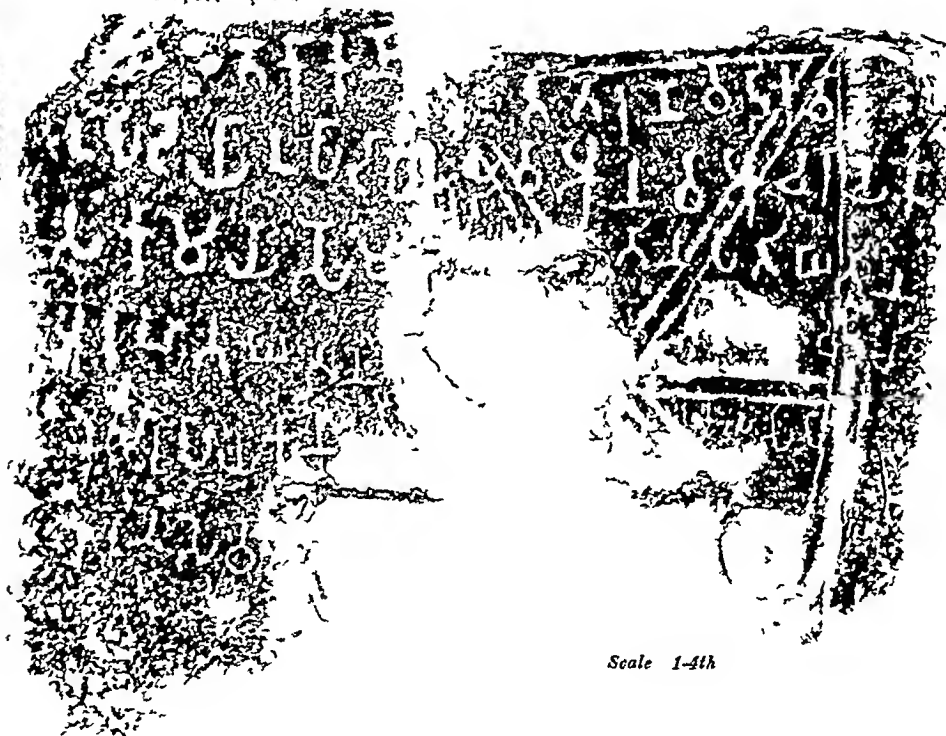


Scale 1-5th

Str I, 358



Scale 1-6th



Scale 1-4th

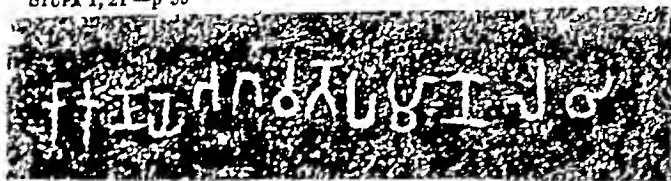
Str I, 378 — p 396



A. Führer imp

Scale 1-6th

STUPA I, 21 — p 99



J. Burgess impres

Scale 1-5th

St I, 60 — p 102



A. Fuhrer impress

Scale 1-5th

St I, 230 — p 381



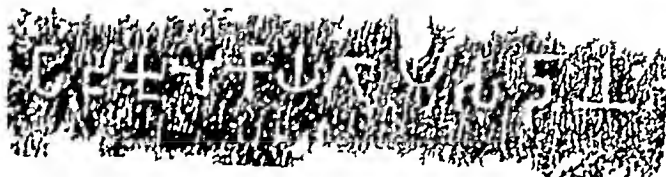
Scale: 1-4th

St I, 256 — p 384



Scale 1-5th

St II, 1 — p 110



Scale: 1-4th

St I, 257



Scale 1-5th

ASOKA FRAGMENT

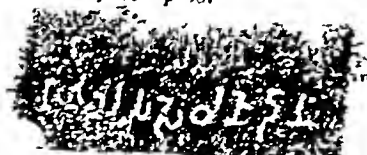
p 367



A. Fuhrer impress

Scale 1-4th

St I, 285 — p 387



Scale: 1-5th

St I, 288



now rise from thirty seven to nearly seventy One or two among them mention their children, and must have been married before they entered the Samgha, see, *e g*, I, No 234 and II, No. 29.

Among the lay donors the Sheths and their relatives now take a still more prominent position than in the smaller collection formerly accessible, and it may be pointed out that in several instances the Sheth of a village is mentioned without the addition of his proper name Thus, I, No 140, records the gift of "Nâgâ, wife of the Sheth of Kamdagâma," and No 167 that "of the mother of the Sheth" Among the other professions of the donors there are some new ones. Thus, we have a *sotika*, i e, *sautrika*, "weaver," in I, No 195, *vadaki*, i e, probably *vardhakari*, "carpenter" in No 311, and a *rajuka* in No 229. The term *rajuka* or *râjuka* is known from the Aśoka edicts and from the *Kalpasûtra* of the Jainas, where, as Professor Jacobi has shown, it occurs in the form *rajyaya*, and is explained to mean 'a clerk or accountant,' what is now called in India a *karkun* The word is an abbreviation of *rajyugâhaka*, literally, a ropeholder and is an ancient name for a Revenue Settlement officer *Râjalîpîkari* "a royal scribe" (I, Nos 48, 49), apparently differs in meaning from *lekhaka* (I, No 143), which latter means "a writer who copies manuscripts or copyist" Among the proper names there are various new ones, pointing to the worship of the *Nakshatras*, and a few like Ajarânî, i e, Ajirâ or Durgâ, indicating the existence of Paurânîk worship

There are fifteen new names of towns or villages mentioned as the homes of donors, but none of them occurs more than a few times It would seem that the inhabitants of Arâpâna, Bhogavadhana, Kuraghara, Kurara, Madhuvana, Nandinagara Navagâma, Pokhara, Tumbavana, Ujjain and Vedisa defrayed nearly the whole expense of the ornaments of the two Stûpas, the lion's share falling to Ujjain, which is mentioned thirty-five times

If we now turn to the three later inscriptions incised on the bases of statues which Dr Fuhrer has discovered, the first records the dedication of a statue of Buddha by Madhurikâ, daughter of Khara or Vera in the Vihâra of Dharmadeva during the reign of the [mahârâja] rājâtirâja [deva]putra Shâhi Vâsushka The name Vâsushka is new But it looks as if it were formed of the first part of Vâsudeva and the last syllable of the names Kanishka and Huvishka, and one feels tempted to consider it as another name of the third Kushana king If the first sign of the date is read, as Sir A Cunningham, I think, correctly proposes, as 70, the identification of Vâsushka with Vâsudeva becomes quite unobjectionable, for the year 78 certainly falls within Vâsudeva's reign and the characters of the document fully agree with those of the inscriptions which bear his name The inscription is unfortunately mutilated in the beginning of each line and the third line has almost entirely disappeared What remains may be read as follows —

L 1 sya * rājâtirâjasya . . . putrasya * Shâh[1] Vâsushkasya¹⁰
sam [70]¹¹ 8 he 1 [di 5] [e]tasy[âm] [p]u[rv]v[âyâm] bhagava—

⁷ See my notes on the Pillar Edict IV, and the Rock Edict III, *infra* and my article in the *Deutschen Morgenländischen Zeitschrift*, vol XLVII, p 466

⁸ Restore, as Sir A Cunningham suggests, *Mahârâja* or perhaps *Siddham mahârâjasya*

⁹ Restore *devaputrasya*

¹⁰ I read this sign first as 20, Sir A Cunningham, whom I consulted, suggested that it is a looped sign for 70 I agree to this, as the Mathura Inscri No XX (*Epigr Ind*, vol II p. 214) which belongs to the same period, has a very similar sign (See facsimile on the plate)

No 128 = C. 10

नगदिनस भिक्कुनो दान [॥*]

The gift of Nagadīna (*Nagadatta* or *Nāgadatta*), the monk.

No. 129 = C. 17.

सोणदेवाय [प]रिजय अग्निदेवा[य च दा]न [॥*]

The gift of Sonadevā (*Suvarnadevā*),¹⁹ Parijā (?) and Agidevā (*Agnidevā*).

No. 130 = C. 18

सुभगाय समगिनिकाय दान [॥*]

The gift of Subhagā and her sister.

No 131 = C. 21 (?)

पुसगिरिनो नाव[गा]मकस दान [॥*]

The gift of Pusagiri (*Pushyagiri*), inhabitant of Navagāma (*Navagrāma*).

No 132 = C 26.

ओद[र]तिकाये भिक्कुनि वेदिसिकया²⁰ दान [॥*]

The gift of Odātikā (*Avadātikā*), a nun of Vedisa.

No 133 = C. 27.

यसोपालस दान भद[त]कडि[य स] (?) [॥*]

(The gift) of Yasopāla (*Yasāhpāla*), pupil of the venerable Kada (?)

No 134 = C. 28.

माहम[र]गिग्हा सीहगिरिनो दान [॥*]

The gift of Sīhagiri (*Simhagiri*) from Māhamoragī²¹

No 135 = C 29.

पुसस चहटियस भिक्कुनो दानं [॥*]

The gift of Pusa (*Pushya*) the Chahatīya²² monk

No. 136 = C 32

[ग]हपतिनो बुधिलस दा[न* ॥*]

The gift of the *gahapati* Buddhila (*Buddhila*)

No. 137 = C 37

अय[र]हिलस साफिनेयकस²³ मातु दानं [॥*]

The gift of the mother of the venerable Rahila (?), the Sāphineyaka.

¹⁹ *Suvarna*, i.e. the Gandharva of that name

²⁰ Compare the note to II, No. 33

²¹ See *ante*, No 77

²² Possibly "inhabitant of Chahata"

²³ This might be read साफिनेयकस, but below (in No 161), the *फि* is distinct

No 138 = C 42

L 1 नवगामका दिसारखि-

L 2 तस दान [॥*]

The gift of Disārakhita²⁴ (*Disā'akshita*) from Navagamaka (*Navagrāma*)

No 139 = C 44

पोठदेवाय दान [॥*]

The gift of Pothadevā (*Prosthadevā*)No 140 = C. 45 (?)²⁵.

L 1 कदडिगामियस सेथिनी

L 2. पजावतिया नागाय दान [॥*]

The gift of Nāgā, the wife of the Sheth of Kamdadigāma (*°grāma*)

No 141 = C 46

L 1 कदडिगामियस सेथिनी

L 2 पजावतिय पुसाय दान [॥]

The gift of Pusā (*Pushyā*), wife of the Sheth of Kamdadigāma.

No 142 = C 47

कदडिगामा वढस दान [॥*]

The gift of Vadha (*Viddha*) from Kamdadigrama.

No 143 = C 48

मुलगिरिनी दान लेखकस [॥*]

The gift of Mulagiri (*Mūlagiri*), the copyist

No 144 = C 49

उजेनिय — — —

From Ujjain . . .

No 145 = C 50

यखदिनस भिखुनी दान [॥*]

The gift of Yakhadina (*Yakshadatta*), the monk.

No 146 = C 51.

उजेनिया उपासिकाय दान [॥*]

The gift of a female lay worshipper from Ujjain

No 147 = C 53.

नावगामिकाना उपासिकाना दान [॥*]

The gift of the female lay worshippers of Navagāma (*°grāma*).²⁴ The deities meant here are the *disah*, the nymphs of the quarters of the horizon²⁵ Sir A. Cunningham's identical inscription is in one line Hence this may be a different one

No 148 = C 55

उज्जेनिया रो[ह]णिय दान [॥*]²⁰The gift of Rohanī (*Rohinī*) from Ujjain

No 149 = C 56

उज्जेनिया धमगिरिनी दान [॥*]

The gift of Dhamagiri (*Dharma*^o) from Ujjain

No 150 = C 57

उज्जेनिया सोनस दान [॥*]

The gift of Sona (*Suvarna*) from Ujjain

No 151 = C 58

उज्जेनिया तापसियान [हु]सानजाय²⁷ दान [॥]

The gift of Najā, the daughter-in-law of the Tapasiyas, from Ujjain

No 152 = C 59

उज्जेया तापसियना इसिमितस दान [॥*]²³The gift of Isimīta (*Rishimitra*) of the Tapasiyas from Ujjain

No 153 = C 60

उज्जेनिया मुलदतये दान [॥*]

The gift of Muladata (*Mūladattā*) from Ujjain

No 154 = C. 61.

उज्जेनिय बलकय दान [॥*]

The gift of Balaka from Ujjain

No 155 = C 62

[उज्जे]निया ओपेटदत्तस पजावतिय वयुदतय दान [॥]

The gift of Vayudata (*Vāyudattā*), wife of Opedadata (*Upendradatta*), from Ujjain

No 156 = C 63

उज्जेनिय उपेटदत्तस भगिनिय हिमदताये दान [॥*]

The gift of Himadata (*Himadattā*), sister of Upedadata (*Upendradatta*), from Ujjain

No 157 = C 64

[उज्जे]निया उपेटदत्तस भगिनिय बुधाय दान [॥*]²⁹The gift of Budhā (*Buddhā*), sister of Upedadata (*Upendradatta*), from Ujjain²⁰ The reverse shows clearly that the apparent *u* stroke under *रु* is due to an accidental scratch²⁷ The little horizontal stroke, denoting the *रु* is placed rather high up and detached from the vertical line

Read उज्जेनिया

Possibly बुधये to be read.

No 158 = C 65.

उजेनिया काडिये भिक्षुनिये दान [॥*]

The gift of the nun Kādî (*Kāndî*), from Ujjain.

No 159 = C 66.

उजेनिया छेतमातु दान [॥*]

The gift of the mother of Chheta (*Kshetra*), from Ujjain

No 160 = C. 67

उजेनिया तापसियना सिहदतये दानं [॥*]

The gift of Simhadata³⁰ (*°dattā*) of the Tāpasīyas from Ujjain

No 161 = 68

उजेनिया सफिनेयकाना इसिकस दान [॥*]

The gift of Isika (*Rishika*) of the Saphineyakas from Ujjain.

No 162 = C 69

कुरघर इसिमितय दान [॥*]

The gift of Isimīta (*Rishimītrā*) from Kuraghara

No. 163 = C 70

उजेनिया वा[सु]लाया दान [॥*]³¹

The gift of Vāsulā (?), from Ujjain.

No 164 = C. 71.

कुरघरा नरय दान [॥*]

The gift of Nalā³² from Kuraghara.

No 165 = C. 72.

कुरघरा नगमितया दानं [॥*]

The gift of Nagamitā (*Naga°* or *Nāgamitrā*), from Kuraghara

No 166 = C. 83.

अस्वदेवाय समिकस मातु दान [॥*]

The gift of Aśvadevā³³ (*Aśvadevā*), mother of Samika (*Śāmika*)

No 167 = C. 85

सेथिनो मतु कनिय[सि]ये³⁴ — —(The gift) of Kanīyasī (*Kanīyasī*), the mother of the Sheth.

¹ In this and similar compounds *Simha* may possibly stand for नरसिंह, shortened *bhāmāvat*
² Possibly विपुलाय to be read
³ i.e. probably *Naradattā*

³ In this and similar compounds अस्व probably stands *bhāmāvat* for अश्वयुज-
⁴ The vowel of सि is indistinct

No 168 = C 88.

वसुलाय दानं [॥*]

The gift of Vasulā.

No 169 = C. 89

इंददत्तस पाविडकस दान [॥*]

The gift of Īdadata (*Indradatta*), inhabitant of Pavida.

No 170 = C 94

कुजरस सेयिभात् दान [॥*]

The gift of Kujara (*Kuñjara*), the brother of the Sheth

No 171 = C. 96.

L 1 —[सि]दताय सकदिन पजाव—

L 2 —य दान [॥*]³⁵

The gift of Isīdatā (*Rishīdattā*), wife of Sakadīna (*Śakradatta*)

No 172 = C 97

भद्रगुप्तस सानुकगामीनस दान [॥*]

The gift of Bhadraguta (*Bhadragupta*), inhabitant of Sānukagāma (*°grāma*)

No 173 = C. 98.

धरकिना सातिलस दान [॥*³⁶]

The gift of Sātīla (*Śāntīla* or *Svātīla*)³⁷ from Dharakīnā (*Erakīna* or *Erān*)

No. 174 = C. 106

स[घा]य दान [॥*]

The gift of Saghā (*Samghā*).

No 175 = C. 118³⁸

वाघुमता काचा— —

(The gift of) Kāchā from Vāghumatu

No. 176 = C. 119—21

L 1 समिकस वानिकस

L 2 पुतस चस सिरिपालस

L 3 दानं ३ [॥*]

Three (*rails*)³⁹, the gift of Samīka (*Svāmīka*), the trader, and of his son Sirīpāla (*Śrīpāla*)

³⁵ Restore इसिदताय and पजावतिय

³⁶ Probably धरकिना to be read

³⁷ Diminutive from *Sāntideva*, *Sāntīna*, man, or *Svātīdatta*

³⁸ As the inscription is mutilated, its identity with C 118 is not absolutely certain

³⁹ As Sir A Cunningham (*The Bhilsa Topes*, p 252) states, the three lines are carved on three different rails, which probably were given by the two persons named

No 177 = O. 122

भादतराजुकस [दा]ना [॥*]

The gift of Bhâdata-Râjuka (the venerable *Râjuka*)

No 178 = C. 123

विसाखस भिक्षुनी दान [॥*]

The gift of the monk Visâkha (*Visâkha*)

No 179 = C 130

नदस कुररतो— —

(The gift) of Namda from Kurara

No 180 = C. 132

मधुव[ना] इ[सि]दतये भिक्षुनिये दान [॥*]

The gift of the nun Isidatâ (*Rishidattâ*) from Mādhuvana

No 181 = C 133

[इ]सिदताये भिक्षुनिये कुररिये दानं [॥*]

The gift of the nun Isidatâ (*Rishidattâ*), inhabitant of Kurara.

No 182 = C 134

धमपालस कोथुकपदियस दान [॥*]

The gift of Dhamapâla (*Dharmapâla*), inhabitant of Kuthukapada

No 183 = C 147

नदिनागारिकय इसिदिनाये भिक्षुनिये [॥*]⁴¹(The gift) of the nun Isidinâ (*Rishidattâ*), inhabitant of Namdinagria

No 184 = C 151

अयधनकस भिक्षुनी दान [॥*]

The gift of the monk, the venerable Dhanaka

No 185 = C 157

धनगिरिगो दान [॥*]

The gift of Dhanagiri

No. 186 = C 159

L 1 बलिकाये भिक्षुनिया मडलाच्छिक-

L 2 टिकाय दान [॥*]

The gift of the nun Balikâ, inhabitant of Madalachhikata

⁴¹ Or *Kothukapada*, i.e. either *Kunthuka* or *Koshukapada* or *padâ*⁴² Read नदिनागरिक

No 187 = C 163 ⁴²

L 1 भडिकियस

सघिलस दान [॥*]

The gift of Samghīla, a pupil of Bhadīka ⁴³

No 188 = C 164.

अरहतपालितस भि— — — [॥*]

(The gift) of the monk Arahatapālita (*Arhatpālita*)No 189 = C 165 ⁴⁴

L 1 अरहकस परि-

L 2 पनकस दान [॥*]

The gift of Arahaka (*Arhako*), the Paripanka ⁴⁵

No 190 = C 166

धमगिरिकमातु दान [॥*]

The gift of the mother of Dhamagiri (*Dharmagiri*)

No 191 = C. 168

सिधयस वि— — —

. . . . of Sidhatha (*Siddhārtha*)

No 192 = C 169

इसिदासिये नादिनागरिकाये भिक्षुनिये दान [॥*]

The gift of the nun Isidāsī (*Isidāsī*), inhabitant of Nandinagara

No 193 = C. 170

नदिनगरा दुपसहभिक्षुनिये दान [॥*]

The gift of the nun Dupasaha (*Dushpasahā*?) from Nandinagara

No 194 = C 171

यखदासिया दान [भिक्षुनिया] [॥*]

The gift of Yakhadāsī (*Yakshadāsī*), the nun

No 195 = C 172

दतकलिवतस दान [॥*]⁴⁶

The gift of Datakalivata (?)

⁴² Sir A. Cunningham's identical inscription has only one line and may be different⁴³ Compare No 306⁴⁴ Sir A. Cunningham's identical inscription is given in one line and may be different⁴⁵ This possibly means an inhabitant of *Paripana*, i.e., *Pariparna* or *Paripāna*⁴⁶ The inscription may be mutilated in the beginning

No. 196 = C. 174⁴⁷

L 1 दमकस सोति-

L 2 कस कुसुकपितु

L 3 दान [॥*]

The gift of the weaver Damaka, father of Kusuka

No 197 = C 179⁴⁸

L 1 इसिपालीतस च

L 2 समणस च दन [॥*]

The gift of Isipālita (*Rishipālita*) and of Samana (*Śramana*)

No 198 = C 186

॥ वीरस भिखुनो दान [॥*]

The gift of the monk Vīra

No. 199 = C. 187=88

L 1 यखिय भिखुनिया वाळीव =

L 2 ॥ हनिकाया दान ॥

The gift of the nun Yakhî (*Yakshî*), inhabitant of Vālīvahana.

No. 200 = C. 189.

वेदिसकेहि दतकारेहि रुपकम कत [॥*]

The workers in ivory of Vedisa have done the carving

No 201 = C 192

कुरराय नागपायस अछावडे सेथिस प्रतस च सघस [दा]न [॥*]⁴⁹The gift of Nāgapiya (*°priya*) in Kurara, Sheth in Achhāvāda, and of (*his*) son SamghaNo 202⁵⁰

अछावाटा चिरातिमातु दान [॥*]

The gift of Chirātī (*Kirātī*) from Achhāvāta (? *Ma°*)

No. 203.

अज[रा]निय दानं [॥*]

The gift of Ajarānī (*Ajrad*)

No. 204

[अ]ठकनगरस गग[द]तस भिखुनो दान [॥*]

The gift of Gagamdata (*Gangadatta*), the monk, inhabitant of Athakanagara.⁴⁷ There are four impressions bearing these letters. Though perfectly identical, they may yet belong to two different inscriptions.⁴⁸ Sir A. Cunningham's identical inscription is given in one line and may be different.⁴⁹ Read कुररिय नागपायस⁵⁰ As there are four impressions with these letters it is possible that they refer to two separate inscriptions.

No. 205⁵¹

अप — यह दन [॥*]

The gift of Apa-yaha (?)

No. 206.

अपा[का]निया दान [॥*]

The gift of Apâkânî

No 207

अयकनस भिहुनो दान अयभडुकियस [॥*]

The gift of the venerable Kana, pupil of the venerable Bhamduka⁵²

No. 208

अयजे[त]स भिहुनो दान [॥*]

The gift of the monk, the venerable Jeta (*Jayanta*)

No 209

L 1 अयफगुनस साधिविहारिनो

L 2 खेमकस भिहुनो दान [॥*]

The gift of the monk Khemaka (*Kshemaka*), the fellow-wanderer of the venerable Phaguna (*Phalguna*)

No 210

अरपना असाडस दा[न]व— —

The gift of Asâda (*Ashâdha*) . . . from Arapana.

No 211

अरपना पदा— — —

From Arapana

No 212.

[अ]रपानिया सिहय दान [॥*]

The gift of Sihâ (*Simhâ*), inhabitant of Arapâna

No 213

असगुतस दान [॥]

The gift of Asaguta (*Asvagupta*)

No 214

असभये उजेनिकाये भिहुनिये दान [॥*]

The gift of Asabhâ, a nun of Ujjain

No 215

[अ]स्ववतिय गासस — —

(*The gift*) of the village of Asvavati (*Asvavati*)⁵¹ Incised on the procession path⁵² See *ante*, p 98, No 16, and below No 256

No. 216.

L 1 इसिदसिये नादिनागरिकाये भिक्षु[निये]

L 2 दान [॥*]³¹The gift of Isidasî (*Rishidâsî*), a nun of Nandinagara

No. 217

L 1 इसिनदनस दान [॥*]

L 2 [पु]ञ्जवदनियस [॥*]

The gift of Isinadana (*Rishincndana*), inhabitant of Puñnavadhana (*Puñyavadhana*)

No 218

इसिरखितस दानं [॥*]

The gift of Isirakhita (*Rishirakhita*)

No 219

उजेनिये अस्वरखिताये दान [॥*]

The gift of Asvarakhita (*Āśvarakṣhitā*) in Ujjain

No. 220

उजेनाया उपसिकाये सिरिकाये दान [॥*]³²The gift of the lay worshipper Sirikā (*Śrīkā*) from UjjainNo 221³³

उजेनिया ओपेददतस पजावतिय वा[यु]दताय दान [॥*]

The gift of Vāyudatā, wife of Opedadata (*Upendradatta*) from Ujjain

No 222

L 1 [*उ]जेनिय कलुरप-

L 2 तस बुमुस दान [॥*]

The gift of Bunu, son of Kalura, from Ujjain.

No 223

L 1 उजेनिया तापसिया-

L 2 न — — — धम

L 3 [दता]य दान [॥*]

The gift of Dhamadatā (*Dharmadattā*) of the Tāpasīyas from Ujjain.

No 224

[उ*]जेनिया धमयसाया मतु भिक्षुनिया दा[न* ॥*]

The gift of the mother of the nun Dhamayasā (*Dharmayaśas*) from Ujjain³¹ This is identical in words with No 192 (C 169), which however is in one line³² Read उजेनिय³³ This is identical in words, but not in spelling, with No 165 (C 62)

No. 225

L 1 उजेनिया बलिकाया

L 2 मातु दान [॥*]

The gift of the mother of Balikâ from Ujjain.

No 226

उजेनिये मितये भिक्षु — — — —

(The gift) of the nun Mitâ (*Mitrâ*) in Ujjain

No 227

उजेनिया वसुलय दान [॥*]

The gift of Vasulâ from Ujjain.

No. 228

उजेनिया सघदतस दान [॥*]

The gift of Samghadata (°*datta*) from Ujjain

No. 229.

उजेनिया सुलासस दान [॥*]

The gift of Sulâsa from Ujjain

No. 230.

उतरस रजुकस दान [॥*]⁵⁶

The gift of Utara (*Uttara*), the *Rajuka*

No 231

एजावतिय उ[पा]सिकाना — —

(The gift) of the female lay worshippers from Ejâvati.

No 232

एजावतिया वाहिलस दान [॥*]

The gift of Vâhila from Ejâvati

No 233

कटकजु[य]कस [ई*]ददेवस दान [॥*]

The gift of Îdadeva (*Indradeva*), inhabitant of Katakāñu

No 234

कटकजुया अरहस दान [॥*]

The gift of Araha (*Arhat*) from Katakāñu

No. 235

कटकजुया ध — — —

From Katakāñu . . .

⁵⁶ See facsimile on 31.

No. 236.

कदडिगामा सेथि — —

From Kamdadigāma (*grāma*), of the Sheth

No. 237.

L. 1. कदडिगामियस सेठिनो

L. 2. पञ्जावतिया देवभागाय दान [॥*]

The gift of Devabhāgā, wife of the Sheth of Kamdadigāma (*grāma*).

No. 238.

L. 1. काणस भिक्षुनो

L. 2. दान [॥*]

The gift of the monk Kāna.

No. 239.⁵⁷

कुरघरा घोसकस दान [॥*]

The gift of Ghosaka (*Ghoshaka*) from Kuraghara.

No. 240.

कुरघरा नगमिताय दान [॥*]

The gift of Nagamitā (*Naga* or *Nāgamitrā*) from Kuraghara.

No. 241.

L. 1. [कु]र घरिय स[र ति]सिरिय

L. 2. —खुनि — — —⁵⁸(The gift) of the nun Sātisirī (*Śāntīśrī* or *Svātīśrī*), inhabitant of Kuraghara.

No. 242.

L. 1. कुररातो अरहगुतस

L. 2. दान [॥*]

The gift of Arahaguta (*Arhadgupta*) from KuraraNo. 243⁵⁹

L. 1. कुररातो अरह[गु]तस

L. 2. दान [॥*]

No. 244

L. 1. कुरराय अक्खवतिय

L. 2. भिक्षुनिय दान [॥*]⁶⁰The gift of the nun Achhāvati (*Rukshavati*) in Kurara⁵⁷ There are two illegible lines above that given here⁵⁸ Restore भिक्षुनिय दान⁵⁹ The inscription is identical in words with the preceding, but the last three letters of line 1 are almost destroyed and the spelling differs⁶⁰ It is not impossible that the कुरराय in this inscription and in Nos. 241 and 244 is meant for कुररिय

No 245

कुरराय नागादिनाय दान [॥*]⁶¹The gift of Nâgâdinâ (*Nâgadattâ*) in Kurara.

No. 246

कुरराय धमकस दान [॥*]

The gift of Dhamaka (*Dharmaka*) in Kurara.

No. 247.

कुरराय वल — — — —

No. 248.

L 1. कुरराय सघारखिताया⁶²

L 2. भिखुनिय दान [॥*]

The gift of the nun Saghârahitâ (*Samgharakshitâ*) in Kurara.

No 249.

कुररिय अरहगुता [य दा]—

The gift of Arahagutâ (*Arhadguptâ*), inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 250.

कुर[रि]य [अर]हदिनाय दान [॥*]

The gift of Arahadinâ (*Arhaddattâ*), inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 251.

[कु]ररियस सघा — — — —

No. 252.

L 1. गडाय भिक्खन-

L 2. य दान [॥*]

The gift of the nun Gadâ (*Gandâ*?).

No. 253.

गड[र]या भिक्खनिया वेदिसिकाया दा[न* ॥*]

The gift of the nun Gadâ (*Gandâ*?), inhabitant of Vedisa.

No 254.

. . गिरिकस पजावतिया—लिया दानं [॥*]

The gift of . . tî, wife of Girika

No 255.

गोतमिये इसिनिका — — — —⁶³(The gift) of Isinikâ (*Rishikâ*), the Gôtami (*Gautamî*)⁶¹ Read नाग⁶² Read सघार °⁶³ There are four impressions, which seem to refer to the same inscription

No 256.

गोतिपुतस भडुकस भिह्नुनो दान [॥*]⁶⁴
 The gift of the monk Bhaduka, son of the Gotī (*Gauptī* mother).

No. 257⁶⁵

जितमितय दन [॥]
 The gift of Jitamitā (*Jitāmītra*)

No. 258.⁶⁶

जोङ्ककस भिह्नुनो दान [॥*]
 The gift of the monk Jonhaka (*Jyotsnakā*)

No. 259

ताकारापदा सघरखितस दान [॥*]
 The gift of Samgharakhiṭa (*°rakshita*) from Takārāpada.

No. 260

तापसस गोनदकस दानं [॥*]
 The gift of the ascetic Gonamdaka.

No 261.

तिरिडपदा नागाया उपासिकाय [द]ान [॥*]
 The gift of the female lay worshipper Nāgā from Tīrīdapada

No 262

तिसस दानं [॥*]
 The gift of Tisa (*Tishya*).

No. 263

तुडस फुजाकप[लि]यस दान [॥*]⁶⁷
 The gift of Tuda (*Tunda*), inhabitant of Phujākapallī (?).

No. 264⁶⁸

तु[व]वना गहपतिनो पतिठियस दान [॥*]
 The gift of Gahapati Patithiya (*Pratishthita*) from Tumbavana⁶⁹

No. 265

तुववना गहपतिनो पतिठियस भातु [जा]याय घ[जा]य दान [॥*]
 The gift of Dhañā (*Dhanyā*), wife of the brother of the gahapati Patithiya (*Pratishthita*) from Tumbavana⁶⁹

⁶⁴ This is identical in words with the inscription No 16 (*ante*, p 98), which however has three lines, see facsimile.

⁶⁵ See facsimile

⁶⁶ Identical in words (but not in the size of the letters) with No 75, *ante*, p 105

⁶⁷ The consonant of the bracketed syllable is very doubtful.

⁶⁸ Identical in words with No 23, *ante*, p 99

⁶⁹ Tumbavana occurs in Hemachandra's *Parīśiṣṭa Parvan*, (see Professor Jacobi's Introduction, p 71)

No. 266

धेरस अयनागस भिक्कुनो उजेनिकस दानं [॥*]

The gift of the *Thera*, the venerable Nâga, a monk of Ujjain.

No 267

L 1 दताये भिक्कुनिया म — — किटिकाये⁷⁰

L 2 दान [॥*]

The gift of the nun Datâ (*Dattâ*), inhabitant of [Madalacch]ikata

No. 268

देवरखितस मोरजहकटियस भिक्कुनो दान [॥*]

The gift of the monk Devarakhita (*°raḷshita*), inhabitant of Morajahakata.

No 269

धनगिरिनो [चडि]पियस⁷¹ च भिक्कुनं दानं [॥*]

The gift of the monks Dhanagiri and Chadipiya (*Chandīpiya* ⁷²)

No 270.

L 1 धमकस वेजजक-

L 2 स दन [॥*]

The gift of Dhamaka (*Dhamaka*), inhabitant of Vejaja

No 271

धमगिरिनो च धमसेनस च टा[न] [॥*]

The gift both of Dhamagiri (*Dharma*^o) and of Dhamasena (*Dharma*^f)

No. 272

धमदिनाये दान [॥*]

The gift of Dhamadinā (*Dharmadattā*)

No 273

L 1 धमपालस

L 2 म[हि]पालस⁷² दान [॥*]

The gift of Dhammapāla (*Dharma*^o and) of Mahipāla

No 274

L 1 धमरखितस

L 2 — रकरकस दान [॥*]

The Dhamarakhita (*Dharmarāshita*), inhabitant of —rakara(²)

No 275

धमरखिताय मधुवनिकाये दान [॥*]

The gift of Dhamarakhitā (*Dharmarāshitā*), inhabitant of Madhuvana

⁷⁰ Restore सडलहिकटिकाये

⁷¹ This may also be intended for चडिपियस or चडि

⁷² The second vowel has been obliterated

No. 276.

L. 1. धमु — — —

L. 2. कुलस द[न ॥*]⁷³The gift of the family of Dhamu[tara] (*Dharmottara*).

No. 277.

L. 1. नदिनगर अचल—

L 2 भिक्षुनिय द[न ॥*]

The gift of the nun Achalâ from Nadinagara (*Nandi*°).

No 278.

L. 1 नदिनगरा अम[ग य]

L 2 दान [॥*]

The gift of Amagâ (*Amatâ*, i.e., *Amritâ* ?) from Namdinagara.

No. 279.

L 1. नदिनगर[र] उत्तरदत्तय

L 2 दान [॥*]⁷⁴The gift of Utaradatâ (*Uttaradattâ*) from Namdinagara.

No 280.

नदिनगर [उत्तर]मितय दानं [॥*]

The gift of Utaramitâ (*Uttaramitrâ*) from Namdinagara

No. 281

L 1 [न]दिनगर उपास-

L 2 [कस] यमदस दन [॥*]⁷⁵The gift of the lay worshipper Yamada[ta] (*°datta*) from Namdinagara.

No. 282

L 1 नदिनगर रोहणदेव-

L 2 य [दा]न [॥*]

The gift of Rohanadevâ (*Rohinîdevâ*) from Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*).

No. 283

न[दु]तरय दन वे[दि]सिकय भिक्षुनिय

The gift of Namdutarâ (? *Nandottarâ*), a nun of Vedisa.

No. 284

L 1. नागदत्तस सघरखितस च कीरघरान

L 2 दान [॥*]⁷⁶The gift of Nāgadatta (*°datta*) and Sagharakhita (*Samgharakshita*), inhabitants of Kuīaghara⁷³ Probably धमुतरस to be restored⁷⁴ Above the first syllable stands another न

Read यमदत्तस

⁷⁶ This inscription has to be read from below, see *ante*, p 107, No 93

No 285⁷⁷

ना[गिल]स सेठिनो दान [॥*]

The gift of *Sheth Nâgila*

No 286.

नाटिय भिखुनिय [की]रघरिय द[न ॥*]

The gift of the nun *Nâti*, inhabitant of *Kuraghara*

No. 287

नादिनगर काबीज -

स भिक्खुनो दान [॥*]

The gift of the monk *Kâboja (Kâamboja)* from *Nâdinagara (Nandi°)*.No 288⁷⁸

L 1 पथकस भिक्खुनो उ[भे]यका — —

L 2 बूधपालीतस भिक्खुनो दान [॥*]

The gift of the monk *Pamthaka (Pânthaka)* (and) of the monk *Bûdhapâlita (Buddhapâlita)*.

No 289.

[पा]तिठानस दान [॥*]

The gift of *Pâtithâna*.

No 290.

पुरुविडा दिसागिरिपुतान दा[नं ॥*]

The gift of the sons of *Disâgiri*⁷⁹ (*Disâgiri*) from *Puruvida*

No 291.

पुसकस दन [॥*]

The gift of *Pusaka (Pushyaka)*

No 292

पुसदतस नवगमकियस दन [॥]

The gift of *Pusadata (Pushyadatta)*, inhabitant of *Navagâma (°grâma)*

No. 293

पेमुतिकाय सुपठामाये भिक्खुनिये दान [॥*]

The gift of the nun *Supathâmâ (Suprasthâmâ °)*, inhabitant of *Pemuta*

No 294

[पो*]खरातो इसिदताय लेवस पञ्जावतिया दान [॥*]

The gift of *Isidata (Rishidattâ)*, the wife of *Leva* from *Pokhara (Pushkara)*.⁷⁷ See facsimile⁷⁸ Given among the facsimiles⁷⁹ See above, note 24 to No 138

No 295.

पोखरातो इसिदताय दान — — — — —

The gift of Isidata from Pokhara

No. 296

[*पो]खरातो तुडाया तुडस च दानं ले — — — — —

The gift of Tudā and Tuda (*Tunda*) . . . from Pokhara

No 297.

पोखरा सघ[खि]स⁸⁰ दान [॥*]

The gift of Samgha[ra]khi[ta] from Pokhara.

No. 298.

पोडविभक्तस इसिदिनस दान [॥*]

The gift of Isidina (*Rishidatta*), inhabitant of Podaviṣha⁸¹

No 299.

वधकस भिक्षुनो की[डि]जिलकस — —

(The gift) of the monk Badhaka (*Paddhaka*),⁸² inhabitant of Kodijila.

No. 300.

L 1 बलदताया चुड[फ]

L 2 लगरियाय दान [॥*]

The gift of Baladatā (*dattā*), inhabitant of Chudaphalagiri (*Kshudra*^c).

No 301.

[बो]हु सुलपितु⁸³ दन [॥*]The gift of Bohu (*Bhoddhi* ?), the father of Mula (*Mūla*)

No 302

बुधरखितस [दानं] [॥*]

The gift of Budhaiakhita (*Buddharakhita*)

No 303.

बुधरखितस [भिक्षुनो अ]य भडुकियस दान [॥*]

The gift of the monk Budhaiakhita (*pupil*) of the venerable Bhamduka

No 304.

L 1 बुधरखताय भिक्षु —

L 2 यदान [॥*]

The gift of the nun Budhaiakhatā (*Buddharakhita*)⁸⁰ Bend सघरमितस⁸¹ Professor Jacobi suggests that this may be derived from a Sanskrit compound पुराडविश्व⁸² This may be a misspelling for पोषक or पधक⁸³ Perhaps meant for लङ्गुलपित See the facsimile

No. 305

बोधिया दान [॥*]

The gift of Bodhi.

No 306

L 1. भडिकस भिखुनो

L 2 कुरघरा-

L 3 स दानं]॥*]⁸⁴

The gift of the monk Bhadika, inhabitant of Kuraghara.

No 307

भड — — — खुनो कुरघरस दन [॥*]⁸⁵

The gift of [*the monk*] Bhad[ika], inhabitant of Kuraghara.

No. 308

भडुनो पजावतिय दान [॥*]

The gift of the wife of Bhadu (*Bhandu*)

No. 309.

[भो]गवटना धनिकाय — —

(*The gift*) of Dhañikā (*Dhanyakā*) from Bhogavadhana (*vardhana*).

No. 310

मखवटा नादिनिया दान [॥*]

The gift of Nādinī (*Nandini*) from Machhavata (*Matsyavarta*)

No. 311

मनोरमस वडकिनी ओ — — — —

(*The gift*) of the carpenter⁸⁶ Manorama

No. 312.

महानामस

Of Mahānāman

No. 313

माहिसतिय अरिहदताये दान [॥*]⁸⁷

The gift of Arihadatā (*Arhaddattā*) from Māhasatī (*Māhishmatī*)

No 314

माहिसतिय जि — — — स दान [॥*]

The gift of Jifrom Māhishmatī (*Māhishmatī*)

⁸⁴ Probably कुरघरियस to be read

⁸⁵ Restore भडिकस भिखुनो

⁸⁶ I take *tadakino* to stand for *taddhakino*, just as we have in No 210 *Asādasa* for *Asādha*

⁸⁷ Meant for माहिसतिय, the blurred letters of the inscription might be taken to represent माहिसतिय

No. 315.

मितसिरिया दानं भिखुनिया कौररिया [॥*]
The gift of Mitasiri (*Mitraśri*), a nun of Kurara.

No. 316.

यखिय भिखुनिये वेदिसा दानं [॥*]
The gift of the nun Yakhî (*Yakshî*) from Vedisa.

No. 317.

रतिनय⁸⁹ मांहसतिय दानं [॥*]
The gift of Ratina from Mâhisati (*Mâhishmatî*).

No. 318.

L. 1 रेबिलस नदिनगारकस⁸⁹
L. 2 दानं [॥*]
The gift of Rebila,⁸⁹ inhabitant of Namdinagara.

No. 319.

L. 1 रेवतिमिताय बलक-
L. 2. स पजावति[या दा]न [॥*]
The gift of Revatimitâ (*Revatîmtrâ*), wife of Balaka

No. 320.

L. 1. वजिनिय भिखुनिया
L. 2 दान [॥*]
The gift of the nun Vajinî (*Vajrinî*).

Nos. 321-22

L. 1 वरदतस दानं
L. 2 भगिनिया वरसेनाय
L. 3 दान
The gift of Varadata (*datta*), the gift of (*his*) sister Varasenâ.

No. 323.

L. 1 वरदतस पजावतिय
L. 2 इसलय⁹¹ दान [॥*]
The gift of Isalâ (*Rishlâ*), wife of Varadata (*Varadatta*).

⁸⁸ Meant for रतिनिय, diminutive from रति or रत्न

⁸⁹ Probably meant for नदिनगारकस

⁹⁰ This probably stands for *Rebhîla*, like *Asâda* (No. 210) for *Asâdha*.

⁹¹ Meant for इसिवाय

No 324.

L. 1. वरदत्तस पञ्चवतया

L. 2 रोहाय दान [॥*]

The gift of Rohā, wife of Varadata (°datta).

No. 325.

वरुणस दान [॥*]

The gift of Varuna

No. 326.

L 1 [व]सुमिताय भि-

L 2 हुनिय [दान]

L. 3 उज्जेनिकय

The gift of Vasumitā (°mitrā), a nun of Ujjain.

No. 327.

वसुलाय दानं [॥*]

The gift of Vasulā.

No 328.

वाडीवहनातो ओडकस दान [॥*]

The gift of Odaka (Ādraka) from Vādivahana.

No. 329.

वासवये नदिनगरा भिहुनिये दान [॥*]

The gift of Vāsavā, a nun from Nandinagara

No. 330.

L 1 [वि]तिरिञ्जय भुत-

L 2 रखितस दान [॥*]

The gift of Bhutarakhita (Bhūtārakshita) from Vitirīṇahā(?).

No 331

L 1 वितिरिन्हिय महि-

L 2 रखितस दान [॥*]

The gift of Mahirakhita (Mahīrakshita) from Vitirīṇahī(?)

No. 332.

L 1 विपुलाय कापासिगा—

L 2 मत् भिखुनिया दानं [॥*]

The gift of Vipulā, a nun from Kāpāsīgāma (°grāma).

No 333.

विरोहकट वरिनिये [सि]भाये दान [॥*]

The gift of Sijhâ (*Śaikhṣā*), a house-wife from Virohakata.

No. 334.

विसाखरखितस दान [॥*]

The gift of Visâkharakhita (*Viśākharakṣita*).

No 335

विसखरखितस भिक्कुनो दान [॥*]

The gift of the monk Visakharakhita (*Viśākharakṣita*).

No 336.

वीरसेनाये दान [॥*]

The gift of Virasenâ

No. 337.

वी[राये] भिक्कुनिया तीववनिकाय दान

The gift of Viîâ^(?), a nun of Tumbavana.

No 338

वेदिसा अरहतरखित — दानं [॥*]

The gift of Arahataiakhita (*Arhadrakṣita*) from Vedisa

No 339.

वेदस^२ दतस कलवडस दानं [॥*]

No 340

वेदिस दतस कलवडस दान [॥*]

The gift of Data (*Datta*) Kalavada from Vedisa

No 341.

वेदिसा मोहिकाये भिक्कुनिये दान [॥*]

The gift of the nun Mohikâ from Vedisa.

No. 342

सकरखितस दन [॥*]

The gift of Sakarakhita (*Sakrarakṣita*)

No 343

सघरखिताय कोरमिकाय भिक्कुनिया [दने] [॥*]

The gift of Samghaiakhitâ (*°akṣitâ*), a nun of Kurama^२ We read for वेदिसा

No 344

संघायि — — — —

Of Samghâ

No 345

संघायदासकमातु दान [॥*]

The gift of Samghâ, mother of Dâsaka

No. 346

सतिगुतस दान [॥*]

The gift of Satiguta (*Saktigupta* or *Svâtigupta*).

No. 347.

L 1 समणस भिक्षुना अयुतरस अतेवसिना

L 2 दानं [॥*]

The gift of the monk Samana (*Sramana*), pupil of the venerable Utara (*Uttara*)

No 348

समिकस अयनगस अतेवसिना दानं [॥*]

The gift of Samika (*Svâmika*), pupil of the venerable Naga (*Nâga*).

No. 349.

L 1 समिकस वनि[क]स

L 2 पुतस च सी[हदे]व-

L 3 स [दा]नं [॥*]

The gift of the trader Samika (*Svâmika*) and of (his) son Sîhadeva (*Simha*°)

No 350

समिकया भिक्षुनि-

L 2 य दान [॥*]

The gift of the nun Samikâ (*Svâmikâ*)

No 351.

सामिकाय भिक्षुनिया दान

The gift of the nun Sâmikâ (*Svâmikâ*)

No 352

[सा*]मिदतस भिक्षुना दान [॥*]

The gift of the monk [Sâ]midata (*Svâmidatta*)

No 353

सिरिदिनाय भिक्षुनया नादिनागरिकाय दान [॥*]

The gift of the nun Sîridinâ (*Sîridattâ*) of Nandinagara

No. 354.

सिरिभागस सवु — — —

Of Siribhāga (*Śrībhāga*)

No 355.

सिरिमिताया नादिना[ग]रिकाय भिक्षुनिय दानं [॥*]

The gift of the nun Sirimitā (*Śrīmitrā*) of Nandinagara.

No 356

सिरिया भिक्षुनिया दान [॥*]

The gift of the nun Sirī (*Śrī*).

No. 357.

सिवतिये

Of Sivati.

No 358.

सिहय⁹³Of Sihā (*Simhā*).

No. 359.

L 1 सिहाय देवदताय

L 2 च दान [कु]रघरा भिक्षु-

L 3 निन [॥*]

The gift of Sihā (*Simhā*) and Devadatā (*°dattā*), nuns from Kuṛaghara.

No. 360.

सिहाय समातिकय वजिनिकय दान [॥*]

The gift of Sihā (*Simhā*), *Samāṭikā*⁹⁴ (*Samāptikā* ?) (and) Vajinikā (*Vajrinikā*)

No 361.

सुवाहितस पजाव[तिय]⁹⁵ — — —

Of the wife of Subāhita

No. 362

L 1 सुरियय बुधदेवय पेमतिक-

L 2 य दान [॥*]

The gift of Suriya (*Sūryā* and) Budhadevā (*Buddha*°) of Pemata

⁹³ Incised on the procession path and surrounded by four sacred symbols among which that on the right hand looks like a large स. See footnote on the plate.

⁹⁴ Possibly *samāṭikā* may stand for *samāṭikāyā* and be intended to indicate that *Vajrinikā* was the mother of *Sihā*. If so the construction is of course ungrammatical.

⁹⁵ Compare No 18, ante p 102

No. 363.

L 1. सुरियाय भिक्षु-

L 2 निया दान [॥*],

The gift of the nun Suriya (*Sūryā*).

No. 364.

L 1 सेतपथियस

L 2 योनस दान [॥*]

The gift of Yona (*Yavana*), inhabitant of Setapatha (*Śveta*°)

No 365

L 1 हालाय दक्षिणाजि-

L 2 य दान [॥*]

The gift of Hāla, the Southern (?)⁹⁵

No 366.

— — — — कस अजितिगुतकुलस — —⁹⁷

No 367.

[स]ककच्छ अस्वदे[वाय*] — —

No. 368.

* लेवस [भि ?] — — —

No. 369

— — — — [सतिनो] [?] कुररस दान [॥*]

No. 370

— — — — नागिलस दान [॥*]

No. 371.

L 1 — — — — तय एजावति[य]

L 2 पू—न

No. 372

— — डस दान सपजावतिकस [॥*]

No 373.

— — — स कुथुपदकस [दान]? [॥*]

No 374

L 1 — — — — रा सघपालि[ताय*]

L 2 भिक्षुनिय दा[न] [॥*]

⁹⁵ The explanation of दक्षिणाजि by दक्षिणाया is, of course merely tentative

⁹⁷ On the analogy of Gujarati *Vikramājit* for *Vikramāditya*, *Ajāguta* may stand for *Ajitagupta*

No 375

L. 2 — — — य सुभगाय पुसाय नागदत्तस सघरखितस कीरव[रका][नां?]

L. 1 दान [॥^{११}]

The gift of . . . Subhagâ, Pusâ (*Pushyâ*) Nâgadatta (*datta*) Sagharakhita (*Samgharakshita*), inhabitants of Kuraghara

No. 376

— — — — उत्[राय] द — — —

No 377 ^{११}

L 1 [यो] इतो काकणा — तो तोरण वा वेदिक वा

L 2 उपादेया उपादा — — या वा आन वा (vâ) आचरियकु —

L 3 सकामेय सो म — — — तिन पितिघा — न

L. 4 अरहतघातिन — — — — — [म मो]

L 5 [कम] उपायकान — — — — — [स पापा]

L. 6. [कर] न सेव — — — — —

He who takes away or causes to be taken away from this Kâkanâ[va] an ornamental arch or rail, or causes it to be transferred¹ to another temple of the teacher [shall incur the guilt] of murderers of mothers, of murderers of fathers, of murderers of Arhats

No 378 ^२

धमो ऋ पं[चा]नगरियकारकान [ग]त गह्वेय यो इतो काकणावातो से[ल]कमे उपादे[य]*]

[उपा]दापेय वा

अन वा आचरियकुल सकामेया तस ते पातका भवेयु [॥]

A pillar (*the gift*) of the workmen, inhabitants of Pamchânagara (P) on him, who takes away or causes to be taken away from this Kâkanâva the stonework or causes it to be transferred to another temple of the teacher, shall fall (*the guilt*) of those mortal sins.

TOPE II.

No 22 = C 1

नागिलस दान अयस अंतेवासिनी [॥^{११}]The gift of Nâgila, the pupil of Aya (*Arya*)

No 23 = C 2

धमरखितस सेभस कु — —

. . . of Dhamarakhita (*Dharmarakshita*), the pupil

^{११} The inscriptions must be read from below

^{१२} Identical with Sir A Cunningham's No 183 There is a large abrasion in the centre, and the right sides of lines 1-4 have been somewhat defaced by a large diagram which has been carved over them Restore 1 1 काकणावातो, L. 2. उपदापेया आचरियकुल, 1 3 माताघातिन पितिघातिन All the bracketed signs are indistinct and their vowels doubtful. See facsimile on the plate

¹ This explanation, which requires सकामेया to be taken in the sense of सकामयेया, has been suggested to me by Professor Jacobi With आचरियकुल in the sense of 'temple of the teacher,' compare देवकुल.

² This inscription, which may be identical with Sir A Cunningham's No 195, is incised on a long band See facsimile.

No 24 = C. 7

सघमितस भिखुनो दान [॥*]

The gift of the monk Saghamita (*Samghamitā*)

No 25 = C 8

बुधपालितस सेठिनो पडुकुलिकियस दन [॥*]

The gift of Sheth Budhapalita (*Buddha*°), inhabitant of Padukulika (*Pāṇḍu-
kulikā*)³

No 26 = C 15

L 1 वलाय कोररिये भिखु-

L 2 निये दान [॥*]

The gift of the nun Valā, inhabitant of Kurara

No. 27 = C. 19

L 1 बलकस अयस अरहगुतस सासा-

दकस अतेवासिनी दान [॥*]

The gift of Balaka, the pupil of the venerable Arahaguta (*Arhadgupta*), inhabitant of Sāsāda

No 28 = C 21

मुलाया दान यमो गडाय अतेवासिनिया [॥*]

A pillar, the gift of Mulā (*Mūlā*), the pupil of Gadā

No 29 = C 22

L 1 सघरखिताया मातु — — कडिकाया⁴

L 2 इसिदासिया भिखुनिया दान [॥*]

The gift of the nun Isīdasī (*Isīśuddāsī*), inhabitant of — — kada, mother of Sagharakhitā (*Samgharakṣitā*)

No 30 = C 23

अयस बुधरखितस पोखरेयकस दान [॥*]

The gift of the venerable Budharakhita (*Buddharakṣita*), inhabitant of Pokhara (*Pushkara*)

No 31 = C 26

सिदकडा टिकिसस दान [॥*]⁵

The gift of Tikisa (?) from Sidakada

No 32 = C 27

— य सिदकाडिया दान [॥*]

The gift of . . . ī, inhabitant of Sidakāda.

³ See ante p 110, No 1⁴ The syllable *yā* stands in l 2 after दान⁵ The letters *da* and *ka* look rather modern, the *da* is of the Andhra type

No. 33 = C. 28

बुधपालिता सिदकडियाय दान [॥*]^oThe gift of Budhapālītā (*Buddha^o*), inhabitant of Sīdakada

No 34 = C. 29.

सदकडियाय गोलाय दान [॥*]

The gift of Gola (*Godāvarī*), inhabitant of Sadakada (*Sīdakada*).

No 35 = C. 31

बुधगुताय सिदकडिय दानं [॥*]

The gift of Budhagutā (*Buddhaguptā*), inhabitant of Sīdakada

No 36 = C. 34

अरहकस भिक्षुनो भाणकस दान [॥*]

The gift of the monk Arāhaka (*Arhat*), a preacher

No 37 = C. 35.

बहुलस दान [॥*]

The gift of Bahula

No 38 = C. 39

नागरखितस भिक्षुनो पीखरेयकस दान [॥*]

The gift of the monk Nāgarakhita (*Ṛakshita*), inhabitant of Pokhara (*Pushkara*)

No 39 = C. 40

L. 1 सघरखितस भिक्षुनो दानं कोरर-

L. 2 स [॥*]

The gift of the monk Sagharaakhita (*Samgharakshita*), an inhabitant of Kurāra

No 40 = C. 43

ओडिय भिक्षुनिय यमो दानं [॥*]

A pillar, the gift of the nun Oḍi.

No 41

अयस पीखरेयकस दान [॥*]

The gift of Aya (*Āya*), inhabitant of Pokhara (*Pushkara*)

No 42.

असदेवाय भिक्षुनिय द[र]नं [॥*]

The gift of the nun Asadevā (*Āśvadevā*)

^o This seems to be one of the cases where only one of two words standing in the same case is inflected—see also above I, No 132

No 43,

L 1 आजनावा आवासि-

L. 2 कस दान [॥*]

The gift of Âvāsika from Âjanāva

No 44

इसिदतय भिक्षुनिय दन [॥*]

The gift of the nun Isidatā (*Rishidatta*)

No. 45

इंददतस उपसकस दन [॥*]⁷

The gift of the layman Îdadata (*Indradatta*)

No 46

गधारस भिक्षुनो दान [॥*]⁸

The gift of the monk Gamdhāra

No. 47.

गोतमिया भिक्षुनिया दना [॥*]⁹

The gift of the nun Gotamī (*Gautamī*)

No 48

चिरतिय भिक्षुनिय दय [॥*]¹⁰

The gift of the nun Chīratī (*Kīratī*).

No 49

चु[व]मोरगिरिनो गामस द[र]न [॥*]¹¹

The gift of the village of Chumvamoragiri (?)

No 50

दान मोरयहिकटियस [॥*]

The gift of the inhabitant of Morayahikata.

No 51

L 1 धमरसरिय उपसिक-

L. 2 य दन [॥*]

The gift of Dhamarasī (*Dharmasī* ?),¹² a lay worshipper

⁷ The letters are somewhat blurred

⁸ The letters are blurred and only just recognisable

⁹ The u-stroke of *khū* is very faint, and there is also an *ā* stroke at the top, which seems to have been afterwards obliterated

¹⁰ Read दान

¹¹ The second sign is abnormal I suspect that चुडमोरगिरिनो is intended

¹² This is probably intended for धमसरिय, compare धम्मपदि in the Mathura inscriptions,—*ante*, p. 210 No 37

No. 52

[ध]मसेनस भिक्षुनो दन [॥*]¹³The gift of the monk *Dhamasena* (*Dharma*°).

No. 53.

L 1. नदिनगरा

L 2 असदवय भिक्षुय दन [॥*]¹⁴The gift of the nun *Asadava* (*Asvadevā*), from *Nadinagara* (*Nandinagara*).

No 54.

L 1. नदिनगरा

L 2 — णिमित्तय भिक्षुनय दन [॥*]¹⁵The gift of the nun *imitā* from *Nadinagara* (*Nandinagara*).

No. 55.

न[दु]कस भिक्षुनो दन [॥*]¹⁶The gift of the monk *Namduka*

No 56

पलस भिक्षुनो दन [॥*]¹⁷The gift of the monk *Pala* (*Pāla*)

No 57.

L 1 व[ध]कस कुररस भिक्षु—

L 2 दन [॥*]¹⁸The gift of the *Badhaka* (?) (*Baddhaka*), a monk of *Kurara*

No 58

बु[ध]गु[त]स उदुवरघरियस [दा]न [॥*]

The gift of *Budhaguta* (*Buddhagupta*), inhabitant of *Udubaraghara* (*Udubaragruha*)

No. 59

बुधरखितकस सुतानिकस अर[पा]नकस दान [॥*]

The gift of *Budharakhitaka* (*Buddharakshitaka*), the *Sutātika* (*Sautrāntika*) inhabitant of *Apiṇṇa*¹³ All the letters are much blurred, and the first is not certain¹⁴ Meant for असदेवाय भिक्षुनिय¹⁵ Restore णिमित्तय¹⁶ Possibly नदकस, but compare above, No. 16¹⁷ All the letters are much blurred, and the first may have been प¹⁸ The second letter is not closed at the top and not certain. The name may be intended for बद्धक, — see above

No. 60

बुधरखित [कु]— —¹⁹

No 61.

L 1. बुधरखि भिक्षुनि[य]

L 2 दन [॥

The gift of the nun Budharakhitā (*Buddharakhṣitā*).

No 62

बुधरखितस भिक्षुनो दन [॥*]

The gift of the monk Budharakhita (*Buddharakhṣitā*)

No 63

बोधिया भू— —

(The gift) of Bodhi . . .

No 64

भ[र]णभूतिनो भिक्षुनो दान [॥*]

The gift of the monk Bharanabhūti (?) (*Bharanībhūti*)

No 65

भिक्षुनिकाय दान [॥*]²⁰The gift of Bhichhunikā (*the little nun* ?)

No 66

रोहणिकस उदुवरघरियस दन [॥*]

The gift of Rohanika, inhabitant of Udubaraghara (*Udumbaragrha*)

No 67.

विपुलस भि[खु]नो [दा]न [॥*]

The gift of the monk Vipula

No 68

L 1 विमकस रोहणिपदियस

L 2 दन [॥*]

The gift of Visaka (*Viśvaka*), inhabitant of Rohanipada

No 69

सवय मातु सफिनेयिकाय[॥*]

(The gift) of the Saphineyikā, mother of Saghā (*Samghā*)

¹⁹ The व is made circular, the त has the looped form of some Andhra and Mathura inscriptions. The last letter is uncertain.

²⁰ All the lines of the letters are double

No 70.

सोणसिरिय भिखुनिय दानं [॥*]

The gift of the nun Sonasiri (*Suvarnaśrī*).

No 71.

— — — तय सगिरियिकाय धम — — [सक]सय दानं [॥*]

No 72.

L 1 — — — — रस भिखुनो मातु कोडुय

L 2. — — — — या दान [॥*]*

The gift of Kodu, mother of the monk . . . ra, . . .

No 73

L. 1 — [म]र[खि]ताय²¹ — — — —

L 2. दा[न] कोर[मि का]य [अते]वासिनिया [॥]

The gift of Dhamarakhitā (?), pupil of Koramikā

No. 74

— — — — णस भिखुनो दानं [॥*]

The gift of the monk . . . na.

No. 75.

— — — — कनय स — — —

No. 76.

L. 1. — — — य भिखुनिय

L. 2. — — [की]र रिय [॥*]

(The gift) of the nun . . . inhabitant of Kurara

No 77

— — — — भिखुनो दानं [॥*]

No 78

— — — तया धवदेवय दन [॥*]

The gift of . . . tā, Dhavadēvā (*Dharmadevā*)²¹ Restore धमरखियाय

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²² This index includes also the names given on that appended to the former paper. The new impressions made it necessary to alter a number of words and to exclude some

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²³ This is the distinct reading of Dr Fuhrer's new impression

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²¹ This is the reading of Dr Führer's new impression, —compare *ante* (Note)

²² This is the reading of Dr Führer's new impression, instead of Hamsa° (?)

²⁵ According to Dr Führer's new impression it is possible to read *Seyasa*

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⁷⁷ This is the distinct reading of Dr Führer's new impression, instead of *Poravikhika*. It is confirmed by the form *Podaviyha* in No 298

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XXXII—CHITORGADH STONE INSCRIPTION OF MOKALA OF MEWAD.

THE VIKRAMA YEAR 1485

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH D, C I E , GOTTINGEN

Dr Burgess has furnished me with good impressions, by Dr A. Führer, of three inscriptions of the Guhila princes of Mewād, which are at Chitorgadh in the Udaypur state of Rājputāna. Of the earliest¹ of them—it is dated in the Vikrama year 1381—I have already given an account² in *Indian Antiquary*, vol XXII, p 80, from a rubbing of Mr Gairick's that had been sent to me by the late Sir A. Cunningham. I here publish the text of the second inscription, the only one of the three that is complete, of the Vikrama year 1485.

This inscription is on a slab of black marble, inside a large carved stone temple which according to local information was built by Mokālji.³ It contains fifty-three lines of writing, which cover a space of about 4' 2" broad by 2' 8" high. In the midst of the writing, causing a break in the lines 21-29, is an ornamental device, 5½" square, enclosing a circle which is about 3½" in diameter, and inside this circle again is an open flower with eight leaves. Near the periphery of the circle is a verse in the Anushtubh metre, which apparently invokes the blessing of the God Hara (Śiva), but the letters of which are too faint in the impression to be read with confidence. And in the centre, and on the leaves of the flower and around them, seventeen other *aksharas* are engraved, three of which clearly give the name *Mokala*. The writing of the inscription is generally

¹ A photo-lithograph of it is given in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeol Survey of India*, vol XXIII, plate xxv.

² In Dr Führer's impressions the name of the 14th prince, *Amraprasāda*, is quite distinct. Otherwise, I have nothing to add to my previous account of the inscription,

and I do not think that it would be worth while republishing the text of it.

³ *See Archaeol Survey of India*, vol XXIII, p 106, and plate xxxiii.

well preserved, so that, with the exception of about a dozen *alsharas*, the actual wording of the text may be made out with certainty. The average size of the letters is between $\frac{3}{8}$ " and $\frac{7}{16}$ ". The characters are Nagari of the period to which the inscription belongs. The language is Sanskrit, and, excepting the introductory words *Om Om namah Śivāya* and a date at the end, the whole is in verse. Considering the great length of the inscription, the historical information conveyed by it is very meagre indeed, and the author has tried to make up for the want of substance by lengthy and exaggerated descriptions of the valour, fame, piety and munificence of the princes of whom he is treating. His language is sometimes obscure, and not free from actual mistakes. The orthography does not differ from that of an ordinary Sanskrit manuscript.

The object of the inscription is, to record the erection, at Chitrakūta (the modern Chitorgadh), of a temple of the god Śiva (Samiddheśa or Samādhīśa¹) by the prince Mokala of Medapata (or Mewād). After the words "Om, Om, adoration to Śiva," the inscription has four verses invoking the blessings of Gajasya (Ganeśa), Ekalinga (Śiva), the daughter of the mountain (i.e. Śiva's consort Pārvatī) who dwells on the Vindhya, and Achyuta (Viṣṇu). The poet then (in verses 5-6) glorifies the pious and famous family of the prince Guhila². In that family was born the lord of Medapāta Arisimha (vv. 7-12). His son was the prince Hammīra (*Hammīra-tīra, Hammīra-deva*, vv. 13-23). From him sprang the prince Kshetra (*Kshetra-mahipati, Kshetra-kshitiśa*, vv. 24-33). His son was the prince Lakshasimha (*Lakshasimha-nripati, Laksha-kshitiśa*, vv. 34-43), who according to verses 38 and 41 freed the holy place Gayā from the distress brought upon it by the ruler of the Śakas (i.e. the Muhammadans). And Lakshasimha's son was Mokala (*Mokala-lakṣmīpati, Molalendra*, vv. 44-60), whom his father appointed his successor, and of whom in verse 51 it is intimated that he defeated Peroja, the king of the Yavanas³ (meaning, again, the Muhammadans). Mokala, according to vv. 61-64, had already before built a splendid temple of 'the lord of Dvārakā' (i.e. the god Viṣṇu-Krishna), near which he also had a tank excavated. And it is now recorded by this inscription (vv. 65-73) that on the Mount Chitrakūta, situated in the prince's dominion, Mokala also built a temple of the god Śiva (Samiddheśa or Samādhīśa) and provided for its proper maintenance. Verse 74 gives the date on which this temple was inaugurated, and the *Prāśasti* closes (in verse 75) with a prayer for the continuance of Mokala's rule. Five additional verses record that the preceding *Prāśasti* was written⁴ (i.e. composed) by Ekanatha, a son of Bhatta Viṣṇu, of the Daśapura clan,⁵ that the temple was constructed by Mana, the son of Vijala, and that the inscription was written on the stone by Visala, a son of Mana, and engraved by Visa, who also is described as a son of Mana, and is perhaps identical with Visala. And the inscription ends with a date which differs from the date given in verse 74.

¹ The text, in verse 72, actually has *Samiddheśah*, which must be altered to either *Samiddheśa* or *Samādhīśa*. *Sarādhīśa* occurs, as a name of Śiva, in line 53 of this inscription and in other inscriptions at Chitorgadh and Mount Abu, and *Samiddheśvara* I find in another Chitorgadh inscription of the Vikrama year 1207. See below, p. 422.

² See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVI, p. 345.

³ Verse 46 states in a general way that Mokala subdued 'the Atigas, Kāmarupa, Vahgas, Nishādas, Chinna, and Kurushkas, but there can be no doubt that that verse has been

put in solely for the sake of poetical ornamentation.

⁴ The original has *alikhāt*, which must here mean 'composed,' because the writer's name is given afterwards, and because the name of the composer would hardly have been omitted.

⁵ *Daśapura-jūdti* occurs again in the Nagari inscription of Mokala's grandson Rājamalla, *Journal Beng. As. Soc.* vol. LVI, part I, p. 82, v. 25. On the town Daśapura see Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 79, note 2.

Neither the date in verse 74 nor the one at the end of the inscription works out satisfactorily. According to verse 74 the temple built by Mokala was inaugurated on the day of the preceptor of the gods, *i.e.* on a Thursday, the third lunar day of the dark half of the month Tapasya, *i.e.* Phālguna, of the Vikrama year made up of the arrows (5), eight (8), the Vedas (4) and the earth (1), *i.e.* 1485, under the *nakshatra* of Aryaman, *i.e.* Pūrvā phalgunī, while the sun was in the sign Makara and Jupiter in the sign Ghata, *i.e.* Kumbha. Here the statements that the sun (on Phālguna-vadi 3) was in the sign Makara, and that Jupiter was in the sign Kumbha, show that the scheme of the lunar month was the *pūṇimānta* scheme, and that the date must fall between the 25th February A.D. 1428 and the 20th February A.D. 1429 (*i.e.* in the Jovian year Rākshasa, as determined by the northern mean-sign system), and accordingly the true equivalent for Phālguna-vadi 3 of Vikrama 1485 can only be the 23rd January A.D. 1429. On that day the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 18h 29m. after mean sunrise, the *nakshatra* at sunrise was Pūrvā-phalgunī, and the sun was in Makara and Jupiter in Kumbha, all as required, but the day was a Sunday, not a Thursday, as stated erroneously by the inscription — The date at the end of the inscription is Thursday, the 3rd of the bright half of Māgha of the year 1485. In the impression the figures for the day is not as clear as one could wish it to be. But, under any circumstances, this date, on which the inscription is said to have been engraved, would precede the date recorded in the body of the inscription, and assuming my reading to be right, the possible equivalents of the date would be Monday, the 19th January A.D. 1428, and Saturday, the 8th January A.D. 1429, which shows that this date too cannot be correct.

Notwithstanding these errors, there appears to be no reason to doubt that the temple which was built by Mokala, was finished by him in A.D. 1428-1429, and that this inscription furnishes a true date for the reign of that prince. Mokala, therefore, could not have been succeeded by his son Kumbhakarna (Koombho) as early as Vikrama 1475 = A.D. 1419, as was stated by Tod in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān* vol I, p. 286. And if there be any truth in the statement of our inscription that Mokala defeated the Yavana King Perioja, who could only have been the Sultān Firūz Shāh (A.D. 1351—1388), the commencement of his reign, too, must be placed at least ten years before the time assigned to it by Tod. As regards Mokala's predecessors, I can only say that the list furnished of them by this inscription agrees with the one given in the *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*¹⁰ and in Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, p. 257.

TEXT.¹¹

L 1

ओ¹² ॥ ओ नमः शिवाय ॥

सिद्धार्थामरसुदरीकरवलत्सिदूरधारारुण-

योगडखलमडलीयुगलसद्धानाबुपूरोज्ज(ज्ज)लः ॥(1)

सध्याभ्रच्छ्रिताग्रसातुनिपतन्नाकापगौघद्वय.

स्वर्णोर्वीभृदिव प्रयच्छतु शिव देवो गजास्योच्चय ॥ १ ॥¹³

वेदा वागिति शिष्टतामुपगतो य कर्मणामोक्षि-

¹⁰ The earliest certain date of Kumbhakarna's reign known to me is of the Vikrama year 1492, see Peterson's *Third Report*, Appendix, p. 203.

¹¹ The names given by Tod are Ursi, Hamir, Kharts,

Lakha Rana, and Mokul. *Annals*, vol I, pp. 267-277.

¹² From an impression, prepared by Dr Führer

¹³ Expressed by a symbol

¹⁴ Metre of verses 1—4 Śardūlavikrīḍita

L 2

ता

साची तत्प्रतिभू, पुनर्भवति मन्त्रिद्वार्यसदृशः ।
 जाल्यैवेपु¹⁴ विनश्वरेषु सकलं दाता विविक्त फलं
 देवः स्वस्तिकार परः स सततं स्तादेकलिगाभिध, ॥ २ ॥
 भूमीभृत्स्वयमे[धि]तस्थितिरिय गुर्वी नगा वधवो
 विध्योगस्तप्रचरितो न चकित, प्रास्थापयद्वाङ्मणान्¹⁵ ।
 कन्या मान्यतमा महोत्सवविधा-

3

वित्येकमत्रोक्तितो

यामानीनयदर्चनाय गिरिजा विध्यालया सावतात् ॥ ३ ॥
 कालिदीतटकुजवद्वसतिः सेय प्रिया राधिका
 स्मर्त्तव्य ननु रुक्मिणी न भवती हु चारुहासिन्यसि ।
 युक्त ना[सि] कलावती सुविदित त्व सत्यभामेन्यथा
 नोक्तासीति विनिर्झुतोक्तमुदितश्लेषोच्यत पातु वः ॥ ४ ॥
 स्फारन्यायोन्ववायो गुहिलनरपतेर-

4.

स्ति जाग्रत्प्रशस्ति-

व्यंस्तीभूतातरायो वसतिरिह युगे धर्म्यकर्मादियस्य ।
 शश्वद्यागानुरागे(ग)स्थिरविमलनिधौ भूरिभोगोनभागां¹⁶
 भूयो नूना विधत्ते सपदि शतमखी¹⁷ यत्र सभूय शक्रः ॥ ५ ॥¹⁸
 वाक्सेतोर्चलन्मतिर्दिशि दिशि प्रख्यातमानोन्नति-
 निर्यन्निस्त्रनवाहिनीपरिवृतो नानाधनैकाकर, ।
 अत्यक्तचित्तिविग्रहो मुनिकयागीतादिगोत्रस्थिति-
 विध्यो व-

5

धुरवधुता वितनुते यस्योपपन्नश्रिय ।[॥] ६ ॥¹⁹

वये तत्वारिसिह, चित्तिपतिरजनि क्षत्रनक्षत्रलक्ष्मी-
 वीजाट्कोरुयुत्त्मावहुलजरजनिध्वसभास्वहभस्तिः ।
 विध्यावध्यप्रदेशस्फुरदमलखनिव्यक्तरत्नाकरत्व-
 स्फारय्यमेदपाटचित्तिव(व)लयवलङ्घ्यपाथोदचद्रः²⁰ ॥ ७ ॥²¹
 नरपतिररिसिहः शस्त्रशास्त्रोपदेष्टा वितरण-

6

एकपणो विश्वविख्यातवर्णः ॥ (1)

स्फुरदमलशुणौघ पुण्यगण्योरुनामा नयविनयविवेकोद्यानपुष्कोकिलः सन् ॥ ८ ॥²²
 विभ्यस्त्रिहृपदादमुय सकरी नूनं सघोनो यतो
 वाजी सत्र(क्ष)हविस्तताध्वरभुव²³ नोच्चैः यवा गच्छति ।
 आङ्गत कथमेरु²⁴ वाहनमृते देवाग्रणीर्वृत्रहा

¹⁴ Read जल्यैवेपु¹⁵ I should have expected प्रस्थापयन्ना^o¹⁶ The reading of this line is perfectly clear in the impression, but the end of it yields no suitable sense¹⁷ Read शतमखी¹⁸ Metre Sragdhara¹⁹ Metre Śārdulavikrīḍita.²⁰ पाथोद 'cloud' is apparently used here in the sense of पाथोवि 'ocean' Originally 'हुग्धा' was engraved.²¹ Metre Sragdhara²² Metre Mahini²³ Originally 'सतीध्वर' was engraved²⁴ Read कथमेरु

मेघं वाहनमातनोदयमत सद्धोमधूमोद्भव ॥ ८ ॥²⁵
कीर्त्तिः कौतुकिनी दिगतमगमत्कर्पू-

L 7

रपूरोज्ज्वलना

खेलती निजवासिताभ्रमवशादालिगिता दिग्गजेः ।

क्षीराभीनिधिगाहन तु विधिना कृत्वादरादुत्थिता

ब्रह्मादीननुयोक्तुमुत्तमगुणम्यास्य प्रगल्भा दिव ॥ १० ॥

विशिष्टजनमगतो व्यतरटेकलक्ष्य²⁶ यतस्ततोधिकतर यशोलभत भोजभृमीपतिः ।

अथ कथमदममः कविभिरुच्यते वाददाद्दिग्गपविधिनान्वह²⁷ विविधलक्षभोजानपि ॥ ११ ॥
निम्नीडी न महेश्व-

8

रीन कठिनो नाचेतनचितित

दातानेकगवीश्वर परिवृढो नो भारती दुर्भगा ।

सेनानीर्न विपक्षमगतिरतो नोच्चे अवा वा हयो

नाराम. कतिचित्तरु. कथमद पुर्या स धुर्या दिव.²⁸ ॥ १२ ॥²⁹

शूरः सृष्टतवागनूनविभ[वो] वशावतस' सुत-

स्तस्य न्यवृत्तरत्नमानुगरिमा हम्मीरवीरो जयी ।

विख्यात स्मररूपजित्वरवपुर्लक्ष्मीनिवामाच्युतो

वाग्देवीचतुराननो रिपु-

9.

कुलझोपोयरूपो महान् ॥ १३ ॥

हम्मीर किल वेभवोचितविधिर्दित्सु सहस्र गवा-

मित्याकर्ण्य सहस्रगूरविशचीनायो भय जग्मतु' ।

शखत्तद्रहसि स्थिताभ्ररिपो श्रुत्वा सहस्र पुन-

र्धनूनां समुपागतावतिमुदा तद्धानमेवेक्षितु ॥ १४ ॥

कर्णादीनतिशय दिग्जयविधावादाय दिग्मडली-

दड दूरमपास्य कालमसकृद्वाता स्वय दक्षिणा ।

इत्याकर्ण्य

10

जनश्रुती. परिभव स्व शकमानोत्त-

दृष्टु न क्षमते प्रजा मनुनये यस्मिन्मही शासति ॥ १५ ॥

प्रासादमासादितशातकुभकुभ वसहेवमचोकरयः ।

अचीखनत्सागरकल्पमत्येतत्सरश्चूतवनोभिरिद्व ॥ १६ ॥³²

सग्रामग्रामभृमौ सदितमसिलता सगता पचशाखे

सच्छायै ग्रामलागी क्षतजलजलवल्तुपुष्टिरिष्टप्रचारा ।

चित्र सृते विकोशा कुसुम-

11

मतिमहत्कीर्त्तनीय दिगते

धा[न्ना]न्नाता नितान्त दलयति नियत वारणाने पतती³³ ॥ १७ ॥³⁴

²⁵ Metre of verses 9 and 10 Sardulavikriddita

²⁶ This may have been altered to °लक्ष

²⁷ Perhaps altered to वाददाद्दि°, read योददाद्दि° (?)

²⁸ The meaning of this is not clear to me

²⁹ Metre Prithvi

³⁰ Perhaps the original has दिव Read धुर्यो दिव (?).

³¹ Metre of verses 12-15 Sardulavikriddita

³² Metre Ujjayati

³³ Read न्नाता (?) and पतती

³⁴ Metre Sardulavikriddita

हम्मीरवीरो रणरगधीरो बाद्धाधुरीतर्जितकेकिकोर. ॥(1)
धराधवालकरणैकहीरस्तत्तदनीभूपितसिधुतीरः ॥१८[॥*]³⁵
एतत्पाणी कृपाणी द्विपदमुपवनाहारतोप दधाना
कालाकारोरगीव स्फुरति सचकित वीचिता भीतिहेतुः ॥(1)

ना-

- L. 12 ध काये कयचिद्दशति बहुमता नो विभीते विपक्षा-
त्स्वर्गे वाम च[ता]ना वितरति रमते न द्विजिह्वेन चित्र ॥१९[॥*]³⁶
पाय पाय सुपीन] परभट्टरुधिर तन्महीगर्भजाता
खड्ग. काल कुतोय कयमियमपरा कीर्तिरत्यञ्ज(ञ्ज)लास्य ॥(1)
एकेनास्त्रायि नून रुदटखिनितानेवतोयेंजनादे
तासामुदत्तितेय मृदुभुजव(य)लयस्वच्छूर्णरजस्र ॥

13. २० [॥*]

उद्यत्प्रोदप्रतापानलमुपितमहाविवयेपो विवस्त्रा-
न्यद्यादुद्दामकीर्त्तिच्छरिततरतनु गीतर ग्मित्वमेति ॥(1)
शके रूपातर स्र कलयति स वपुर्भेदभीतो रणच्चा-
धीरे हम्मीरवीरं घृति परसुभटान्मगरे समुखस्थान् ॥ २१ [॥*]
कुर्वन्पद्मे जनु स्र विधिरिति विधिदग्दृष्टमृष्टाग्रदिष्टो
नो पके जन्म दोष व्यजगणदतुल तस्य रक्तेतरस्य ॥(1)
भूत्वा ह-

- 14 श्रीरदेवचितिपतियशसः स्रच्छवर्णोपमेयो
गता पुण्योपमान दिशि दिशि सुचिर मत्कवीर्ना सुखेषु ॥ २२ [॥*]
गोरी गोरीगहासादपि रुचिररुचिदनाचद्रतो वा
कात्या कर्णाटकातासितदशन[च]तुष्कानुमेया सुगेया ॥(1)
शेषस्यागेपवेपस्फुरदमृतरुच्यारुमौदयैर्धर्या³⁷
कीर्तिर्यस्येदुमूर्त्तं. किल चरति दशायातविद्यातयात्रा ॥ २३ [॥*]
तस्मात्क्षे-

15. त्रमहीपति समभवत्प्यातो गुणाभोनिधि
गौर्योदार्थमहत्त्व(च)सत्त्व(च)महितो³⁸ धर्मो वपुष्मानिव ॥(1)
शक्रार्द्धासनभाजि येन जनके रत्नाकरालक्षति-
भृभुक्ता जितपूर्वराजगरिमप्राप्तप्रभागालिना ॥ २४ [॥*]³⁹
हृदि विनिहितरामो योस्त्रविद्याभिरामो सदनसदृशमूर्तिर्विश्वविख्यातकीर्त्तिः ।
समरहृतविपक्षो लीलया दत्तलक्ष्मी नयनजित-

16 मरोज प्रक्रियाकातभोज. ॥ २५ [॥*]⁴⁰

मग्रामे दतिदतज्वलनकणमुचि प्रीतसद्दीरयोध-
म्फानोन्मुक्ताशुगालीनिविडकवलितामेपकाष्टातराले ॥(1)

³⁵ Metre Upajuti

³⁶ Metre of verses 10 23 Sragdharā.

³⁷ Read ययया

³⁸ Read गौर्योदार्थ

³⁹ Metre Sargdharavikrādita

⁴⁰ Metre Vālmī

जित्वा दुर्गं समग्रं नरपतिमङ्घितं साधुपादस्य सम्य-
 वस्तुभ योधाश्चित्राभरिदालपतगयेणिषडप्रदीपः^{४१} ॥ २६ ॥^{४२}
 आक्रांता ह्यपुगवेन विलसन्नासा चतुर्भिः पदेः
 सम्यग्वीक्षणपालिता

L. 17. नवनवप्राप्तप्रकर्षोदया ॥(१)
 प्रासोष्टामरनैचिकीव बहुशो रत्नान्यनघर्षाणि गौः
 शूरे कीर्त्तिपयो धराशतमखे यस्मिन्नहीं शासति ॥ २७ ॥^{४३}
 कीर्त्तिचोरोदपूरे बहुविधविरुद्धप्रोक्तसद्दीचिमाले
 कृष्णः श्वेतस्य खड्गः सुखसुरसमरे शेषमासाद्य शत्रोः ।
 दृश्यते राजहंसा दिशि दिशि न ततो मानसे लीयमा-

18. नाः
 सीदत्यक्षा विलक्षाः स्फुरति न कमलीन्नेपितापेचितैषा ॥ २८ ॥^{४४}
 अस्यासिः कालरात्रिः स्फुरति किल भयम्भडले वैरि—^{४५}
 — [प्रो]ज्ञासिवेश्म प्रभवदहिभयं भूतराजोरुतापं ॥(१)
 पद्मोद्गोधी न चैषां भवति विघटते चक्रयो[गो] नियोगा-
 दूरिर्जागर्त्ति भीतिः पतति निजपथी

19. नोन्मिक्तः पक्षपातः ॥ २९ ॥
 भ्रातः कल्पतरो किमास्य भगवन्देमाचल श्रूयतां
 कर्तुं चेत्तसद्दीपतिः प्रयतते दानानि पुण्याशयः ।
 वर्त्ते[हं स्व?]करे गृह्णागणभुवि त्व वर्त्तसे नित्यशः
 क्रीडार्थं यदि [वा] ददाति हि तदा वक्तुं क ईदृशे जनः ॥ ३० ॥^{४६}
 इत्य दानकथा मियो विजयते चितामणिस्वर्गयो-
 मुख्या-

20. नामपि दानशास्त्रविलसन्नान्नामसुप्य प्रभोः ।
 उन्मीलच्छरदं बु(बु)जामलदलस्वच्छायताचिस्फुर-
 त्कोणस्थायुकमित्रवैरिपरिपत्सपद्विपद्वर्त्मनः ॥ ३१ ॥
 माद्यहेतुडचडध्वनिभरविगलहीरवर्गोरुधैर्ये
 स्फूर्जलोदडदडप्रपतदिषुचयच्छस्मैन्नेष्यनन्ते ।
 जन्ये प्राणैकपश्ये गणयति न यण विहिषा पु-

21. स्वरशि-
 धन्यः क्षेत्रचितीशः प्रतिभट्टपतिश्चाकराक्षदृष्टिः^{४७} ॥ ३२ ॥^{४८}
 मूर्च्छालं तु जजीभवच्छ्रुतिपथ सञ्जुष्कितैकत्वचं
 मोलंत च सुहृद्भुः शिथिलित यांत न[वा]सुस्थितं ॥(१)

^{४१} Read °कृष°, and प्रदीप

^{४२} Metre Sragdharā.

^{४३} Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

^{४४} Metre of verses 28 and 29 Sragdharā.

^{४५} Here four a/śharas are broken away

^{४६} Metre of verses 30 and 31 Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

^{४७} Perhaps altered to °हृष्टदृष्टि°

^{४८} Metre Sragdharā

दारिद्र्योपहत विबोधयति यदृष्टाहिदृष्ट⁵⁹ यथा
जाप्यं कर्णपथाश्रित सुविमलं यन्नाममन्त्रा-

L. 22.

चर ॥ ३३ ॥⁶⁰

तत्सूनु. किल लक्षसिंहनृपतिः⁶¹ ख्यातो गुणयामणी-⁶²

रुद्रहानफलामलार्जुनयशोवल्लीमतल्लीतरुः ।⁶³

यत्तेजशिखिनो [वि]पक्षवनितानेत्रावुजातयुते

काष्ठांताक्रमणं [भू]टित्यनुदिन नाभूद्विचारास्यद ॥ ३४ ॥

रामः किं जितदूषण सुभरतो रामानु-

23.

रागास्यद

शत्रुघ्नः किमु लक्ष्मणोदयभर सुग्रीव इहागद ।

तारावल्गव उत्तमेन वपुषालकारमा[या]दतो

यो रामायणनग्यकैकतनुता द्रष्टु विधाता कृतः ॥ ३५ ॥

दानादुद्दामसामा शरणगतजनत्वाणपापाणसीमा

भीमासीमैकधामा शतमखपुरतो विद्विषा गी-

24

तनामा ।

अचामारामदामा मखमुखविलसद्भूमौचसामा⁶⁴

सल्लक्ष्माशेषरोमा धरणिमुरतरुर्लक्षसिंहः स धीमान् ॥ ३६ ॥⁶⁵

वैरिचोषींद्रमत्तद्विरदमदनुदा⁶⁶ सिहतः शुद्धसारा-

दारादुद्गीतकीर्त्तैरमरपुरभिष[क्ताति]निर्णयितनूत्तैः ।

दाने माने कृपायै यशसि

25.

महसि [वा] साधुवाण्या कृपाण्या

वीराक्षचचितिशान्तिगति न हि परं ख्यातभक्ति. सु[भु]क्तिः ॥ ३७ ॥

नीतिप्रोतिभुजार्जितानि [लक्ष]शो रत्नानि यत्नादय

दाय दायममायया व्यतनुत ध्वस्तातरायां गयां ।

तीर्थानां करमाकलय विधिनान्यत्वापि युक्ते⁶⁷ ध-

26.

न

प्रौढग्रावनिवद्धतीर्थसरसीजाग्रद्यशोभोरुहः ॥ ३८ ॥⁶⁸

संग्रामेषु गतागतानि विट[ध]क्षत्र परैर्लक्षितो

दत्ता(त्ता) लक्षमपि स्व[य न] तनुते सतोषमवेक्षणः ।

कुर्वाण. किल कानकीमपि तुला तत्खडविदच्छला-

[क्ष]त्र स्वां तनुमातनोदिति नृपो लक्षप्रयो-

27.

जायन्⁶⁹ ॥ ३९ ॥

दाने हेमस्तुलाया मखभुवि बहुधा शुद्धिमापादि[ता]ना

भास्वज्जावूनदाना कुतुकिजनभरैस्तर्किता राशयोस्व ॥ (I)

⁵⁹ The word यद before दृष्टा⁶⁰ appears rather superfluous

⁶⁰ Metre of verses 33—35 Śardulavikrīḍita.

⁶¹ Originally लक्ष्य⁶² was engraved

⁶² One would expect गुण्य⁶³

⁶³ Originally लक्ष्यते⁶⁴ was engraved

⁶⁴ Read लक्ष्मणी

⁵⁵ Metre of verses 36 and 37 Śragdhara

⁵⁶ Read तुट

⁵⁷ The sign of anusvāra of यु is very faint

⁵⁸ Metre of verses 38 and 39 Śardulavikrīḍita

⁵⁹ Read जायत

सग्रा[मि] लटिताना प्रतिनुपमज्जमा रागयन्ते किमेते
विध्य वधु समेतु किम् समुपगता. माधु, ईमाटिषाटा. ॥४०॥

रुदा-

- L 28 गेषपदा शकाधिपकरजगोभयनीयना
धीरोमृमृचटर्जुनामिय गया मायाविमृगानय. ।
धर्मयाम्य समस्तलोकमर्जित [का]न्ता परामागयो
नि[मत्ती १]कृतधर्माश्रयमते पञ्चालयामग्न ॥४१॥
मत्तुप्या [न^१]नु नाभयत्किल तुगा पृथति गर्व तुमा
मुष्य

29. क्षीणिपतर्ध्व कृतयतो गर्वामर्जिणो. पुर ।
तप्यामन्वर् मृदानदा पिदधता धीणि दनापरा-
मो मानादधिकाधिकीकृतप्रिधिमयो प्रियदायार् ॥ ४२ ॥
संख्यातु कवमीगते कविजना दानानि नानाविधा-
न्यस्याकृतसमस्तराजयमुधाविजय निक्षीयते ।
30 लया^१ नोद्विजते यनीपकगणान्दत्वा[क्षा] न यत्कीर्तये-
त्पात्र प्राप्य मृदान्वितरुगतुना^२ मृग्ये समारीपयन् ॥ ४३ ॥
तस्य छावलनं नयेन नयत सतीपमायु[क्ष]त.
[म]भृत गरमुदरो गुरुनत पुत्र मुधीसोऽयम् ।
गम्या भृभति दारुण यितन[ति] यत्तत्पुमार पुर
सर्वजोस्ति यतस्ततीचलभूयो नाय-

- 31 मृ पिवा कृत ॥ ४४ ॥
प्रासाटा वरुण समुद्रतियुज क्षीणीभुजा कारिता
शुद्धामुहसु राजमानकनकप्रस्फारकभञ्जिय ।
नागेन्द्रा नु शिरम्भु षाटकवटाना[धा]य लोलतुषधान्
यातु नाकसिखोलिता सखभुजा पीयूषपाजोत्सवा ॥ ४५ ॥
अगा म्प्राप्तभगा. स्मृतघनविटपा वामरूपा विरूपा
वगा

- 32 गरीकसगा गतविरुटमटा जातमादा निषादा ।
चीना मग्रासदीना गवलदसिधनुषो भीतिशृङ्गास्तख्वा
भृमीपृष्ठे गरिष्ठे स्फुरति मत्तिमनि छापतेमोकलय ॥ ४६ ॥
मूर्द्ध^३ मिदूररखागतसखधनुषा राजमाना गभीर
कुर्वत शब्दमुचै रदरुचिचपला स्निग्धतन्वा कचाभा ।
मग्रासग्रामयाता रि-

^१ Metre Sragdhara

^२ Metre of verses 41-45 Sargdhara

^३ I should have expected here म्प्राप्ति, but am doubtful about the exact sense of the second half of this verse

^४ This is quite clear in the impression, but the sense of the word is not apparent

^५ Here again the exact construction of the last line is clear

^६ Read मृषतुमा

^७ Metre of verses 46-51 Sargdhara

^८ I read मृषा

L 38

पुकरिजलदा⁶⁸ प्राप्तकालोपयोगायस्येषुव्रातभिन्नाः खलु रुधिरजलं पूरि⁶⁹ वर्षति सद्यः ॥ ४७ ॥अस्य प्रौढप्रयाणक्षरणर[ण⁷⁰]कक्षेपमानोरुमान-⁷⁰

स्फूर्जद्गर्वावर्षव[र्ष]क्रमणभरभववूलिधारांधकार ।

ना[शं ने]ता विवस्वानिति तु विरमतु ध्वस्तनेत्रप्रकाशः

स्नानस्नानस्ववर्णान्यदि परिचिनुते तत्स भाग्य महीयः

34

॥ ४८ ॥

वासो नाथासु भास्वत्कररुचिररुचाभासितास्वस्य वीरात्

पारावारातरायादपि न हि गमनं दूरमस्मादकस्मात् ।

सेवाहेवाकमेवाचरत बहुमत दत्त वित्त नितात

[म]तोमात्वैरकारि प्रतिविमतसदो भूपतेमोकलस्य⁷¹ ॥ ४८ ॥

पुष्टप्रौढारिषर्गप्रथितपुरव(व)लङ्गमधूमप्रचारे-

धूम ब्र(व)ह्मा-

35

उभाडोदरमतिविपुल वीक्ष्य दक्षेय सुख्यः ।

कीर्त्यालेप सुधौत्य कलयति वलघान्दिग्वधूकिंकराभि-

स्तारातद्दुष्टदक्षुरणवङ्गरुचा यौवरेणावृताभिः ॥ ५० ॥

नेता पातोत्तराशा यवननरपति लुटिताशेषसेन

पेरोज कीर्तिवल्लीकुसुमसुखमतिर्योकिरोत्तररस्यः ।

पल्लीशाक्रातिवार्त्ता⁷²

36

कलयति कलया कीर्तिता यस्य हेला⁷³

पचास्यस्येव मायद्गजदलनरुचेर्लीलया रकुभग ॥ ५१ ॥

आरुढ सविता तुला कलयति द्राङ्गीचता कन्यया

दूर मुक्तपरिग्रही वङ्गरुचा चित्रोल्लसदस्तया ।

धीरोय पटमुत्तम तु विधिना प्राप्तस्तुला गाहते

कन्याभिर्त्रियतेतमा चितिभुजा श्रीमोकलस्मापति⁷⁴ ॥ ५२ ॥

37 मानव्राणमना मनागपि मनोरन्ध्रननीतिव्रतो

नो जानाति निजप्रतापमतुल सिद्धो यथा विक्रम ।

मन्ये भास्वरहेमराशिमिपतो धाता तुलायामधा-

देतस्मादपि सौगमश्च गुरुतामस्यापि जा[ना]ति कि ॥ ५३ ॥

दृष्ट्वा ह्राटककीटिकूटमतुल दानाय मानाधिक

सद्य शोधित[स्त्व]तैकमतय संयेरते शाब्दिका ।

शक्रप्रार्थित-

38

हेमदे सुरतरौ कि कि तु चितामणौ

हेमाद्रौ⁷⁵ शकलीकृते किमु तुलाशब्दस्तु सकेतित ॥ ५४ ॥⁶⁸ Read 'कलदा'⁶⁹ Read 'भूरि'⁷⁰ Read 'वृषमापी'⁷¹ Read 'भूपतर्मा'⁷² Here, again, the reading is quite certain, but the senseis not clear Perhaps the intended reading, may be तारावर्दि⁷⁶⁷³ This is not quite clear in the original⁷⁴ Perhaps altered to हेला⁷⁵ Metro of verses 52-54 Śāṇḍilyakṛidita.

दीव्यत्तद्दीरतुगत्तरतुरगवरव्रातजातोखात-⁷⁶

क्षुभ्यत्तद्वीत्यरेणुक्षतनयनरुजाव्यप्रसूता, खरांशोः ।

मदायते गतेश्चास्तत इव वनिता वैरिणा तद्दिनाना

यामान्जानति⁷⁷ दीर्घानवितथविरुदे मोकलेंद्रे रणस्थे ॥५५॥⁷⁸

को वा नो

L 39

वेद विद्वाश्चरमयुगकलावेकपादेव धर्मः

खजन्नष्टावलवः किल चरतु कथं पीनपके जनेस्मिन् ।

सोय सत्त्वशयटिं वहिरवहिरयो शुद्धसारोपपन्नं

प्राप्य श्रीमोकलेंद्रं प्रविशति विपुला मडली पडिताना ॥५६॥

नूनं द्यूतविधावधान्मखभुजामीशः सुमेरु पण

गण्यस्तत्र मनस्विना व्यजयत श्रीमोकलच्चापति. ॥(1)

तादृ-

40

क्षाः क[थ*]मन्ययावनितले हेन्नासमी⁷⁹ राशयो

नैषा दानविधावमुष्य च मनःपीडाकलापि क्वचित् ॥५७॥⁸⁰

वज्रावज्जाय सर्पिःपतननवरुचौ भूमधूमायमाने⁸¹

दूना—म[क्षि?]पतौ कथमुपकुर्वते यागभागी मघोनः ।

पुण्येनास्यैव जाने दिनमणिरयते सत्कराणा सहस्र

विभ्रत्सद्योस्ततद्रः स्तगयति विधिना योयम-

41

क्षणा सहस्र ॥५८॥⁸²

आरुह्यामलमडलोकृत तुलां यः पुष्करयोतन

पुण्ययोः स कथं तथा प्रयमतो गण्यो न तेजस्विना ॥ (1)

निःपक्षा⁸³ करलालिता वसुमती सद्राजहसा यतो

व(व)धूनामुदयस्ततस्तदुदये स्यात्संपदामीचिती ॥५९॥⁸⁴

पारावारस्य वेलातटनिकटमनु प्राप्तयैलाधिवासा

शत्रुयेणी समग्रा नि-

42.

वसति सतत भीतभीता नितात ।

जेतुं यात्रादसीया यदि भवति तदा वाजिराजीशुराग्र-

द्व्यत्तच्छाधूलिधारा स्थलयति जलधि पारयानाय तस्य ॥६०॥⁸⁵

आसाद्यातिथिमाययं त्रिजगता श्रीहारकानायक

प्रासाद रचितोपचारमकरोद्भूमीपतिर्मोकल ॥(1)

देवेनांबुजवाधवेन चकितं यो वीक्षितः शकया

विंध्याद्रेर्गि-

⁷⁶ The word तुगत् is apparently used here in the sense of लगत्

⁷⁷ Read दासाद्या

⁷⁸ Metre of verses 55 and 56 Sragdharā.

⁷⁹ Read ईषाममी

⁸⁰ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁸¹ Read "भूमिपु(?)

⁸² Metre Sragdharā.

⁸³ Read निष्पक्षा

⁸⁴ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁸⁵ Metre Sragdharā

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रिसत्तमस्य नियते⁸⁰ सुक्तस्य वाग्वधनात् ॥६१॥⁸⁷यस्य प्रत्युक्तकर्मद्रवदखिलमहाधातुसंभारधारा-⁸⁸पातत्समातापशुयज्ञलेविलविलसत्तोललाला⁸⁹ फणीन्द्रः ।

व्याचष्टे स्पष्टमिष्टं ध्रुवमयमधुना भाय्यमाभाय्य शिष्यं ।

स श्रीभर्तुः, ध्वरस्ताज्जयति⁹⁰ खगपतिर्मोर्कलेन्द्रस्य कीर्त्तिः⁹¹ ॥६२॥⁹²

सोढु नेशः पयोधिः क्षणमपि वि-

44

रह द्वारकानाथ(य)कस्य

प्रेम्णा पादोपमूल स्रयमुपगतवान्यत्तडागच्छलेन ।

नोदन्या कुभयोनेरतिपतिततरामतरेणैनमेयन्

शापाते⁹³ मे विदध्यादयमिति विनयाद्विध्य⁹⁴ एवानयय ॥६३॥

विध्यस्कधैकवधुर्निजविततिभरादंधुतानीतसिधु-

नोरक्रोडत्युरभिप्रसभकुचतटाघातसीदत्तरगः ।

सतुप्यत्तोयजतुर्विविधनगन-⁹⁵

45

दीवेगसरोधततुः⁹⁶

सन्सेतुर्नेतुरस्य स्फुरति वसुमतीमिषिहेतुः सुकेतुः ॥६४॥

अमुष्य धरणीभृतो विषयमध्यवर्त्ती महादरीवृतवपुष्टया [वि] वृतदूरगंभीरतः ।

म[हो]दर इवापरः परमनोनगम्यातरः⁹⁷ पविततरकीर्त्तनो जयति चित्रकूटाचलः ॥६५॥⁹⁸

जायता नाम काम कुलधरणिभृतः सप्त शृगौघतुगा

वैचित्र्या चित्रकूट तुलयि-

46

तुमनल तीर्यभूतप्रदेश ।

मा भूवनिर्भरिण्यो⁹⁹ मदुदितजनुषो नीचगामानशौडः ।¹⁰⁰शृगे य चीरवारानिधिमधिततरामुद्यदभोजवास ॥६६॥¹उद्दामश्रावनिर्यङ्करभरकणिकाजातसेकातरेक-²

स्त्रिह्यच्छालप्रवालप्रभवदुर्तराभोगसूनप्रसृतात् ।

मध्वासारादपारादुप[हृ]तजनुषो दाववक्त्रेर्निदाघे

विष्वग्द्रीचो³ वनानि प्रसभपरिभव ने-

17

ह शैले विदति ॥६७॥

एतस्मिन्सरिदस्ति निर्मलजला यस्या निवापांजला-

वुन्मीलितिलजातपातकवलव्यया शफर्यथलाः ।

क्रीडासभ्रमविस्मृतान्मुवहुशी मज्जहधूनामहो

नेताणीव विलोपिकज्जलकणाद्येतु स्फुरति स्फुटं ॥ ६८ ॥⁴

Read नियत

⁸⁷ Metre Śardūlavikrīḍita⁸⁸ Originally प्रत्युक्ति⁸⁰ was engraved⁸⁹ Read 'हलविल' and 'लाल'.⁹⁰ Read पुर⁸⁰.⁹¹ Read कीर्त्ति⁹² Metre of verses 62-64 Śragdhara⁹³ Read शापाते⁹⁴ Read 'विध्य'⁹⁵ Read सतुप्य⁸⁰⁹⁶ Originally 'सरोधिततु' was engraved⁹⁷ Read परममान⁸⁰(?)⁹⁸ Metre Prithvi⁹⁹ Read भूवनि⁸⁰¹⁰⁰ This sign of punctuation is superfluous¹ Metre of verses 66 and 67 Śragdhara² Read 'कातिरेक'³ Read विष्वग्द्रीचो⁴ Metre Śardūlavikrīḍita

लका किं नाम दुर्गं जलनिधिरविता⁶ यत्र सा काल[काका⁷]
[प्रा]वृट्का[लि] विवर्गेरपि गलितमदैर्या त्रियेतेति मा-

L 48

नो ।

यो धत्ते क्षीरवारानिधिसुपरि परै राजहसैरगम्य-
स्तद्दुर्गं चित्रकूटो जयति वसुमतीमंडन भूरिभूमि⁷ ॥ ६८ ॥⁸
सौभाग्यैकमहौषधिर्भगवती यस्मिन्भवानी स्वयं
जागर्त्ति प्रियसन्निधानवसति⁹ साध्वीजनानां गुरु¹⁰ ॥(1)
देव¹¹ सोपि समस्तनाकरमणीसतानदामव्रज-
प्रश्रयोतन्मकरद्विदुसुरभिप्रस्फारनृत्यागणः ॥ ७० ॥⁹
सेवा-

49

हेवाकदेवस्तुतहरचरितप्रोक्तसद्भावसप-¹⁰

त्स्य स्त्रियद्भवानीकृतसुरवसवनस्फारसौरभ्यहारि¹¹।
यद्धारि प्रातिभाव्य वहति मृगदृशा मज्जतीनामजस्र
पातित्रये समतात्समधिकसुभगभावुकत्वेपि शश्वत् ॥ ७१ ॥¹²
गिरिः कैलासो यद्दृशमुखभुजोच्छासनदिनाङ्गलम्बूलस्यामा प्रभवति न नाव्य विपश्चितु ॥(1)
50 प्रदेशप्राग्भारप्र[क्ष*]तिरमणीये तदधुना समिदैश्च¹³ श्रीमानिष्ट वसति गोरोसहचरः ॥७२॥¹⁴
एकैकयावतावत्कृतिमुषितमहासर्वकर्मीणमान
कृत्वा प्रासादमाशामुखमुकुरमतिव्योमसीमानमस्य ।
यस्याशेषोपचारचमधनमुदितारी-¹⁶
क्षीर श्रीमोकलेंद्री धनपुरमुचित ग्राममायामिसोम ॥ ७३ ॥¹⁵
अब्दे बाणाष्टवेदचित्तिपरिकलिते

51

विक्रमाभोजबधो

पुण्ये मासे तपस्ये सवितरि मकर याति जीवे घटस्थ ॥(1)
पञ्चे शुक्लेतरस्मिन्सुरगुरुदिवसे चार्यमर्चे तृतीया-
तिथ्या देवप्रतिष्ठामयमकृततरा मोकली भूमिपाल ॥ ७४ ॥
उन्मीलयागयात्रोद्यतसुरतरुणीगीतसग्रामधामा
सुत्रामा यावदीष्टे त्रिदशपरपरीपालनस्पष्टनीति ।
पर्यायोपात्तभूना स्फुरति दशशती शेषसूड्ढा च याव-
52 तावप्रस्फारलक्ष्मीरवतु¹⁷ वसुमती मोकलेंद्रस्य बाहुः ॥ ७५ ॥
श्रीमद्दशपुरज्ञातिर्भट्टविष्णोस्तनूद्भव ।
नाम्नैकनाथनामायमलिखत् कृतिमुज्ज्व(ज्ज)ला ॥ १ ॥¹⁸

⁶ Read °रचिता⁷ The *aksharas* in these brackets are damaged
Read भूतिभूमि (?)⁸ Metre Śragdharā⁹ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita¹⁰ Read सेवादेवाकि°, originally देवाकु° was engraved¹¹ Read °कृतसुखसन्°¹² Metre Śragdharā¹³ Read 'समिदैश्च' or 'समाधौश्च', which are both names of
Śiva¹⁴ Metre Śikharinī¹⁵ Six *aksharas* of this line are omitted, the last word of
the line must have been व्यहारीत्¹⁶ Metre of verses 73-75 Śragdharā.¹⁷ Read तावत्°¹⁸ Metre Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

अनेकप्रासादैः परिवृतमतिप्राशुकलय गिरीशप्रासाद व्यरचयदन्नैरनुचरैः ॥ (1)
मनाख्यो विख्यातः सकलगुणवान् वोजलसुत सुत, शिल्पी जातो गुणगणयुतो वीसल
इति ॥ २ ॥¹⁹

अतिप्रशस्तेरलिख-

- L 53. त् प्रशक्ति²⁰ वर्णैरवर्ण्येन वहि कृतैर्य²¹।
श्रीमत्समाधीशमहेश्वरस्य प्रसादतोसौ चिरजीवनीस्तु²² ॥ २ (३) ॥²³
वो[जलस्य] सुतः शिल्पी मनाख्यः सूत्रधारक ।
ब्रह्मात्मजेन वीसेन प्रशस्तिरियमुत्कृता ॥ ३ (४) ॥²⁴
रुचिराक्षरमुत्कीर्णं प्रशस्तिरियमुज्ज्वल²⁵ला ।
लिलिष²⁶ वीसल शिल्पी शमाधीशप्रसादतः²⁷ ॥ ४ (५) ॥
सवत् १४८५ वर्षे माघसुदि [३] गुरुदिने²⁸ . . .

XXXIII—CHITORGADH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE CHAULUKYA KUMARAPALA

THE [VIKRAMA] YEAR 1207.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E., GOTTINGEN

This inscription is on a slab of black marble which is preserved in the temple of Mokajī¹ at Chitorgadh, in the Udaypur state of Rājputāna. I edit it from Dr Führer's impressions.

The inscription contains twenty-eight lines of writing which cover a space of about 1' 8" broad by 1' 3" high. Lines 1-14 are generally well preserved, but in the subsequent lines part of the writing is entirely gone, in consequence of the peeling off of the surface of the stone, on the proper right side, and from the same cause a number of *aksharas* has also disappeared on the left side, in lines 24-28. In the midst of the writing causing a break in lines 17-23, is an ornamental drawing, about 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ " square, which encloses a circle about 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. Near the periphery of this circle and across the square, both vertically and horizontally, there is some writing (apparently a verse) the greater part of which is too faint to be made out. The size of the letters is between $\frac{5}{16}$ " and $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Samskrit, and nearly the whole inscription is in verse. It is carefully written and engraved, and in respect of orthography it is only necessary to state that *b* is denoted by the sign for *v*, and that the dental sibilant is

¹⁹ Metre Śikharinī.

²⁰ Read प्रशक्ति

²¹ Read बहिष्कृत

²² Originally श्रीजीवनीस्तु was engraved.

²³ Metre Upajati

²⁴ Metre of verses 4 and 5 Śloka (Anushtubh)

²⁵ Read विजय

²⁶ Read लिलिष

²⁷ This word is engraved beneath the preceding वर्षे and

appears to have been followed by three or four other *aksharas*, which are illegible.

²⁸ See above, p. 408. [I took impressions of the inscriptions at Chitorgadh in January 1873, Mr H. B. W. Garrick copied several of them in 1884 (*Arch. Sur. Reports*, vol. XXIII, pls. xx, xxi) and again Dr Führer on a tour in Rājputāna took fresh impressions, one of which is used for this paper.—J. B.]

several times used instead of the palatal and the palatal once instead of the dental sibilant

The inscription is dated (in line 28) in the year 1207, corresponding, as a year of the Vikrama era, to A D 1149-50 or 1150-51, and its object is, to record a visit of the Chaulukya king Kumârapâla to Mount Chitrakûta, the modern Chitorgadh, and some donations which on that occasion were made by the king in favour of a temple of the god Samiddheśvara (Śiva) on the hill — After the words “Om! Adoration to the Omniscient,” the inscription has five verses, three of which glorify the god Śiva under the names of Śarva, Mṛida, and Samiddheśvara, while the others invoke the assistance of the goddess of eloquence, Sarasvatī, and celebrate the compositions of poets. The author then (in line 5) eulogizes the family of the Chaulukyas. In that family the king Mûlarâja was born (line 6), and when he and many other kings of the same lineage had gone to heaven, there came the king Siddharâja (line 7), who again was succeeded by Kumârapâladeva (line 9). When this king had defeated the ruler of Śākambharī (line 10) and devastated the Sapâdalaksha country (line 11), he went to a place named Śâlîpura (line 12), and having pitched his great camp there, he came to view the glorious beauty of the Chitrakûta mountain, the temples, palaces, lakes or tanks, slopes and woods are extolled in lines 13-19. Kumârapâla was delighted with what he saw there, and having come to a temple of the god Samiddheśvara (line 22) which was on the northern slope of the mountain, he worshipped the god and his consort, and gave to the temple a village the name of which has not been preserved (line 26). Other donations (a *ghânaka* or ‘oil-mill’ for lights, etc.) are spoken of in line 27, and line 28 tells us that this *Prasasti* was composed by the chief of the Digambaras Râmakîrtti, a pupil of Jayakîrtti, and records the date, already given above.

It will be seen from this abstract of the contents that this inscription is not of a very great importance, but it shows at any rate that Kumârapâla's well-known victory² over (Arnorâja), the ruler of the Sapâdalaksha country, whose capital was Śākambharī (Sâmbhar) in Râjputâna, must have taken place in the Vikrama year 1207, or very shortly before it — The place Śâlîpura at which Kumârapâla is said to have been encamped, and which must have been near Chitrakûta, I am unable to identify.

Text³

- L 1. ओ॑म् ॥ नम॑ सर्व्व[ज्ञा]य॑ ॥ नमो॑ . . . [स]मार्चिर्द॑ग्व(ध)सकल्पजन्मने । शर्व्वाय परम॑
ज्योतिर्[ह्र]स्तसकल्पजन्मने ॥ जयताम्ब॑ सृड॑ श्रीमान्मृडा॑ . . .⁷
2 दनाम्बु(म्बु)जे । यस्य कण्ठच्छवी रेजे से(शे)वालस्येव वल्लरी ॥ यदीयशिखरस्थितोत्तसदन-
ल्पदिव्यध्वज॑ समडपमहो नृणामपि वि[दू]
3 रत पश्यता । अनेकभवसचितं क्षयमियत्ति पापं द्रुत स पातु पदपकजानतहरिः समिद्धे
श्वर ॥ यत्तोत्तसत्यङ्गुतकारिवाच॑ ९ स्फुर[न्ति चि]
4 ते विदुषा सदा तत् । सारस्वत ज्योतिरनतमतर्विस्फूर्ज्जिता मे क्षतजाड्यवृत्ति ॥ जयत्यज
अ(स)पीयूषविदुनिष्यंदिनोमलाः¹⁰ । कवीनां [सम

⁷ See ante, vol I p 295

⁸ From impressions prepared by Dr A Führer

⁹ Expressed by a symbol

¹⁰ Read चाय

¹¹ Metre Śloka (Anuṣṭubh) and of the next verse

⁷ The missing *akṣaras* are नीव

⁸ Metre Ppithvi

⁹ Metre Upajāti

¹⁰ Metre Śloka (Anuṣṭubh), and of the next three verses

- L 5. कीर्त्ती(र्त्ती)नां वाग्विलासा महोदयाः ॥ न वैरस्यस्थितिः¹¹ श्रीमान्न जलानां¹² समाश्रयः ।
रत्नराशिरपूर्वोस्ति चौलुक्यानामिहान्वय ॥ तत्रो-
6. दपयत श्रीमान्सदृत्तस्तेजसा निधिः । मूलराजा(ज)महीनाथो मुक्तामणिरिवोच्च(ज्ज)-
लः ॥ वितन्वति भृश यत्त वैम(म) सर्वत्र सर्वथा । प्रजा राजन्वतो नून(नं) ज-
- 7 ज्ञेसौ चिरकालतः ॥ तस्यान्वये¹³ महति भूपतिषु क्रमेण यातेषु भूरिषु सुपूर्वपतेर्निवासं ।
प्रोर्णुत्य वीधयशसा ककुभा मुखानि श्रीसिद्धरा-
8. जनृपतिः प्रयितो ष(व)भूव ॥ जयन्त्रिया¹⁴ समाश्रित य विलोक्य समततः । भ्रांत्वा जगति
यत्कीर्त्तिज(र्त्त)गा[हे]मरमदिरम् ॥ तस्मिन्नमरसाम्रा-
9. जां(ज्य) संप्राप्ते नियतेव्वसात्¹⁵ । कुमारपालदेवोभूत्पुतापाक्रातशात्रवः ॥ स्वतेजसाप्रसङ्गेन
न पर येन शात्रवः । पद भूभृच्छिरसूचैः कारि-
10. तो व(व)धुरप्यलं ॥ आत्मा यस्य महीनायैश्चतुरस्रु(स्रु)धिमध्यगैः । ध्रियते सूर्द्धभिर्त्रैस्त्रै(त्रै)-
दैवशेषेव सन्ततम् ॥ महीभृत्त्रिकु(कु)जेषु¹⁶ शाकभरी-
- 11 शः प्रियापुत्रलोके न शाकभरीशः । अपि प्रास्तशत्रुर्भयात्कप्रभूत स्थितौ यस्य मत्तेभवाजि-
प्रभूतः¹⁷ ॥ सपादलक्षमामर्च्य¹⁸ नम्रीक-
- 12 तभयानकः । [स्त्र]य[म]यान्महीनाथो ग्रामे शालिपुराभिधे ॥ सन्निवेश¹⁹ सि(शि)विरं पृथु
तत्र त्रासितासहनभूपतिचक्रम् । चित्रकू-
- 13 टगिरिपु[ष्क]लशोभां द्रष्टुमार नृपतिः कुतुकेन ॥ यदुच्चसुरसद्माग्रोपरिष्ठावपतन्सदा²⁰
रथ नयत्यल मदं मद भंगभयाद्रवि ॥ य-
- 14 स्त्रीधशिखरारुढकामिनीमुखसन्निधौ । वर्त्तमानो निशानाथो लक्ष्यते लक्ष्मलेखया ॥ प्रफुल्ल-
राजीवमनोहरानना²¹ विवृत्तपाठीनविलोललोच-
- 15 — ।²² — — त्त[भ]गावलिरोमराजयो रयागवक्षोरुहमडलश्रियः ॥ परिभ्रमत्सारसहसनि-
खना सविभ्रमा हारिमृणालवा(वा)हुका । वृ(वृ)हन्नितवा(वा)मलवारि-
- 16 — — —²³ मुदे सता यत्त सदा सरोजनाः ॥ स(सु)रभिकुसुमगधाक्षटमत्तालिमालाविहित-
मधुररावो²⁴ यत्त चाधित्यकाया । खलिततरणिभानुः सन्न-
- 17 — — — — — — — — मयिपति शश्वत्कामिन कामिनीभिः ॥ शुभे²⁵ यदने शाखिशखांत
राले प्रियाः क्रीडया सन्निलीना निकामं । घने [प]-
18. — — — — — — — — [पां] [त]नूगधसक्तालयः स्व(च)यति ॥ प्राप²⁶ कदापि न या
हृदये श सानुनय समया हृदयेऽश । यदनेमेत्य सु[स?]-
19. — — — — — — — — [र]तराग ॥ एवमादिगुणे²⁷ दुर्गे स्वर्गे वा भुवि [स]-
स्थिते । राजा जिष्णुः परप्रीत्या सचरन्निजलोल-

¹¹ Divide also, वैरस्य स्थिति

¹² i.e., also, जलानां

¹³ Metre Vasantatilaka

¹⁴ Metre Śloka (Anushtubh), and of the next three

verses

¹⁵ Read त्वय्यसात्.

¹⁶ Metre Bhujagaprayāta

¹⁷ Originally मत्तेभ⁰ was engraved

¹⁸ Metre Śloka (Anushtubh)

¹⁹ Metre Śloka

²⁰ Metre Śloka (Anushtubh), and of the next verse

²¹ Metre Vamśastha, and of the next verse.

²² The aksharas, here broken away, are probably मा । प्रम

²³ The aksharas, here broken away, are probably राशयो

²⁴ Metre Mahin

²⁵ Metre Bhujagaprayāta

²⁶ Metre Dodhaka

²⁷ Metre Śloka (Anushtubh), and of all the following verses.

- L. 20. या ॥ ति [ता?] चर्यसंकुलम् । ददर्शागाधगंभीरस्वच्छ स्वमिव मान-
सम् ॥ निर्मल सलिलं यत्र पि-
21. हित प[द्भि] — उ — । जे नीलाब्ज(क)राग[भू]त्रियम् ॥ विमुच्य व्योम
पातालरसा यत्र त्रिमार्गंगा । लोका-
22 न् पु[नाति] उ — उ — ॥ [त]स्थोत्तरतटेद्राक्षीन्नन्वाभरसमर्चित । श्रीस-
मिहेश्वर देवं प्रसिद्धं
23 जगती उ — ॥ उ — उ ते । त्रैसध्य[तू]र्यनादेन कलि(लि)
निर्भर्त्ययन्निव ॥ य[त्स्त?] वस्याधिपत्येस्थात्पुरा भ-
24 टारिकोक्त[मा।] . . [वी] नृपाभ्य[चर्या?] . . . उ — उ — ॥ तस्याः शिष्याभवत्साध्वी
सुव्रतव्रातभूषिता । गौरदेवीति विख्याता । [ता?] कृतोद्यमा ॥ सु[मनो?] .
25. ससेव्या [मा ?] . . यविनाशिनी । दुर्गा हि उ — उ [ता] ॥
यत्तपः पावन वीक्ष्य पवित्रीकृतसज्जन । सम्भरुः पूर्व्वयमि उ — उ — ॥
शिव प्रपूज्य त[त्प] .
26. . . [म]गमतप्रभुः । प्रणम्य [तावुभौ?] भक्त्या सि(शि)रसा उ — उ — ॥
[तस्मांत] पूजार्थं हरपादयोः । कुमारपालदेवोदाह्वाम श्री . उ — उ — ॥ .²⁸ . . . स्या
दिश्वाराम .
27. . टा दक्षिणपूर्व्वोत्तरपश्चिमतः सरःपालो भूणादित्य . . . राज . . . दीपार्थं घण्ट-
कमेकं सज्जनोप्यदात् दडनाथ मेतद्दानम् . . .
28 श्रीज[य]कीर्त्तिश्रियो²⁹ दिग्व(ब)रगणेशिना । प्रशस्तिरोदृशी चक्रे . श्रीरामकीर्त्तिना ॥
सर्वत् १२०७ सूत्रधा³⁰

No. II

BY PAUL HORN, PH.D., STRASSBURG

The following inscriptions are in continuation of, and in addition to, those contained in a previous paper, *ante*, pp 130 *seq* I begin with Fathâbâd, which was there represented by the inscription from Fîrôz Shâh's famous pillar¹

FATHÂBÂD

1 To the left of the *mīhrāb* of what is now an 'īdgāh in the fort of Fathāhād, is a light-coloured rectangular sandstone, with an inscription of ten lines, measuring 2' 3" by

²⁵ In the prose passage, from here up to the end of lino 27, it is impossible to say exactly how many *aksharas* are broken away in each place

☞ Metre Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

* Below this line some more *aksharas* have been roughly engraved, but they are quite illegible in the impression

¹ Mr H B W Garrick, in General Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Reports*, vol XXIII, p 11, remarks that Maulawi Ziyā uddīn Khān has been successful in deciphering the long inscription on the above-mentioned monolith (see plate II there), but, so far as I know, the translation has not yet been published.

1' 2½", of which Mr. Garrick gives a good copy (*Arch. Sur. India Rep* vol. XXIII plate iii)—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وان المساجد لله [sic] لا يدعوا
مع الله احدا وانه لما قام عند الله يدعوا [ا] كاد [ا] يكرين
عليه اذ قال عليه السلام [م] بنى الله [sic] مسجدا ينتعى به رحمه الله بنى الله له في
الجنة مثله تمام شد این مسجد در ایام دولت شاه اعظم والجانان المعظم
مالک الرقاب طرایف الامم من الهند والترك والعرب والعجم رابع رايات [ا] للمجاهدات
والمعارى محمد همايین نادر شاه عاری حلد الله تعالی ملکه می نهار الطف [sic]
ملکه نسع [sic] جناب سعاده مرحام ردة فصول الانام نتيحة الامراء العظام امير رستم بيك بن
جناب المعزز المبرز المحتص امير محمد علي الله تعالی محام في الثاني ماء رصلا
سنة خمس [ر] اربعين وتسعمائة كرماء فقير عند الكرم در قد درای حراع تر مرزم [؟] تعين كرده شد
طلاق اسب ارزا هر كه منع كند . .

"In the name," etc. (*Qorán*, Súra lxxv, 18, 19). "The prophet,—upon whom be peace,—says, 'He who builds, etc.' This mosque was finished in the days of the reign of the great king, the exalted prince, the master of the necks of crowds of nations among the Indians, Turks, Arabs, and Persians, who raises the standard of holy strife and war, Muhammad Humáyún, *Bádisháh-i-Ghází*,—May God Almighty perpetuate his kingdom [and guide] his ship in the seas of His favour!—through the exertion of the auspicious dignitary, the cream of the accomplished among men, the issue of great Amirs, Amir Rustam Beg, son of his highness the pardoned and purified chosen Amir Muhammad 'Ali,—God Almighty. on the 2nd of the month Ramazán A. 915 (*the 22nd January, 1539*). The superintendent of the work (*was*) the poor 'Abdul-Karim."

The verse at the end of the inscription cannot be fully deciphered. The whole has a striking resemblance to the inscription of Amir Muhammad's mosque at Hisár (*ante*, p 155).

2. Into the outer wall of the mosque enclosure in the fort of Fathábád a rectangular sandstone is let containing a well-known invocation of 'Ali in Arabic, in four lines, size 1' 2½" by 6½"—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم باد عليا مطهر
العجايب لحدك عزالك في التراب كل
هم وغم سيحلى بترتك يا محمد در لايتك
يا على يا على يا على تم تم تم

"In the name, etc. Invoke 'Ali, the manifestor of miracles, thou wilt find him

for thy help in adversities Every care and every sorrow will surely vanish through thy prophetship, O Muhammad, through thy saintliness, O 'Alî, O 'Alî, O 'Alî, O 'Alî!"

HISÂR.³

3 Near the Nâgôr-Gate, outside the town, is a sandstone (measuring 5' by 4"), on four sides covered with inscriptions It belonged to the tomb of Shaikh Muhammad Chishtî, but it is now on a wrong grave, where it was placed a short time ago, on being dug up. The inscription, in one line, on the west upper side, runs—

بعل ایں سلطان المشایخ والاولیاء شیع محمد بن سنج محمد چشتی فی التاسع من شعبان سنة اثنی
وتسعين وثمانماية

"The departure of this king of the Shaikhs and the Saints, Shaikh Muhammad, son of Mahmûd, the Chishtî,⁴ (*took place*) on the 9th Sha'bân, 892 (31st July, 1487)."

Since the tomb of so highly revered a man as Shaikh Muhammad Chishtî was may claim some interest, I give also the Arabic inscriptions of the lower west side and of the east face—

یا من دندناه اشتعل قد عرّ طول الامل المرب یتاتی بعنه والعمر صدق العمل

Metre · Rajaz

"Ah! He that is occupied with his earthly life and the length of his hope (*i.e.*, his *hoped life-time*) deceives himself! Death comes unexpectedly, and the tomb is the coffin of his work."

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه
الا انما الدنيا كمنزل راكب اينام عشنا وهو في الصبح راحل

"In the name, *etc.*, there is no God but, *etc.* Is not the world verily like the station of a camel-rider? Will he sleep in the evening when he is to depart in the morning?"

4 Outside the Nâgôr-Gate is also the enclosure known as Shaikh Junaid's tomb. The stone on the west contains the name of the builder twice, who, in spite of the omission of any title, may nevertheless be identical with the Shaikh named, from his also being

³ This formula is very popular for amulets all over the East. It is engraved on bracelets just as on swords (see *Proceedings As S Beng* for November 1872, p 169) Mr Blochmann gives it in his *Āin-i Akbarī* Translation, p 507, with an unmetrical alteration in the second line. But see also *Proceedings As S Beng* (*loc cit*)

⁴ Some of the following inscriptions were published by Blochmann, in *Proceedings As S Beng.* for April 1877, pp 94 *seq*

⁵ The most extensive essay on the whole branch of the Chishtî Saints (see *ante*, p 145) is in the *Sawāḥir ul anwār*, a copy of which work is in India Office library in London. The contents of this large volume (481 pages of 17 lines each) have been copiously described by Prof C H Ethé in his Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts of the India Office Collection (No 654), for access to the proof sheets of which I am indebted to the kindness of Dr R Rost. It is known that biographies of single Chishtis are likewise given in other works and that there are writings treating of single members as the *Mas̄lūb uṣṣāḥibīn*, which is restricted to the life and deeds of *Nizām uddīn Auliya*. Compared with such books those of the princess Jahanārāi about Shaikh Mu'in uddīn and of her brother Dārā Shukoh (*Safinat ul-auliyā*) are very dilettante. I have perused the whole of the first and looked over the latter in the manuscripts at the British Museum. This is not the place to speak at large of the value of the literary products of the two princely authors, but I may mention that I was disappointed with them, and the most by Dārā Shukoh's, which pretends to be more serious than Jahanārāi's unassuming book. They do not furnish us with original information of importance concerning the Chishtis, as one would be disposed to expect, considering the close relation of both with Shaikh Mu'in uddīn

born at Ajódhan,— the name for Dípálpûr,— too striking an accord.⁵ But then the date of the latter's death, as given in the *Khazínat ul-asfiyá*, which Blochmann has extracted, must be too early. The size of the two inscriptions is 7' 6" by 7", and 6' by 4½", respectively

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم العزة من ربيع الاول سنة سبع وعشرين ورسع مائه نايه حديد نى چندان

"In the name, etc. On the first Rabr'ul-awwal, 927 (9th February, 1521). The builder of it (was) Junaïd, son of Chandan "

العزة من شهر دى القعدة سنة احدى وثلاثين ورسع مائه نايه حديد نى چندان نى محمود اچودھنى

"On the first Zi'l-Qa'da, 931 (20th August, 1525) Its builder (was) Junaïd, son of Chandan, son of Mahmûd, of Ajódhan "

There are some other inscriptions from the same Mausoleum, but of no value. One, measuring 2' 1½" by 6", contains, in two lines, the *Bismilláh* and the *Kalima*, two others from the north and west sides of the N.-W. pillar of the tomb, each measuring 1' 1" square, bear *Qorán*, Sûra cxii, adorned with flowers.⁷

5 Over the western arch inside a tomb, west of the road leading from Hisâr to Dana Shêr, outside the town half a mile from the Dihlî-Gate, is an inscription in *stucco*, it measures 1' 2" by 1' 1½", and contains eight lines, but very much damaged—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الله

در عهد ميمى ودر ملك

همایى حلد ملكه و سلطانه

واعلى امره وشانه ابنى

عمار اراى والرحال

. نى مندر نى

سلطانملكك در سنم [؟] ماه رمضان

. سنة ثلاث واربعى وتسعمائة تمام شد

"In the auspicious time and reign of Humâyûn (*the king, etc.*)—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule, and elevate his condition and dignity!—this building of Wâltû Khân son of Mîr son of Sultân Malik Bêg, was finished on the thîrd [?] of month Ramzân, A 943 (13th February, 1537) "

Along the right-hand side, almost in the same line with the above, are the following words —

اى ناساه نىست هزار تنكه سنة [؟] ناهتمام شدم منور نى قاسم [؟] اتمام شد

* Shaikh Farid uddîn Mas'ud was also born at Ajodhan,—see W Pertsch, *Verzeichniss der persischen Handschriften der Koniglichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, No 590, p 556

Mr Ghulâm Husain, who prepared the impressions of all these inscriptions with the same care as those of the former Panjab series, remarks that both have been published by Amin Chand in his *Settlement Report*, a work which is not to hand

In the neighbourhood of this Mausoleum also the pre Muhammadan pillar stands which, according to Captain W Brown,—*Journal of A S Beng* vol VII (1838), p 429,—"has the appearance of having been partially worked by Feroz's orders, and probably some inscription was cut upon it by his workmen but of which there is now no trace owing to the peeling off of the exterior surface" Cf Gen Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Reports*, vol V, p 140 et seq

" 20,000 copper-tankas (1,000 rupees) was completed under the superintendence of Shaikh Munawwar, son of Qâsim."

Owing to the bad condition of the stone all the words are not certain

6. The following two inscriptions come from the same place as No 5 Their sizes are 3' 1½" by 1' 9", and 3' by 1' 6", respectively, each containing seven lines. The tomb itself is in poor condition and greatly neglected, but the inscriptions have been well preserved—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم در عهد ممدین ردولت همایین سلطان
الهند و الحراسان رافع رایات المعاهدات والمعاری محمد همایین
نادرشاه عاری حلد خلافته این عمارت بناریم ماه رجب قدره سنه
اربع و اربعین وتسعمایه تمام شد و این کند
در ترمی کجک ن مندر بر طبق معل شده است
و این حوران در لشکر گجرات شهادت یاب
و مبلغ نازده هزار تنکه سیاه حرح شده است

"In the propitious time and august reign of the king of India and Khorâsân, who raises the banners of holy strife and war, Muhammad Humâyûn, *Bâdîshâh-ı Ghâzî*,—May (God) perpetuate his khalifate!—this building was completed in the month Rajab—May its dignity be magnified!—of the year 944 (began the 4th December, 1537). And this cupola (was made) for the sake of Tardî Kuchuk, son of Mîr Barantaq, the Moghul, and this youth attained martyrdom in the army of Gujârât. The cost was 15,000 copper-tankas (750 rupees) "

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم در عهد ممدین ردولت همایین
سلطان الهند و الحراسان رافع رایات المعاهدات و المعاری
طهیرالدین محمد همایین نادرشاه عاری حلد خلافته بناریم ماه
رمضان سنه اربع و اربعین و تسعمایه این عمارت ار برای [؟]
میر عاشق محمد ن میر شاه علی شد و این
حوران در لشکر گجرات شهادت یاب
و مبلغ دوازده هزار تنکه سنا حرح شده

"In the propitious time and august reign of the king of India and Khorâsân, who raises the banners of holy strife and war, *Tahîr^a uddîn* Muhammad Humâyûn, *Bâdîshâh-ı Ghâzî*,—May (God) perpetuate his khalifate!—this building was completed during the month Ramazân of the year 944 (began the 1st February, 1538). It was made for the sake of Mîr 'Âshîq Muhammad, son of Mîr Shâh 'Alî,^b and this youth attained martyrdom in the army of Gujârât The cost was 12,000 copper-tankas (600 rupees)."

^a Mr Blochmann has wrongly read Humâyûn's common kunya *Nâşîr uddîn*, but here *Tahîr uddîn* has been engraved.
Tahîr uddîn was Bâbar's kunya

^b Here 'Alî has been engraved, but this is no name

Both youths probably served in the Gujarât war that ended with Bahâdur Shâh's victory, A.H. 942. Then, or perhaps in Muhammad Zamân Mirzâ's attempt to overpower the country, their death may have occurred, and they afterwards found a tomb at home, Gujarât being lost to Humâyûn.

7. Over the *mîhrâb* of an 'Îdgâh at Dâna Sher, one mile south of Hîsâr on the old Hânsî road, is an inscription of four lines in *stucco*, measuring 1' 9" by 4½". It is in very bad condition, being exposed to wind and weather. I try to read it thus—

ایں مسجد [؟] بک انس پلاد سرانی سررا [نی] س
 ادريس سرانی مسند عالی درلجاده در عهد شیرشاه
 سلطان سده تسع نع [sic] اربعین صنع تمام شد
 حرح شد مبلع دارده [؟] هرا

"This mosque of . . . Bêg, son of Pûlâd Sarvânî . . . son of Idrîs Sarvânî . . . the high *Masnad* of the *Daulatkhâna*, was finished in the reign of Shêr Shâh, the king, in the year 947 (*began the 8th May, 1540*) . . . The cost was 12,000 . . ."

With Messrs Ghulâm Husain and the late E. Rehatsek (who made rough versions of many of these epigraphs) I have supposed that we have here a barbarous construction, contrary to the Arabic usage, the date beginning with the hundreds instead of the units. نع would then be for مایه 'hundred', scarcely for مع, so I read the monarch's name as Shêr Shâh, which is possible. And surely, if نع were only a blunder, perhaps of the stone-cutter, a reiterated *tes*', only with a shortening of the long stroke of the *sîn*, and the date in this case were 749, one could not read the king's name as Muhammad, as would then be necessary, or the word after *sab*' as *mi'at*. Besides, there are some words, especially '*in masjid*', that I cannot warrant as certain.¹⁰

HÂNSÎ

Mr H. B. W. Garrick (*ut sup*, pp 15, 16) gives a list of the principal inscriptions found at Hânsî. Some of them have already been published by Blochmann, that of the Dînî mosque, also *ante*, p 159. There are several others perhaps also deserving notice that are not mentioned in Mr Garrick's list, but I miss also some inscriptions of his in Mr Rodgers's collection.¹¹

Because Hânsî was an important place in the times of the early Pathân Sultâns, it is not surprising that numerous old inscriptions of that dynasty are found there. If we do

¹⁰ In the *Maâ'îr ul-Umarâ*, vol I, p 563, it is mentioned by the way that the *dârôghagî* of the *daulatkhâna* was bestowed only upon trustworthy men. The author of the *Târikh-i Shêrshâhi*, 'Abbâs Khân, son of Shaikh 'Alî, was also a Sarvânî, an Afghan tribe tracing its lineage to the mythic Bâsan (see *Âin-i Akbari*, I, 591), likewise 'Azam Humâyûn (who lived in Sultân Ibrâhîm Lodî's time, cf *Bâbar's Memoirs*, pp 347, 352, *Akbarnâma*, vol I, p 103) and therefore also his son Fath Khân Khânjahân (*Bâbar's Memoirs*, pp 390, 392, *Akbarnâma*, vol I, pp 103, 104), and grandson Mahmûd Khân (*Bâbar's Memoirs*, p 393, *Akbarnâma*, vol I, p 104), or Bahâdur Khân, whose tomb Bâbar visited at Sôgandpûr (*Memoirs*, p 491), and others. For another Shêr Shâh inscription of the same year (at Sakit) see *Proceedings of As Soc Beng* for May 1874, p 105.

¹¹ e.g. Nos 1, 3, 4. I leave it to the reader to correct Mr Garrick's little mistakes concerning the single inscriptions and their readings.

not take into account the Dihlî inscriptions from the years 587 (E. Thomas, *The Chronicles of the Pathân Kings of Dehli*, p. 22 or *Journal Asiatique*, V^{me} série, vol. XVI (1860), p. 274) and of 592 (E. Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 24, and *Jour Asiat.*, p. 240), we have here the oldest dated Muhammadan one in India, viz of 593 (of the same year is also a Dihlî inscription,—see *Jour Asiat.* u.s p. 240). Shaikh Ni'mat Ullâh's tomb has no original inscription relating to this pious man, and is a remnant of even an older period for the saint in 559 A. H. became a martyr in Sultân Shihâb uddîn Ghôrî's attack upon the fort of Hânsî (see Mr. Garriek's *Report*, p. 13) Not a few inscriptions evidently are also very old, but they bear no dates

8 The rectangular sandstone, with the following inscription of one line, measuring 4' 11" by 6", serves now as a lintel to the doorway of the third enclosure of Shaikh Ni'mat Ullâh's tomb. Formerly it belonged to a mosque built by 'Alî, son of Isfandiyâr, it is of the 5th year of Muhammad ibn Sâm's reign —

أمر بنا هذا المسجد العبد على بن اسعد يار في عشر ذي الحجة سنة ثلث وتسعين وخمسمائة

"This mosque was ordered to be built by the slave (of God) 'Alî, son of Isfandiyâr on the 10th Zil Hijja, 593 (24th October, 1197) "

9. The *masjid* walls of the second enclosure of Shaikh Ni'mat Ullâh's tomb contain also other inscriptions that originally had nothing to do with it. Into the outer western wall a rectangular light-coloured sandstone has been built horizontally, bearing one line (size 3' by 1'), and mentioning the monarch's name under whose rule the inscription falls. Originally it was the jamb of a door. It is frightfully decayed, but the following is quite legible —

[أبو] المطهر محمد بن سام ناصر أمير المؤمنين

"[*Abu'l*] Muzaffar Muhammad, son of Sâm, the helper of the Khalif of the faithful."

The other jamb contains also one line (measuring 3' 7½" by 11"), the lintel has not been found —

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من بنا لله مسجداً في الدنيا بنا الله له [قصر] في الجنة

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! Who builds a mosque in this world for God, God will build for him a castle in paradise "

Other inscriptions from Muhammad ibn Sâm's reign, besides the above-mentioned Dihlî ones, have been published by E. Thomas in his *Chronicles of the Pathân Kings*, pp. 24 (A. H. 594) and 25 (A. H. 596)

Of no historical value are the inscriptions over the doorway inside (1' by 11"), only a fragment, in large characters, containing two words, being a part of a king's title [نرك والعزم], over the northern window in the outer wall (2' 5" by 3½"), the first half of *Qorân*, Sûra ii, verse 215—, and in the northern inside wall (1' 7" by 6"), a fragment, [والله العظيم] (*Qorân*, Sûra ix, verse 9) But there is no reference to the age of all

10 South-east of the town, about 150 yards from the walls, is the tomb of the four *Qutbs* or Saints (cf. Mr. Garriek's *Report*, p. 14, and plate vii). In the wall of the

enclosure is the following inscription, which originally belonged to the grave of some unnamed noble lady. It consists of two lines and measures 4' 3" by 11"—

تمت القبر المستورة الحليلة نور الله قبرها وعبر الله لها مني حنة الماري
يا ارحم الرحمين [sic] وذلك بالتاريخ الحادي عرت درالقعدة سنة اثني عشرين ستملية

"Finished was the tomb of the veiled noble lady,—May Alláh illuminate her tomb and may Alláh pardon her in the garden of the asylum (*Paradise*)! O most merciful of the merciful! This took place on the 1st Zil Qa'da, 622 (*4th November, 1225*)"

It is curious that the word *qabr* is used as feminine, of course only from its being occupied by a woman. The year 622 falls in the reign of Shams-uddîn Altamsh, as does that of the following inscription, No. 11.

Entering the courtyard of the tomb one meets an undated fragmentary inscription, which has found a place in the wall, facing south, its original position not being known. It is much decayed, and consists of two lines (1' 10½" by 1' 1½"). A complement of it must be Mr Garrick's sixth one—

كيد [لاني] رنعمروس سلطاني
سنة مسعود محمد صفهاني برد

"[Gî]lânî and to Firdaus Sultânî He was a slave of Mas'ûd Muhammad of Isfahân"

In the wall of the mosque of the four *Qutbs* is a fragmentary inscription of two lines, measuring 1' 4" by 1'—

تتوفى حضرت
كمال [or جمال] ابن

"By the grace of his highness Kamâl, son of.."

11. At the mosque of Bû Âlî Bakhsh in the Moghulpâra-Quarter of Hânsî is a rectangular sandstone, measuring 2' 6" by 6", with two lines—

هذا عمارة المسجد العبد الصعيف احمد بن محمد اسمدي
في المنتصف ربيع الاحر سنة ثلث والعشرين وستماية

"This building (is) the mosque of the feeble slave (*of God*) Ahmad, son of Muhammad, of Asmand. In the middle of Rabi' II, 623 (*began the 1st April, 1226*)"

Mr Blochmann remarks that Asmand is a small place near Samargand

There are also two other inscriptions over the north and south arches of the same mosque, the first (1' ½" by 7½") containing the *Bismillâh*, with the *Kalma*, the second (1' by 7") being a fragment

12 Half a mile to the west of the town, in the fields, is an 'Idgah and on the left of its central arch (*mihrab*) is an old fragmentary inscription of two lines (measuring 2' 10½" by 1'), very much damaged. It runs—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال عيسى ابن مريم اللهم ربنا انزل علينا مائدة
داود الدنيا والدين ابن المطهر [?] محمد بن السلطان

"In the name, *etc* Jesus, the son of Mary, has said, "O God, our Lord, send down to us a table from heaven [*to be to us as a festival, etc*],—*Qorân*, Sûra v, verse 114.

Because the inscription is so worn there may be doubts about the king's name. I think it was Nâsir uddin Mahmûd, second son of Altamsh of *that* name, who reigned A.H. 644-664, of whose time only one inscription has yet been published, viz. by Blochmann in the *Jour. As Soc. B.*, vol XLII, p 248, note [A.H. 652, at Aligarh]. In spite of the want of any date we are scarcely allowed to think of his elder brother, owing to Mr. Thomas' remarks in his *Pathân Kings*, p. 84.

In the central arch of the same 'Idgâh another old inscription of two lines of Altamsh's reign is said to be, size 2' 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " by 1'.

13. On a loose stone in the courtyard of Bâ 'Alî Bakhsh's mosque is a fragment, (the right half not being found) of three lines, size 1' 4" by 1' 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ".—

شاه گيهان معزالدين

سلطان خلد ملکه در بوب

بهلول بن مهرانک الی نور محرم سنه سبع وثمانین وستمایه

"The king of the world Mu'izz uddunyâ, the Sultân,—May (God) perpetuate his reign!—in the time of Bahlûl, son of Mîhrâ (?) Bêg, Alânî... Muharram, 687 (*began the 6th February, 1288*)"

The name of the grandee is not certain. For other inscriptions of Kaïqobâd see *Ep. Ind.*, vol II, p 158, and note 42.

14. About a quarter of a mile north of the fort of Hânsî is the tomb of Walâyat Shâh Sultân Shahîd Here are two inscriptions of no value, one mentioning the date 713, measuring 1' 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ " by 1' 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", in three lines, the other measuring 1' 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ " by 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", in one line, being a portion of *Qorân*, Sûra II, verse 256.

15 At the mosque of the *Qutbs* (see No 10) a rectangular sandstone bears eight lines in coarse and indistinct characters, size 3' 8" by 11":—

الملك لله

تقریق اللہ تعالیٰ بندہ درگاہ سخانی انا نکر نام حلوانی کہ یکی

ار مریدان پدر دستگیر سلطان المشایخ شیخ ابوالفتح قدس اللہ سرہ العزیز اس

در پاییل قطب اقطاب عالم شیخ جمال الحق والشرع والیدی طاب ثراه رحل

الحدہ مثواه وبراللہ مراقده در وقت حلس سجاده بندگی سلطان المشایخ

شیخ مرید مد اللہ عمره ایی مسجد راس کنایده هرکه درین مسجد نماز بگذارد بدعا

اینان [?] یاد کند کاتب حرور رعی قطب نایب قاصی هانسی

الحامس والعشرین من ماه رجب قدره سنه سب وتسعن وثمانمیه سکنتراش امنی [?] دیرلال [?]

ناگوری "The Kingdom belongs to God !

'By Almighty God's grace, the slave of the glorious court, Abâ Bakr by name, Jalwânî," one of the disciples of the guiding spiritual chief, the king of Shaikhs, Shaikh

¹¹ In *Bâbar's Memoirs* occur also *Jalwânîs*, by name Isma'îl (pp 338, 486, 487) and Mubarak Khan (p 491), or Râi Husain, a partisan of Shâh Khân (*vide Akbarnâma*, vol I, p 164), and others I have read *Înân* (first word of the 7th line) instead of *îbân*, as has been engraved on the stone

Abu'l Fath,—May God sanctify his dear secret!—has laid the foundation of this mosque at the feet of the pole of the poles of the world, Shaikh *Jamāl ul-haqq washshar' waddīn* (i.e. Shaikh Jamāl uddīn),—May his grave be fragrant! May (God) make Paradise his mansion, and may God illuminate his resting place!—at the time when the king of Shaikhs, Shaikh Farīd,—May God lengthen his life!—ascended to the throne of the spiritual rule. Every one who prays in this mosque should remember these men in his prayer

“The writer of the words (*was*) Razā Qutb, the representative of the judge of Hānsī . On the 25th Rajab,—May its power increase!—896 (*3rd January, 1491*) The stone-cutter (*was*) Amīn (?) Bīr Lāl of Nāgôr ”

In the first line, to the left of the words “The kingdom belongs to God,” in smaller characters, the name of the reigning king is given—

در عهد نادر شاه بن بهلول شاه سلطان حلد الله ملكه و سلطانه

“In the time of the king of the age, Sikandar Shāh, son of Buhlūl Shāh, the king,—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule!”

16 In the north inner wall of the Barsī gate in Hānsī is a rectangular sandstone, measuring 1' 5" by 1' 1", on which are five lines—

بناء عمارت این دروازه متین علوی نا مرتب حص حصین علانی

که مرتب سده اثنی و تسعمایه در عهد سلطان السلاطین ابرالمطهر

ابراهیم شاه سلطان حلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و در عمل مسند عالی حمید خان

[1] مانجان کمال و در سعداری حواحه شیخ [9] محمد و نعمایش مرکز بن کمال

. فی الحامس من شهر دی القعدة سده ثمان و عشرين و تسعمایه کاتب حانواده نصر معنی هانسی

“The building of the edifice of this solid, high gate, together with the repairs of the strong upper fort,¹³ dated 702 A H (*began 26th August, 1302*), (*took place*) in the time of the king of kings, *Abu'l Muzaffar Ibrāhīm Shāh*, the king,—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—and during the governorship of the high *Masnad Hamīd Khān*, son of *Amānat Khān Kamāl* and during the *shiqdārī* of *Khawāja Shaikh Muhammad*, and by order of *Muwakkal*, son of *Kamāl*... , on the 5th Zī'l Qa'da, 928 (*26th September, 1522*) The writer (*was*) *Khānzāda Nasr*, the Mufti of Hānsī ”

Hamīd Khān is known to have been governor of *Hīsār Fīrōza*, he was defeated in battle by Prince *Humāyūn* A H 932 (*Akbarnāma*, vol I, p 94, and *Bābar's*

¹³ As we learn from an inscription on the same gate, to the left of the entrance, published by Lechmann in the *Proceedings of As Soc B*, for May 1877, p 122, and mentioned by Mr Garrick (No 6), the correct year of the first fortification of Hānsī was 703, not 702 The repairing of the fort which most probably Muhammad Shah had intended be an outpost against the Moghuls, was useless against their final invasion under Akbar

Memoirs, p. 339, where he is styled *Hamîda Khân Khâssa Khailî, shiqdâr* of *Hîr Firôza*)

The following inscription refers also to Muhammad Shâh's fortification of the place.¹⁴ Originally it consisted of three parts that are now scattered. The larger portion, given here, is at present doing duty as the headstone of a grave near the Husain Gate, a smaller one has been let into the brick wall of a well, near the same gate, and is fast being destroyed. The inscription, in heavy characters, is a very fine one, and ought to be preserved. Two lines, size 3' 3" by 1' 6"—

بناء عمارت این حص حصی و دروازه منی در عهد [سلطان السلاطین]

حم نشان رسولیمان تمکین سکندر رمای ابرالمطهر محمد شاه السلاطین [طاب]

"The building of the edifice of this strong fort and solid gate (*cas*) in the time of (*the king of kings*) celebrated like Jamshêd, of high dignity like Solomon, the Alexander of the period, *Abu'l Muzaffar Muhammad Shâh*, the king."¹⁵

17 Inside of the *mîhâb* of the mosque of the Makhdûm Sâhib Ashraf in the Weavers' Quarter of Hânsî, is a very old inscription in square Kufic characters that must be of the first Pathân period. It measures 1' 1" by 9" and consists of the *Kalima* only. Over the outer gateway of the enclosure of the same mosque is found a poor inscription of three lines (9½" by 6'), giving the date, "Month Safar 989," (*began 7th March, 1581*). The old mosque therefore was repaired in Akbar's time.

18 Outside the stables of Haidar Bêg, high up in a wall is a rectangular sandstone, bearing an inscription of nine lines (size 1' 9½" by 1' 7"). It is frightfully worn and can be deciphered only with the greatest difficulty. But the following is certain:—

بنایب

در عهد و درک سلطان السلاطین

ابرالمطهر شهاب الدین محمد صاحب

¹⁴ Perhaps also to the Barsî Gato (Blochmann No. 3, Garrick No. 6).

¹⁵ Other inscriptions of 'Alâ uddin Muhammad Shah's reign (A.H. 695-715) have been published in General Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Reports*, vol. XX, p. 76 (A.H. 705, at Bayana), by E. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*, p. 173 (A.H. 710, at Dihli), and by Blochmann, *Proceedings of As Soc B.* for August 1873, p. 156 (A.H. 711, at Rapri), (also No. 22 below). I would here call attention to a work that may be very important for the history of another monarch of the Khiljî tribe, viz. of Mahmud Shâh I. of Malwa. The Royal Library at Berlin possesses a MS. that seems to be unique, at least I have found no second copy in the accessible catalogues of manuscripts, and the late Mr. E. Rehatzel did not know of one elsewhere. Its title is *Ma'âthir : Mahn ud-shâhî wa siyar : khulâfat-pandâhî*, written in the lifetime of Mahmud Shâh I. of Malwa, as the author 'Alî Ibn Mahmûd ul-Kirmânî states, by Mahmud's own order. The writer shows himself well acquainted with many private adventures of his sovereign, especially with his dreams before the occupation of the throne, and he describes fully these inviting divine messages as justifying the rebellion of the subject against his former master. Although partly composed in a very bombastic style, it would still be worth publishing, all the more as it is a proof of the taste then reigning at the court of Malwa. Mahmûd is related to have been always a favourer of learned men. It is stated in this work that for the engraving of the inscriptions on the splendid *Madîasa Bâmi Bihisht*, built by Shah Mahmud A.H. 845 in his capital, he employed Persian artists because of their higher dexterity, and these applied the *thulth* and *muhaggaq* kinds of writing (Fol. 89). This may be a hint in cases where nothing is related concerning the nationality of the stone cutters. It is remarkable how many of the 'modern' Indian calligraphists mentioned in the 34th chapter of the first book of the *Amî Akbarî* (cf. also Mr. Blochmann's translation, p. 100, *et seq.* and notes) were strangers by birth and only afterwards settled in India. The Kufic style that has flourished in Arabia, Egypt and Spain has produced only some scanty flowers in India, but this is easily explained by the later date of Islam in India, the Kufic period then already having passed. Some remarks about the calligraphy of the inscriptions are to be found in the *Journal of As Soc B.*, vol. XL, p. 267 B, and in Ravenshaw's *Gau*.

قران ثانی شاه جهان نادر شاه عاری
 حلد الله ملکہ و سلطانہ
 ایس حاہ رنل شد

 بتاریخ ہفتم ماہ شعبان المعظم
 سنہ سنع و خمسین و الف

"By the favour of . . . in the time and reign of the king of kings, *Abu'l Mu-
 zaffar Shihâb uddîn Muhammad*, second lord of the conjunction, *Shâhjahân*,
Bâdîshâh Ghâzî—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! . . of this well
 for women . . on the 7th of the honoured month *Sha'bân* in the year 1057 (7th
September, 1647) "

The words *châh-i zanân*—"well for women," seem to be certain, so that there can be no
 uncertainty about the establishment the inscription refers to. In the fourth chapter of the
 third book of the *Âin-i Akbarî*, vol I, p 284, it is stated amongst the duties of
 the *Kotwâl*, to reserve separate fountains and wells for men and women.

19 On the east wall of the enclosure of a tomb in the court-yard of *Makhdûm
 Sâhib Ashraf's* mosque is an inscription, measuring 1' 2" by 8½", in a very bad con-
 dition, only the date الف در سنہ سنع ثمانین 'A H 1087' (*began the 16th March, 1676*) and
 the name of the architect نسعی معمار شریف 'by the effort of the architect Sharîf' are
 legible. The reigning monarch was Aurangzêb Âlamgîr.

20 There are also some fragments of inscriptions, found at Hânsî, that for want of
 any characteristic indications, cannot be ascribed to a certain epoch, e g a portion of the
 so-called throne-verse (*Qorân*, Sura II, 256) engraved on a sandstone that has found a
 place above the outer doorway of the courtyard of the mosque, a little west of the fort, or
 a part of the well-known *hadîth* about the building of mosques, on the well in the
Dâk Bangla compound (size 8" by 20", one line)

BHATINDA.

21 Bhatinda, the Bhatti's city, according to the very probable etymology of Mr
 Garrick, p 5, has always had a strong fort¹⁶ There is preserved a large cannon of
 Aurangzêb's time bearing two inscriptions —

ہر العالیہ
 در عہد ابراہیم علی الدین محمد
 اورنگزیب بہادر عالمگیر
 نادر شاہ عاری توپ اورنگ شاہی
 مرتب شد سنہ یکہزار و ہفتاد و سہ ہجری
 باہتمام مرید ندوی باحلاص
 معتمد حال فی سنہ ۱۰ حلوس
 مبارک ولا

¹⁶ Bhatinda is mentioned in the *Âin-i Akbarî* amongst others as a place where Akbar often hunted leopards vol. I,
 207, and near which camels were numerous, vol I, p 146

"He (*God*) is the conqueror! In the time of *Abu'l Zafar Muhyi'ddîn Muhammad Aurangzêb Bahâdur 'Âlamgîr, Bâdîshâh-î Ghâzî*, the *Aurangshâh*-cannon was set up in A. H. 1073 (*began the 16th August, 1662*). By the efforts of the devoted and sincere subject *Mu'tamid Khan*, in the 5th year of the blessed reign."

در عمل متبراداس دلارامی

..... قرب

در قلعه گزالیار مرتب شد

"During the office of *Mathurâdâs Dîlârâmjî*..... the cannon has been placed in the fort of *Gwâlîâr*"

The cannon, consequently, was placed at first at *Gwâlîâr*, where *Mu'tamid Khân* was commandant from the 24th *Jumâdî I, 1071* ¹⁷ Afterwards it was brought to *Bhatînda*

Inscriptions from other cannons have been published by Major St G D Showers,—*Shâhjahân's* gun *Jahânkushâ* by name, see *Jour As Soc B.*, vol. XVI, (1847), p. 589,—and by Blochmann—a trophy gun formerly belonging to the Bengal Artillery, A. H. 1186 (*began 4th April, 1772*),—see *Proc. As Soc. B.* for November 1872, p. 169 ¹⁸

ROHTAK ¹⁹

22 Over the *mahrâb* of the *Âdîna* mosque in the town of *Rohtak* are two lines, size 4' 6" by 1' 2", the letters partly are very much damaged —

بدرمید حصرت بردانی در حدراب . . . محمدی . . . نالمله مسلمانان . . . حاد[ی] حامی

ملک حمالی علا الدین والدین . . . سلاطین جهان

نائب نهار الطغر محمد شاه السلطان حلد الله ملکه . . . انس مسجد مرمندان و بر. حامی اهل انبار

عمار مرمود بناریم عره ماه رمضان سال هفتصد و شصت و هجری بود

"Through the grace of the sublime God

Alâ uddunyâ waddîn, . . of the kings of the world, . . *Abu'l Muzaffar Muhammad Shâh*, the king,—May God perpetuate his kingdom!—has deigned to build this mosque of the true believers and . . place of the people of the faith. It was on the 1st *Ramazân A.H. 708 (12th February, 1309)*"

23 Over the outer archway of a small mosque in the fort of *Rohtak*, near the *Dihli* Gate of the town is a rectangular sandstone, with an inscription of two lines, size 3' 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ " by 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ ", the right end of which is missing —

نادر شاه عاری سلطان السلاطین عیث الدین والدین سکندر زمان ادوالطغر نعلق شاه السلطان

[ح] دایگانى محمد على سلطانى عره ماه مبارك رمضان عم بركاته سال در هفتصد و بیست و چهار

"(*In the time*) of the *Bâdîshâh-î Ghâzî*, the king of kings, *Ghuyâth uddunyâ waddîn*, the Alexander of the period, *Abu'l Muzaffar Tughluq Shâh* (*this mosque has been*

¹⁷ See the particulars concerning this officer given by Blochmann from the *Ma'âthir-î 'Âlamgîrî* in the *Proceedings of As Soc Beng* for August 1874, p. 179

¹⁸ I have collected considerable materials respecting the artillery of the Moghuls, for an essay on their army and warfare, now in the press (E J Brill, Leiden)

¹⁹ See *E I*, vol II, pp 143 et seq

built, through the grace of the Lord, by) Muhammad 'Alī Sultānī. On the first of the blessed month Ramazān,—May its blessings be general!—A. 724 (22nd August, 1324) ”

This inscription is the second as yet published of Tughluq Shāh's reign (see Blochmann, *Proc As Soc B*, for August 1873, p. 157; A H. 722, at Mahōbbā).

Perhaps the mosque was repaired in Bābar's time, there is at least an inscription over the central archway (measuring 1' 10" by 1' 1") outside, that seems to mention such a fact, but it is too much injured to allow a decisive judgment. The first line is nearly altogether gone, also the beginning of the second and the whole third of the line are illegible, almost all dots are missing

نسم [الله الرحمن الرحيم]

. . . . این مسجد در عهد حصر طہیرالدین محمد بابر بادشاہ عاری حلد اللہ ملکہ

. رخصتی ثلثین وتسعمایہ

“This mosque in the time of His Majesty *Zahīr uddīn* Muhammad Bābar, *Bādīshāh-i Ghāzī* Ramazān 93.”

The date, of course, must be between 932 and 937.

XXXV —SRIDHARA'S DEVAPATTANA PRASASTI.

BY DR G. BÜHLER AND VAJESHANKAR G. OZHA.

The subjoined inscription is the same as that noticed by Colonel Tod in his *Travels in Western India*, p 513 f and by Mr. Postans in the *Journal Bo. Br. Roy As Soc*, vol. II, p 16 f According to both these authors it was found at Devapattana or Somnāthpātan near Verāval on a pillar near the Qāzī's house. At present the slab on which it is incised is built into the wall of the fort, to the right of the great gate of the town Both Colonel Tod and Mr Postans give what is said to be a translation of the document, prepared, “with the assistance of a learned Jain priest,” by Mr. Wathen, according to an eye-copy made by Rāmdatt Krishṇadatt Purānī. Mr. Wathen's translation teems with the most extraordinary statements regarding the Chaulukya kings of Anhilvād, which, however, fortunately have received little attention The present edition has been prepared according to a rubbing by the late Pandit Girjāshankar Sāmaljī, which Mr V G Ozha forwarded for publication to the first-named editor, together with a transcript,¹ a Gujarātī translation and some explanatory notes in the same language.

The slab measures according to the rubbing 30 inches in breadth and 27 in length, a space of 5 inches having been left blank at the lower end. At the upper left-hand corner a piece has been broken off To the right considerable portions of a good many

¹ This transcript seems to have been done according to the original on the stone, as it contains much that is not readable in the rubbing All this, as well as a number of misreadings, has been given in the footnotes to the edition with the signature V G O—[G B]

lines have been half or entirely effaced,² the injured spots becoming larger and larger towards the end of the inscription

The workmanship is good. In the first line some of the *anusvāras* have been made highly ornamental, being surrounded by three semi-circles, to the uppermost of which a stroke resembling a *mātrā* is attached. At the end there are two signs of good omen, the second of which is a Svastika. The name of the first is not known to me. It consists of an oblong with two small circles at the top and one in the centre and a triangle attached below. The characters are ordinary Devanāgarī of the 13th century. It must be noted that *va* does duty for *ba* and *va*, and that the groups like *jy*, *tva*, *dya* are invariably spelt *jy*, *tva*, and *dya*. In verse 45 we have the curious word *Gārjarātrāh* corresponding to the modern *Gujarāt*. In my opinion it has been coined out of the latter just like *Suratrāna* out of *Sultan* and *Garjanaka* out of *Ghaznav*. *Gujarāt* itself is probably a hybrid formation, the Arabic collective affix *āt*, being added to the name of the Gurjara or Gujar clan.

The contents of the inscription, which, with the exception of the first and last words, is throughout metrical, are as follows:—

(1) A *mangala*, verses 1-3, the first two being addressed to Śiva, identified with the supreme Brahma

(2) A eulogy of the temple and town of Somanātha, which the Moon founded in order to escape from the intolerable disease of consumption, verses 4-5

(3) A eulogy of certain members of the Vastrākula race and of the Chaulukya kings of Anhilvād, verses 6-25.

(4) A eulogy of Śrīdhara, the representative of the Vastrākula family in Vikrama Samvat 1273, who built several temples at Devapattana, verses 26-51.

(5) A eulogy of an ascetic, Vimalaśiva (?), who seems to have been the spiritual head of the Śaivas or priest of the temple, verses 52-57

(6) A notice of the author of the poem, whose name is lost, a prayer for the duration of the new temples and a notice of their architect (name lost) verses 58-60 and the date

The eulogy of the Chaulukya kings teaches us nothing new. They are all there from Mūlarāja I to Bhīmadeva II with the exception of Bhīmadeva I, whose name has been lost by a break in the first Pāda of verse 16. Their description is almost entirely conventional. The only historical fact mentioned (verse 23) is that Bhīmadeva II built a *Someśvaramandapa*, or a hall connected with the temple of Śiva, which bore the name Meghadhvani. The description of the Vastrākula family possesses greater interest. Verse 7 informs us that its Vedic gōtra was that of Śāndilya, and that its home was Nagara, i.e. Vadnagar in northern Gujarāt. To this race belonged Ūyābhata (verses 7-8) a pious astrologer, through whose benedictions king Mūla, i.e. Mūlarāja, I., enjoyed, untroubled by foes, for a long time his kingdom, which might raise envy in Inura's breast. Possibly this may mean that Ūyābhata was Mūlarāja's Joshi or court-astrologer. This man had three sons, Mādhava, Lūla and Bhābha, whom the king charged with the supervision of his charities and commissioned to look after the digging of square and round wells and tanks as well as after the erection of houses of

² Those letters, which are very faint or doubtful, have been enclosed between brackets —[G B]

refuge, colleges, temples and alms-houses, gilt flagstaffs, arches, markets, towns, villages, drinking-fountains and halls (verses 9-10) King Châmunda continued to show them favour and bestowed "the village of Kanheśvara on the great councillor (*mahāmantrin*) Mādhaḥva," "his father's friend" (verse 12) The line of the Vastrākulas was continued further through the offspring of Ūyābhata's second son, Lūla The latter had a son, called Bhābha or also Lūla(?) (verse 24), who was a friend of King Bhīmadeva I Bhābha-Lūla begat Śobha, "the dear friend of him who was called Jayasimha" (verse 25) His son Valla became an official (*sachiva*) under Kumārapāla (verse 25) and married Rohinī "She bore to him Śrīdhara, who caused his race to unfold just as the moon makes the night-lotuses open their blossoms" (verse 26), and "was honoured among the officials of illustrious King Bhīma," i.e. of Bhīmadeva II (verse 27) The poet then goes on to lavish the most extravagant praises on this person with which are mixed a few apparently historical statements Verse 40 inform us that Śrīdhara was much married and had three wives, Sāvitrī, Lakshmi and Saubhāgyadevi According to verse 42 "He quickly made again stable by the power of his *mantra* (i.e. his political wisdom or charms) the country, that had been shaken by the multitude of the [impetuous] war elephants of Mālvā resembling a forest of dark Tamāla trees, and he protected glorious Devapattana by his own power"

From this statement it would appear that he somehow assisted his sovereign to get over the troubles with King Arjunavarman, who some time before A D 1216 effected the *bhanga* of Gujarāt, and that he was governor of Devapattana The latter point seems to be hinted at also in the next following verse, where it is asserted that "Śrīdhara the pride of the fort" made like to much grass the host of heroic Hammīra, that moved like the high rising waves of the ocean which on the dissolution of the world inundate the shores,—that smashed the hills by the impetus of the mere movement of its feet and that split in twain the circle of the earth"

"Heroic Hammīra" is probably one of the Musalman generals, who more than once attacked and temporarily conquered Gujarāt during Bhīmadeva's reign How great and important these successes in politics and war really were, must remain doubtful, as a little goes a long way with the composers of *Prasastis* Verse 44 informs us that Śrīdhara built in Somnāthpātan two temples, at Rohiniśvāmin, sacred to Vishnu, in memory of his mother and a temple of Śiva, called after his father Valla The remaining verses are so badly mutilated that it is impossible to speak with any certainty as to their contents The date Vikrama Samvat 1273, Vaiśākha śudī 4 Friday corresponds, according to Professor Jacobi's Tables (*ante*, volume I, p 403, ff) to Friday, April 22, A D 1216

TRANSCRIPT.

L 1 — — — शिवाय ॥

मनोमन्यादिभूम्यततत्वमालावलवन ।

उपास्यहे पर तत्त्व पञ्चल्यैककारण ॥ १ [॥*]॥

वियद्वायुर्वह्निर्जलमवनिर्दुर्दिनकर-

स्त्रिदाधारश्चेति त्रिभुवनमिदं यन्मयमभूत् ।

स व त्रेयो देवा-

* Or, possibly, "he whose pride was the fort."

* Restore श्री नम शिवाय । Metre, Anuṣṭubh

L 2

— — — — रनाथ. सुरनदी

सरूपां विभ्राण शिरसि गिरिजाक्षेपविप्रय. ॥ २ [॥*⁶]

पुण्यात् स्फुरदभ्रविभ्रमभृतः कृष्णस्य वक्षस्थल-

प्रेखत्तौस्तुभकातिभि. कवचिता लक्ष्मीकटाक्षावलिः ।

या सभोगभरालसा तनुत-

„ 3.

— — जन्यविन्यासभू-

दर्शित्वाद्रुमदावपावकशिखाकारानिश व श्रिय ॥ ३ [॥*⁷]

श्रीसोमनाथायतनस्य रेखा भूमेरिवीर्हीगुलिरत्र भाति ।

अनन्यसाधारणशोभमेतत्पुर पुरारेरिति सूचयती ॥ ४ [॥*⁷]

महीवदनपकज भुवन-

„ 4

— — भूषाविधि-

निधिः सकलसपदा त्रिपुरवैरिण सम्मत ।

तदेतदतिदुःसहक्षयविनाशसिद्धौ पुरा

शशाकरचित पुर जयति वारिधे सन्निधौ ॥ ५ [॥*⁸]

अस्ति स्वस्तिमदबुजासननिभैरध्यासितं यन्त्रभि-

धूमध्यामलिता-

„ 5

— लावरतल स्थान तयीकेलिभूः ।

अभ्यर्थं द्विजपुंगवान्नगरमित्यर्द्धेदुचूडामणि ।

प्रादादष्टकुलान्वयापरचतुःषष्ट्यस्तुष्टै च यत् ॥ ६ [॥*⁹]

शाडिल्याख्योदग्रवशाग्रकेतुर्गोत्रं ख्यात नाम वस्त्राकुल यत् ।

जया-

„ 6

— द्वा देवयुस्तत्र जज्ञे दैवज्ञत्वं यस्य सान्वर्धमासीत् ॥ ७ [॥*¹⁰]

यदीयाशीर्वादैरमरपतिकार्ष्ण्यजनक

भुनक्ति स्मायत्त निहतरिपु राज्य चिरतर ।

निहत्य क्षापालानणहिलपुरे मूलनृपतिः

प्रभुत्व तत्पुत्रेवकृत सुकृतार्थव्यवसित ॥ ८ [॥*¹¹]

गगाप्रवाह-

„ 7.

प्रतिमा बभूवुस्तस्यात्मजा माधवललभाभाः ।

ते मूलराजेन पुरस्कृताश्च भगीरथेनेव यशोऽवतसा ॥ ९ [॥*¹²]

वापीकूपतडागकुट्टिममठप्रासादसत्रालयान्

सौवर्णध्वजतोरणापणपुरग्रामप्रपामडपान् ।

कीर्त्तिश्रीसुकृतप्रदानरप-

⁶ Metre Śikharinī — Restore देयात्परमसुर°.—[V G O]

°क्षेप विषयां erroneously.—[V G O]

⁶ Metre, Śardulavikrīḍita — Restore तनुवटे सौजन्य° — [V G O]⁷ Metre, Upajāti — Read °वीर्हीगुलि°⁸ Metre, Prithvi — Restore भुवनवाह°.—[V G O]⁹ Metre, Śardulavikrīḍita — Restore °ध्यामलितामला° —
Delete stop after °चूडामणिः¹⁰ Metre, Śālinī — Restore ऊयाभरी, —ऊ.या(व, य erroneously — [V G O]¹¹ Metre, Śikharinī¹² Metre, Upajāti — Delete Avagraha in यशोवतसा

आशाकुजरकर्णकोटरतटीरस्थ-

प्रीत्या ग्रामवर ददौ निजपितुर्मित्रा-

शक्रेणासुर -१- कप्रशमन दृष्टातितुष्टा-

तदनु तदनु-

— — प्रेखत्प्रतापप्रतिहतनि-

— — — — — रभूज्जयसिंहदेव ।

यस्य क्षपाक-

¹⁷ Metre, Vasantatilaka.—परिपंथिशिरःकिरीटरबधृतिष्कुरित

शोणित° [V G O], which is against the metre

¹⁸ Metre, Mālinī — Read स्थलसुताफलाका — [V. G 0]

¹⁹ Metre, Sragdhara.—V G O reads after °शक्ते [मृत -

— — — चद्रकाति — — ये ।] Read °भत्सरेण — [V G

¹⁶ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita - मञ्जुषासुरगोष्टिक - [V G O]
गोष्टिक^o to be read

L 20

लामिवाच्यतः ।

अजायतास्यां कुलकैरवाकर-

प्रबोधकः श्रीधरनामचद्रमा : २६ [॥ *]²⁹

क्षीरोदपूरपरिपाडुरपुष्पकीर्ति-

नीरीगमेष पुरु — — यमातनोति ।

— — — — — नर्मत्वशक्तिः

श्रीभीमभू-

,, 21

पतिनियोगिजनैकमान्यः २७ [॥ *]³⁰

आशीःपरंपरा सेयमूयाभट्टस्य तायते [1]

चौलुकवस्त्राकुलयोराकल्प प्रीतिरक्षता ॥ २८ [॥ *]³¹

कात्या चंद्रति तेजसा — — — — —

— — तानपदात्मजत्वि-

,, 22

लसंपत्त्या धनाध्यक्षति ।

[वृत्त्या] सागरति प्रभावविधिना नित्य विरचत्यसौ

कीर्त्या रामति रूपसदरतया कदर्प्यति श्रीधरः ॥ २९ [॥ *]³²

नि सीमस — — — — —

— — — — — गुरुभिर्निबद्धः ।

सौजन्यनी-

,, 23

रनिधिरुन्नतसत्वसीमा

जागर्ति चास्य हृदये पुरुषः पुराणः ॥ ३० [॥ *]³³

श्रीधरोपि न वै कुठः सर्वज्ञोपि न नास्तिवित् ।

ईश्वरोपि न कामारिणि — — — — — [॥ ३१ ॥ *]³⁴

त[त्रानिश्च विबुध]पादपकामधेनु-

मुख्या स-

,, 24

मस्तजनवांछितदा भवंतु ।

कित्वस्य संत्यभयदानवशवदत्व-

विष्णोरवक्त्रविनयप्रमुखा विशेषा ॥ ३२ [॥ *]³⁵

जंबालस्तुहिनायते [पिकततिः श्रीराजहसायते]

[कालिदी] — — दायते हरगलः क्षीरोदवेला-

,, 25

यते ।

शौरिः सीरधरायते ऽ जनगिरिः प्रालेयशैलायते

यत्कीर्त्या सुपयस्यते क्षितिगवी राहुः शशाकायते ॥ ३३ [*]³⁶

निर्मात्य [चद्रदेवी] — — — — —

क्षीरोद. पादशौचाम्-

²⁹ Metre, Vamśastha — अयोपयेम दयिता च रोहिणी — [V G O]

³⁰ Metre, Vasantatilakā — पुरुषायुषमा°, — भूपालराजपरि-
नतममव° — [V G O]

³¹ Metre, Anushtubh, सेयमूयाभूदशायते (मूयाभूदिव
दशते) — [V G O]

³² Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita. — मुखौतानपदा° — [V G O]

³³ Metre, Vasantatilakā. — नि. सीमसंपदुदयेकनिषागहेपुरा-

कल्पमानजनतायुर्° — [V G O]

³⁴ Metre, Anushtubh — °रिद्रोपि न च इवहा — [V. G. O]

³⁵ Metre, Vasantatilakā.

³⁶ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita. — कर्बिंदो जलदायते — [V G. O]

L. 26

तमचलपतिर्देहसवाहपंकः ।

उच्छिष्टं पांचजन्य सुरसरिदमलखेदतोयोदयश्री-

रित्वेवं यस्य कीर्त्ते स्त्रयमकृत नृतिं सोम — — — — [३४ *]³⁷

— — — — — सीं त्रिलोकीमालोक्य

,, 27.

संकीर्णनिवासमस्याः [*]

वेधा विलज्ज स्तुतिमाततान तवास्ति नान्या सदृशीति नूनं ॥ ३५ [*]³⁸

असी वीरो दान्तः सुचरितपरिसदसुभगः

— — — — — परिणवगिरां कोपि सुकृती [।]

अमु पूर्वे ज-

,, 28.

अन्यखिलगुणविस्तारमधुरं

नुनाव स्वच्छंद विमलमिव वाल्मीकिरसकृत् ॥ ३६ [*]³⁹

यदीयगुणवर्णनश्रवणकौतुकोच्छेदया ।

— — — — — गमा ।

मनः किमिव रज्यते-

,, 29

नुचितवदिभिर्वेधस-

स्तदस्य कविमानिभिर्न च चरितसुद्योतते ॥ ३७ [*]⁴⁰

दिग्दतावलकर्षतालविलसत्तत्कुंभरगांगणे

यत्कीर्त्तिर्[मृदमत्त — — — — — नृत्यति [। *]

रोदःकदरपूरण-

,, 30.

प्रणयिनी निःशकसात्मभरि-

भिदती तमसां कुलं कलिमलप्रध्वंसवञ्जीवत्वा ॥ ३८ [*]⁴¹

लोकालोकालवाला जलनिधिसलिलासिक्त[मुक्ता वक्ष्ती]

[शंभोर्मूर्त्ती]वलंविन्यखिलगुणमयै-

,, 31.

रकुटैः कीर्त्तिवञ्जी

यस्य प्रालेयभानुप्रधिकचकुसुमोदारतारापरागै-

र्दिश्रक्तं व्यापयन्ती जयति फणिपतिप्रांशुमूला जगत्या ॥ ३९ [*]⁴²

— — — — — सावित्रीलक्ष्मीसौभाग्यदेव्याख्याः [। *]

,, 32.

इच्छाज्ञानक्रियाख्येया यद्ददीशस्य शक्तयः ॥ ४० [*]⁴³

ताभिर्भुवनवद्याभिः संध्याभिरिव वासरः [।]

[श्रीधरः शोभते शश्वत्लोकव्याप्येकदीपकः ॥ ४१]

— — — [मालवतमाल]वनायमान-

सेनागज-

,, 33.

प्रकरभगुरिता भुवं यः [। *]

[भू]यः स्थिरां सपदि मत्तवलेन कृत्वा

³⁷ Metre, Bragdhara.—चन्द्रदेवी रघुपतिरचित सेतुवध प्रयाली
—[V G O], कीर्त्ते — — — सीमनायोऽ तियङ् — [V G O]

³⁸ Metre, Upajāt.—(यस्कीर्त्त्यांगु) हयवी (चि) त्रिलोकी
मासी.—[V G O] Read विलज्ज —

³⁹ Metre, Śikharipi.

⁴⁰ Metre, Penth.— — — कमल — — वासी — — लयता

— निगमान् — [V G O] Read सुदयोवते.

⁴¹ Metre, Śardūlavikrīḍita.—भक्त(वारवनितातत्त्वपदा) —
[V. G O]

⁴² Metre, Bragdhara.

⁴³ Metre, Anuṣṭubh (सप्त पद्यस्तु) सावित्री.—[V. G. O]

श्रीदेवपत्तनमपालयदात्मशक्त्या ॥ ४२ [॥*]⁴⁴

प्रलयजलधिवेलोल्लोलकल्लोललोल

— — — — — सपिष्टशैल [1×]

दलितधरणि-

L. 34 चक्र वीरहमीरचक्र

वहुतृणमकरोद्य श्रीधरो दुर्गदप्यं ॥ ४३ [॥*]⁴⁵

मातु' कैवल्यहेतोर्भूररिपुभवन रोहिणीस्वामिनाम्ना

— — — — — केशवाद्यः [॥*]

नाम्ना ता-

„ 35 तस्य तद्वच्छिवभवनमपि — — — — —

[धाम] श्रीमच्छिवस्य प्रतिहतदुरित कारितं भूरिशोभ ॥ ४४ [॥*]⁴⁶

वक्षो दौवारिकोभूद — — — — —

— — — गूर्जरात्ता निजनिपुण-

„ 36 गुणै सुनुना — — — — — [॥*]

[यिने[ह] श्रीधरीयो ह]रनगरपदे योजितस्तस्य नाम्ना

प्रासाद, श्रीधरेणाप्ययमवनिजय' कारित — — — [४५॥*]⁴⁷

— — — — — धनस्तीमाच्चमत्कारिण'

„ 37 किचिच्छीनृपनायिकाभिरभित — — — — — [1×]

गीर्वाणाधिपचा[पसा]दरमहारत्नस्फुरज्योतिषा -

नैते मेरुमहीधर — — — — — [॥४६॥*]⁴⁸

— — — मा—द्विजवृद्धिभाज.

„ 38 समानदीर्घाः सगुणा' — — — — — [॥*]

— — — — — माहेश्वरव्याकरणोपमाना. ॥ ४७ [॥*]⁴⁹

— — — — — [॥*]

— — — — — वैशेषिका इव ॥

„ 39. ॥४८ [॥*]⁵⁰

चित्तवृत्ति — — — — — [॥*]

— — — — — सुनयो यथा ४७ [॥*]⁵¹

वि — — — — — गर्गा

सततविहित-

„ 40 धूपोद्भूतधा — — — — — [॥*]

— — — — — देते ॥ ५० [॥*]⁵²

— — — — — [कथाश्रयाय मठ वि — — — — — [॥]

— — — — — चेत. ॥ ५१ [॥*]⁵³

अथ क-

⁴⁴ Metre, Vasantatilakā — उच्चातमालवत° — [V G O]
Probably उच्चात° to be read भगुरितां बुद्धयः । स्यं स्थिरा(र)
erroneously — [V G O]

⁴⁵ Metre, Mālinī — चरणधरणमावापातसपिष्ट° — [V G O]

⁴⁶ Metre, Sragdharā — नून — — — — —
नमिती मटिरं के° — [V G O], —°मपि — — — — — जयाव्य
[V G O]

⁴⁷ Metre, Sragdharā — मृदुरिगिरि — — — — —
— — दाहृष्टा गुणै° — [V G O], °गुणै Om — [V G O],
सुनुनात्ताभिगम्य कारित शक्रस्य — [V G O]

⁴⁸ Metre Śardūlavikrīḍita °पद्मधन°, त' — क्रौञ्चकुव्यांतरा
महीधर शशिदृशमाकार — — [V G O]

⁴⁹ Metre, Upajāti — द्विजीतमीभूद्विज°, तारका माहेश्वर°
— [V G O]

⁵⁰ Metre, Anushtubh — Beginning of first line, आदीदया'
केपिसुधा वैशे°, — [V G O]

⁵¹ Metre, Anushtubh

⁵² Metre, Mālinī विभवा, भवशा धाराव° — [V G O]

⁵³ Metre, Trishtubh — एषा सुसिद्धाय कथाश्रयाय मठ विधाय
सपदेन वक्ता — [V G O]

L. 41

थमवि देवादागतः — — — —

— — — — — श्रीधरेण [१ *]

— — — — —

— — — जलधि — — — — — [॥ ५२ ॥ *]⁵⁵

— — — — — भूपालकुलसद्गु-

,, 42.

रुः [१ *]

जीमूतवाहन — — — — — [॥ ५३ ॥ *]⁵⁶

— — — — —

— — — — — [१ *]

— — — — — पावनो यतिपति-

,, 43.

यस्याह्निपूजाविधिः]

— — — — — ॥ ५४ [१ *]⁵⁷

श्री — — — — दूरे प्रसरपरिणते — — — — —

— — — — — क्षणिकमतमहाव्याल-

,, 44

संरभसिधुः [१ *]

— — — — —

— — — — — [तदादिर्विमलशिवसुनि]भाननीयो [नवेदुः] ॥ ५५ [॥ *]⁵⁷

— — — — —

— — — — — च पादप-

,, 45.

श्री [१ *]

अगीकृता — — — — —

— — — — — [॥ ५६ ॥ *]⁵⁸

— — — — —

[निःशेषपापडिम्बालपड]

[भक्त्यास्य तुष्टः प्रतिपन्नदर्पः]

[प्रशस्तिमेतामयमुद्धार] ॥ ५७ [॥ *]⁵⁹

याव-

,, 46

द्विष्णोरुरसि — — — — —

— — — — — [१ *]

[यावद्वाणी विहरतिवि] — — — — —

ता — — — — — ॥ [५७ [॥ *]⁶⁰

[एते] — — — — वेन प्रासादाः

,, 47.

सूत्रिताशुभाः ।

लिखि — — — — — [॥ ६० ॥ *]

श्रीमद्विक्रमनृपसवत् १२७३ वर्षे वैशाख शुदि ४ शुक्ले [नि पा]दितमिति शिवमस्तु ॥ छ ॥

मंगल महाश्रीः॥

⁵⁵ 'गत' (श्रीनिवासी), प्रतिनृपतिमत य एडितमन्य—(third pada), मिमजलधि—[V G O] Metre, Malini

⁵⁶ Metre, Anushtubh —

⁵⁷ Metre, Śardulavikrānta — — — — — दधिपरि

—[V G O] सचिव सुधी सद्धिधा — — — — — ऋतोजित

⁵⁷ Metre, Sragdharā — दलद्रद्रे, चणितमत°—[V G O]

⁵⁸ Metre, Vasantatilakā P—वीस्यचपादपद्यी—[V G O]

⁵⁹ Metre, Upajati At the end of pada 1 प्रभूत—[V G O]

⁶⁰ Mandakranta विहरति विधुर्वृत्तिपिडातरालता — — — — वलयमखिल गडयती यमस्य—[V G O]

XXXVI—ĀSOKA'S ROCK EDICTS ACCORDING TO THE GIRNĀR,
SHĀHBĀZGARHĪ, KĀLSĪ AND MANSEHRA VERSIONS

BY G. BUHLER, PH D, LL D, C I E.

For the subjoined edition of the four full versions of the Rock Edicts the following materials have been used —

(1) *Girnār*, a new most excellent estampage, taken by Dr Burgess during the working season 1887-1888, from which the accompanying facsimiles have been prepared

(2) *Shāhbāzgarhī*, a very fine estampage, taken by Dr. Burgess in 1886,¹ and a second estampage (B) of Edicts XIII—XIV, prepared by him in 1888 Both have been collated afresh with the text, published formerly

(3) *Mansehra*, an estampage, taken by Dr Burgess in March 1887,² as well as a second one (B) prepared by Ghulam Husain in 1889. The latter has been collated for all those passages where its state promised good results

(4) *Kālsī*, an excellent estampage, taken by Dr Burgess in October 1887, according to which the accompanying facsimile has been prepared With respect to the latter it must be noted that the readings of the transcript occasionally, though rarely, differ. And it must be borne in mind that in difficult passages the reverse of the estampage has been consulted, where the letters appear in high relief and where sometimes those superficially damaged on the obverse are perfectly plain. In the most important cases the discrepancies between the facsimile and the transcript have been pointed out in the notes

The gain which the new collations yield for the texts is most considerable in the case of the Kālsī version There a good many alterations had to be made, which mostly however refer to very minute points, such as *ā*-strokes, Anusvāras and the like In some cases new word-forms have come out, but only very little that affects the sense The new transcript gives for this version also the grouping of the words, indicating by short strokes between the words, those which have been written continuously by the scribe, and there are some cases where the grouping is important for the translation Thus, in Edict V, l 14, the position of the syllables *deśam-pi hāpesati*, proves that we have to transliterate *deśam api hāpayishyati*, not *deśam apihāpayishyati* Unfortunately the grouping becomes irregular in the more negligently written lower portions of the inscription where in some lines vertical strokes, sometimes placed wrongly, have been used to show which words belong together Next, the new estampage B has furnished some valuable new readings for the thirteenth Edict of Shāhbāzgarhī version Quite a number of new letters, not recognisable in the earlier estampage or not included owing to the shortness of the sheets, are readable on Ghulam Husain's squeeze B of the Mansehra version It is now perfectly certain that the Mansehra version is most closely related in its wording to that of Kālsī

¹ This was used for my German article in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLIII, p 128ff

² Also used for my German articles in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLIII, p 274, and XLIV, p 702ff

The new facsimiles of the Girnār and Kālsī versions, which give the letters in rather larger size than any others published before, are also very instructive for the palaeography of the 3rd century B.C. Everybody who pays even slight attention to the alphabet, will now see that the Southern Maurya characters certainly do show a good many various forms, and among them cursive ones or such as are usually considered marks of later periods. Thus, an initial *a*, consisting of two verticals and a crossbar or of a curved line open to the left, and a vertical on the right connected by a crossbar, occurs occasionally in the Kālsī inscription (see, *e.g.*, Ed. XIII, 2, l. 15 *pāpātā me a*). The second form is observable also in the Indo-Skythian documents, and perhaps is the parent of the modern Devanāgarī *a* of Western India. Andhra forms are found in *la*, which has the dagger-like form, (see, *e.g.*, Kālsī Ed. IV, l. 11, *putā-cha la m*), in *chha*, which sometimes consists of two circles with a vertical line standing on the point of the junction (*e.g.*, Kālsī Ed. V, l. 14, *lachhati*) in *ja*, which is angular (*e.g.*, Girnār Edict IX, l. 1, *rājā*); in *da*, which is round in *atapāsamde*, Kālsī Ed. XII, l. 31, and occasionally shows acute angles in other words of the same line, in *ta*, which very commonly has a rounded left-hand limb, both in the Girnār and in the Kālsī inscriptions, in *va*, which is triangular in the superscribed *vijaye* Kālsī Ed. XIII, 2, l. 13. As peculiarities of the vowel-notation commonly observed in the later inscriptions may be noted (1) *ā*-strokes running upwards or downwards (see, *e.g.*, Kālsī Ed. XIV, 2, ll. 21-23 *passim*), (2) *e*-strokes, slanting downwards, much like the modern *mātrās* (see, *e.g.*, Kālsī Ed. XIII, 1, l. 39, *śatabhāge*, and Ed. XIV, 2, ll. 21-23 *passim*), and (3) a looped *o* in *no hutapuluvā*, (Kālsī Ed. V, l. 14). Finally, the Anusvāra is occasionally placed above the letter to which it belongs, (see, *e.g.*, the first of *dhammā*, Kālsī Ed. XII, l. 33, *dhammamahāmātā*, Kālsī Ed. XII, l. 34), and it seems not improbable that the short strokes which sometimes (*e.g.*, in the third syllable of *sālavadhī*, Kālsī Ed. XII, l. 31, and in the second syllable of *śatabhāge*, Kālsī Ed. XIII, 1, l. 39) are attached to the tops of the consonants, in reality are *serifs*. These points, to which others might be added, in my opinion leave no doubt that in Aśoka's times much more developed forms of the Southern alphabet were used in everyday life, which conclusion has an important bearing on the question whether the art of writing had then been newly introduced into India or had been cultivated for a long period. With respect to the Northern or Kharoṣṭhī alphabet, it may also be safely asserted that its characters show numerous vacillations.³

TRANSCRIPTS

EDICT I

Girnār.

fyam dhammalipī devānam priyena [1] Priyadasinā
rāñā lekḥapitā [] idha na kim-[2]chi jīvam
ārabbhupā prajūbhūyavam [3] na cha samājo
katayvo[] Babukam hī dosam [4] samājamhī pasati

Shāhbāzgarhī

[A]ya[m]⁴ dhramadipi devana priasa
ruñio likhapitu[] hida no kichi jive
ara[bhī]t⁵ priyuhotave⁶ no pi cha samaja
kata[va]⁷[] [Ba]huka hī dosham sama. sa

³ For the present I will only point to the introductions of my two articles in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLIII, p. 12 ff. and 276 ff. where some remarks on the Kharoṣṭhī script have been published.

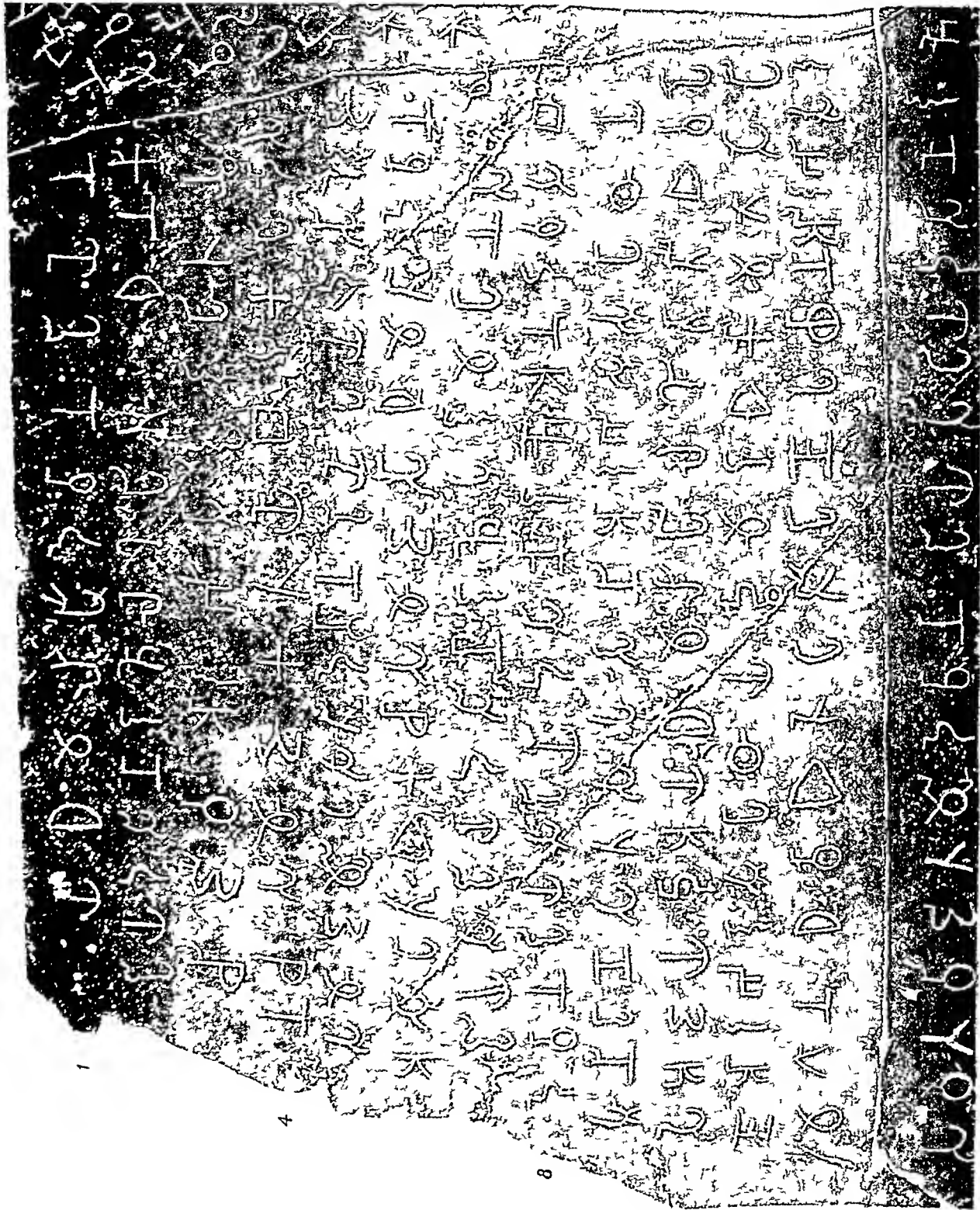
⁴ The Anusvāra is probable according to the reverse, but not certain.

⁵ Read *arabḥstu*, the last vowel has been lost.

⁶ The vowel of the second syllable has been placed too high but to read *ye* is not correct.

⁷ Possibly *lraḥata*.

GIRNAR ASOKA EDICTS No I



J. Burgess fecit

Scale 1-5th.

Girnār

devānam priyo Priyadasa rājā[5] Asti
 pi tu ekachā samājā sādhumatā devānam [6] priyasa
 Priyadasino rājā[] Purā mahānasamhi¹⁰[7] devānam
 priyasa Priyadasino rājā anudivasam ba-[8]hūni
 prānasatasahasrāni ārabhisu
 sūpāthāya[9] Se aja yadā ayam
 dhammalipi¹⁴ likhitā tī eva prā-[10]nā¹⁵ ārabhare
 sūpāthāya dvo morā eko mogo[] So pi [11]
 mogo na dhnvo¹⁶[] Ete pi trī prānā pachhā
 na ārabhisare¹⁷ [12]

Mansehra.

Ay[1] ¹³ dhramadipi [de]vana [pri]yena [Pri]yadra-
 [śi]na¹⁹ ra, na ikhapita[] hida no kichī jiv[e]
 arabhi[t] pra[yu]-[1] [ho]taviye no pi cha
 sama[ja] kataviya[] Bahuka hi [dosha
 samajasa²² deva]nam priye Priyadrasī ra]ja
 kha [] Asti pi chu[2] [e]katyā samaja
 sa[dhu]ma[ta] devana priyasa [Pri]yadrasī[ne]²⁴
 rajine[] Pura maha[nasa]sī [devana] pri sa
 Pri śisa ra-[3]jine anudiva . bahuni pranaśa-
 [tasa]hasrāni a[ra]isu supa[th]raye[] Se[1] ni²⁵
 . ayī dhrama[dipi] li[khita] ta[da] tī[ni]
 ye pranani a bhi tī du[v]e 2 maju-[4]ra
 eke l m[r]ige[]²⁷ Se[pi] chu[mr]ige²³ no dhruvam []
 [Etāni] pi chu [tini] pranani pacha no arabhi . []

Shāhbāzgarhi

devāna priy[o] Priadrasī raya d khati⁸[] Asti
 pi cha ekatie⁹ samaye srestamatī devana priasa
 Priadrasīsa rājā[] Pura mahanasasi devanam
 priasa Priadrasīsa rājā anudivaso bahuni
 pra[nasatasa]has[r]ani¹¹ a[rabhi]y[isu] sn-
 [pathay]e¹²[] So ida[n]i yada a[ya]¹³ [2]
 dhramadipi likhita tada tra[yo] vo prana
 hamnāmti majura duvī 2 mugo l [] so pi
 mugo no dhruvam[] Ete pi pranatrayo pacha
 na arabhisamti []

Kālsī

Iyam dhammalipi devānam-piyenā Piyada-
 sin[ā] lekhi[t]ā [] hidā nā-kichhi²⁰ jive
 ārabhi[tu] pajohitaviye [1] no-pi-chā
 samāje kataviye [] Bahuk[ā]-hi²¹ dosā
 samājas[ā]²³ devānam-piye Piyadasī lājā
 dakhati [] Athi-pi-chā ekatiyā sa[m]āja
 sādhi[u]matā devānam-piyasā Piyadasis[ā]
 lājine [2] Pole mahānasasi devānam piyasā
 Piyadasisā lājine anudivasam bahuni
 pānasahasāni ālabhiyisu supathāy[e] Se-idāni
 yadā [iya]m dhammalipi lekhitā tadā timni²⁹
 yevā pānāni ālabhi[ya]mti [3] duve majulā
 eke mige[] Se-pi-cha mige no-dhruve []
 Etāni pi cha²⁹ tini pānāni no ālabhiyisamti []

EDICT II.

Girnār.

Sarvata vijitāni devānam priyasa Priya-
 dasino⁹ rājā[1] evamapi prachamtesu yathā
 Choda Pādā Satiyaputo Ketalaputo
 ā Tamba- [2] pamni Amtiyako Yonarājā ye vā
 pi tasa Amtiyakasa sāmipam³³ [3]

Shāhbāzgarhi.

Savratra vijite devanam priyasa Priyadrasīsa
 ye cha [a]mta³¹ yatha [Cho]da [3]
 Pamdiya Satiyaputra Keralaputra
 Tambapamni Amtiyokon nama Yonaraja ye chu
 amne tasa Amtiyokasa samamta[ra]jano

⁸ The top of the letter *da* has been destroyed and it is impossible to say whether the word was *dekhati* or *dakhati*

⁹ The obverse seems to show *akatie*, while the very thin *e* stroke is visible on the reverse

¹⁰ The *sa* has a *serif* which makes it look like *se* At the end of the line a second *ma* has been scratched in

¹¹ The second *ra* stroke is not certain

¹² Possibly *supathraye*

¹³ Possibly *ayam*

¹⁴ The long *i* is probable, but owing to an abrasion not absolutely certain

¹⁵ Owing to an abrasion the second *a*-stroke is somewhat abnormal

¹⁶ Possibly *dhruvo* is to be read.

¹⁷ It is possible to read *arabhisamre*, as there are two deep holes after *sa* But both are probably accidental

¹⁸ The last vowel is uncertain, as the upper portion of the apparent *i*-stroke is abnormal and less deep than the lower one Hence the reading may have been *ayo*

¹⁹ Only the right half of the *sa* of *Priyadrasina* is visible on the reverse.

²⁰ Possibly *na* or *no* to be read

²¹ Possibly *bahuka* to be read

²² *Dosha samajasa* is very indistinct

²³ *Samajasa* is more probable than *samajasi*

²⁴ The last syllable of *Priyadrasine* is not certain, it may have been *sa*

²⁵ *I ni*, i.e. *idāni* is uncertain, the reading may be *a n* i.e. *adhuna*

²⁶ The Anusvara is at least probable

²⁷ The *ra*-stroke of *mrige* is not quite certain

²⁸ The *ma* has besides the *i*-stroke two little horizontal lines to the right and to the left, which, strictly interpreted, would give the nonsensical form *mrutge* The left one has probably been added by mistake

²⁹ *Etāni pi-cha* is distinct on the reverse of the impression

³⁰ Possibly *Piyadasino* is to be read.

³¹ Only the lower part of the first sign of *amta* has been preserved

³² The reverse of the impression shows distinctly that the last syllable is *panh*.

Gurnār.

rājāno sarvatra devānam priyasa Priyadasino
 rāño dve chikīehha katā [4] manusachikīehhā
 cha pasuchikīehhā cha [.] Ośadhāni cha
 yāni manśopagāni cha³⁴ [5] pasopagāni cha
 yata yata nāsti sarvatra hārāpitāni cha
 ropāpitāni cha³⁵ [6] mūlāni cha phalāni cha
 yata yata nāsti sarvatra hārāpitāni cha
 ropāpitāni cha³⁶ [7] Pamthesū kūpā cha
 khānāpitā vrachhā oha ropāpitā paribhogāya
 pasumanusānam [8]

Mansehra.

Sa tra jitasī devana priya[sa Pri-
 ya]drāsisa rajine ye cha amta a[tha] [5] [Cho-
 dā] Pa[m]diya³⁹ Satiya[putr] Keralaputr[er]
 bapani tiyo[ke] nama⁴⁰ Yona. .
 ye cha . sa samamta
 raja . vratra priyasa
 Priya[dra]śisa rajine [6] davo 2 chikisa
 kaṭa manśachi[kisa cha] pasuchikisa cha [.]
 Osha[dbi]ni manu . ka[ni cha] pa . .
 ka[ni cha ya]tra yatra na vratra
 harapita cha ropapita cha [7] [Eva]me-
 va mulani cha phalani cha atra atra
 nasti . tra harapita cha ropapita
 cha [.] Ma[geshu] ru[chha]
 [ku] tani [pa]tibhogaye
 pasum[ā]nuśana⁴¹ [8]

Gurnār

Devānam priyo Priyadasī rājā evaṁ āha [.] dbāda-
 savāsābhāsītēna mayā idam ānāpitam [1] sarvata
 vijite mama yutā cha rājūke cha prādesike cha
 parichasu parichasu vāsesu anueam[.] [2]
 yānam niyātu ctāyeva athāya imāya
 dharmānusastīya yathā añā-[3]ya pī karmāya [.]
 sādhu mātari cha pitari cha susrūśa mitāsamstutāñā-
 tīnam⁴² bāmhana-[4] samanānam sādhu

³³ Possibly *savāṭhira* to be read, as there is a hook above the *ta*, which, however, looks very abnormal.

³⁴ At the end of each of the lines 5, 6 and 7 the word *cha* has been inserted as a correction.

³⁵ The first and the third signs of *ośadhāni* are uncertain, likewise the vowel of the second.

³⁶ *Haropita* is the apparent reading, but the *o*-stroke may be accidental. The reading *harapita* has, in any case, to be restored.

³⁷ *Savatā*, not *savata*, is the reading of the new impression.

³⁸ The reverse of the new impression makes the two *la* exceedingly probable. It confirms also the curious nominatives in *o*.

³⁹ The *Anuvāra* is doubtful.

⁴⁰ The first sign of *nama* has erroneously an *n*-stroke to the right of the lower end.

Shāhbāzgarhī.

savatra³³ devanam priyasa Priyadrāsisa rāño
 duvi 2[chiki]sa lī[tra] manśa[chiki]sa
 paśu[chiki]sa cha [4] [Ośudh]jani³⁴
 manśopakani cha pa[śo]pakani cha
 yatra yatra nasti savatra har[o]pita³⁵ cha
 vuta cha kupa cha khanapita pratibhogāye
 paśu-manśanam[.]

Kāśī.

Savatā³⁷ vijitasī devānam-piyas[ā] Pi-
 yadasī[sā] lājine ye cha-amtā athā Cho-
 dā Pam[di]yā Sātiyaputo Kelalaputo³⁸
 Tamhapani [4] [Am]tiyoge-nāma Yonalājā
 ye-chā amne tasā [Am]tiyogasā sāmamtā
 lājāno savatā devānam-pi[ya]sā
 Priyadasī[sā] lājine duve chikisakā⁴¹
 katā manśachikisā-chā pasuchikisā-chā[.]
 Ośadhāni [1] manśopagāni-chā pasop-
 gāniccha a[ta]tā nathi [5] savatā
 hālāpitā-chā lopāpitā-chā [E]vam-
 vā mulāni-chā phalāni-chā ata[tā]
 nathi savatā hālāpitā-chā lopāpitā-
 chā [.] Magesu lukhāni lopitāni udu-
 pānāni chā⁴² khānāpitāni pratibhogāye
 pasumunśanam [.]

EDICT III

Shāhbāzgarhī

Devanam priyo Priyadrāsī raja aha ti [.] [bada]-
 yavasābhāsītēna⁴³ sava [5]
 vijite yuta rajuko pradesik[er]
 pa[mcha]shu pa[mcha]shu 5 vash[er]shu anuśam-
 yanam nik[r]amatū⁴⁴ etisi vo karana imisa
 dhramaanusasti yatha⁴⁵ añāye pī kramaye [.]
 sādhu matapitushu susrūsha mit[r]asamst[u]tāñā-
 [ti]kanam bramana[śra]mana[nam] sa. pra . .

⁴¹ *Chikisakā* is the distinct reading of the new impression (focus *mi* *ki*), which also shows that no other sign, but a hole, exists between *kā* and *kaśā*.

⁴² *Chā*, not *cha*, is the plain reading of the reverse of the impression.

⁴³ Possibly *pasumunśana*.

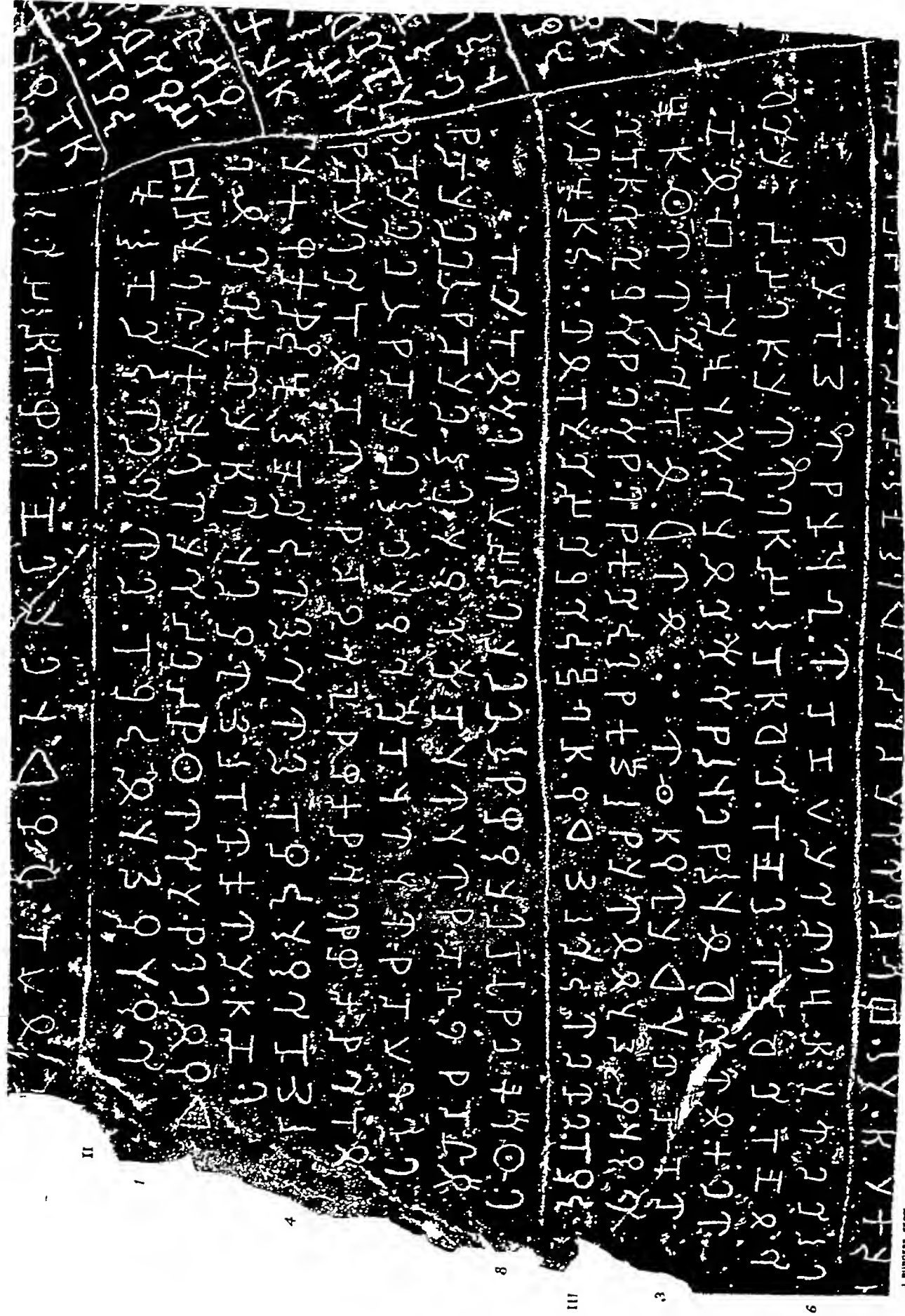
⁴⁴ The first two signs of *śadaya*^o are indistinct, but the reading *śaraya*^o seems impossible. Possibly the correct form was *śadaya*^o.

⁴⁵ The *ra*-stroke of *nikramatū* is not certain.

⁴⁶ The *tha* is somewhat abnormal, the upright line being slightly bent.

⁴⁷ Read *mītra*^o. An *ā* stroke was probably not intended but in its stead the short upward-turned *ra* stroke.

GIRNAR ASOKA EDICTS Nos II AND III



Gūnār

danam prānānam sādhu anārambho
apavajata apabhāmdatā sādhu [5] Parisa pi
yute ānapayisati ganānāyāṃ hetuḥ cha
vījamjanito cha[6]

Manshira.

[De]ṇana prīve [P]riyadrasī raja eva aha []
dura[da]śavashabhisetena⁴¹ me vīyam
[a]napayite [] savatā vīyitā [me] ta raja
[pra]desīke chashu pam[chashu] śvasheshu [9]
anusamyānam nikrama[m]tu,⁴² etāye⁴³ vā am athāye
imāye dharmānusastīye ya am anāye pi
kramane [] sa. matapi shu
sūsru[shu] [m] trasamstuta-[10] hīrikānam cha⁴⁴
bra[ma]nāśramanānam sādhu dāne prānāna
v rabhe sādhu apa[va]jyātā⁴⁵ apabhāmdatā
sādhu [] Parisa pi cha yutam ganānāsi
[ana]payisati hetu[te] cha vīya [11] nate cha []

Shālbāzgarhī

[6] apavajata apabhā[m]datā⁴⁶ sādhu [] Par[pi]⁴⁷
yutā[m] ga[n]anāsi anapēsantī hetuto cha
vājanato cha []

Kālsī.

Devīnam-piye Piyadasi lājā [he]vam⁴⁸ āhā [6]
duraśavasabhisetena-me vīyam
ānapayite [] savatā vīyitā mama yutā lajūke
pādesīke pamchasu pamchasu vasesu
anus[a]jānam,⁴⁹ nikhamantu etāye-vā athāye
imāy[e],⁵⁰ dharmānusastīyā⁵¹ yathā amāye-pi
kammāye [] sādhu [7] mātapiṭṭu⁵²
susuśā⁵³ mitasamthutanātīyānam-cha
bambhānāśramanānam-cha sādhu dāne⁵⁴ prānānam
anīlambh[e] sādhu apavijātā⁵⁵ apabhāmdatā
sādhu [] Pahsa-pi-cha yutā[m] ganānāsi
anapayisati hetuvatī chā vīyamjanat[ā]-cha []

EDICT IV

Gūnār

Atikātam amtarāṃ bahunī vasaṣatī vadhito eva
prānārambho vīhīsa cha bhūtānam ātīsu [1] asam-
pratīpatī brahmanasramanānam asampatī-
patī⁵⁶ [] Tāya devānam prīyasa Priyadasino⁵⁷
rājā [2] dharmacharanena bherighoso aho
dhammaghoso vīmānadarāna cha hastidasāna cha [3]
azikhamdbhūni cha añāni cha divāni rupāni
dasayitv janam [] Yāsiṣe bāhūni vasaṣatī [4]
na bhutapriye tadise aja vadhito devānam prīyasa
Priyadasino rājā dharmānusastīya anāram-[5]
bho prānānam avīhīsa bhūtānam ātīnam
sāmpatīpatī brahmanasramanānam
sāmpatīpatī mātāni pītāni [6] susrūsa thaurā-
vīyāt[] Eṣa añe cha bahuvīdhe dharmā-

Shālbāzgarhī

Atikratam amtarāṃ bahunī vasaṣatāni vadhito vo
prānārambho vīhīsa cha bhutanam ātīnam [asa]m-
patī⁵⁸ [] So vī devānam prīyasa [Pī]yā[drasīsa]
rājā [7] dharmacharanena bherig[h]osha aho
dhammaghoshā vīmanānam drāsīnam [ha]stino
jotikāmdhāni añāni cha divāni⁵⁹ rupāni
drāsīyitv⁶⁰ janāsi [] Yādasi [m]⁶¹ bāhūni vasaṣatēni
na bhutapriye tadise aja vadhito devānam prīyasa
Priyadrasīsa rājā dharmānusastīya⁶² anāram-
[bho] p[ra]nānam avīhīsa bhutanam ātīnam
sāmpatīpatī brahmanā-[8] śramanānam
sāmpatīpatī mātapiṭṭu [vudhanam]
susrūsha [] E[ta]ñānam cha bahuvīdha[m] dharmā-

⁴¹ The Anusvara is not certain

⁴² Read *pariśhu pi*

⁴³ *Āhā* not *aha*, is the reading of the impression

⁴⁴ The third letter of *duraśasā* is not certain and may have been *da* or an abnormal *ra*. Perhaps *śabhisetena* to be read

Possibly *anusamyānam* to be read

⁴⁵ Possibly *imāya* to be read

⁴⁶ The Anusvara is very probable, but not absolutely certain

⁴⁷ The second sign is abnormal and might be read *tru*

⁴⁸ Read *dharmānusastīyā*

⁴⁹ The last syllable of *mātapiṭṭu* is distinct on the reverse

⁵⁰ *Susuśā* alone is the possible reading to the reverse of the impression

⁵¹ *Chu* ought to stand, not before, but after *brahmanāśramanānam*

⁵² *Dāne*, not *dānem*, is the reading of the impression

⁵³ The reverse of the impression decidedly speaks in favour of *da*, not of *ti*

⁴⁹ The vowel of the third syllable is not certain

⁵⁰ Only the lower portions of the first two signs are distinct, the fourth looks like *thi*

⁵¹ The first four signs are very indistinct. The same remark applies to the following bracketed nouns and syllables with exception of the vowel of *so*, of the word *aya* and of the last vowel of *rañā*

⁵² The syllable *pa* has been inserted afterwards

⁵³ The syllable *da* has been inserted afterwards

⁵⁴ The syllable *hi* has been inserted afterwards

⁵⁵ To the right of the lower end of *da* appears a curve and the letter is probably the fore runner of the later *da* which looks like *tia*

⁵⁶ The reading *damśayitv* is not impossible but a combination of the *ra* stroke with the upstroke on the left is more probable

⁵⁷ The Anusvara is not certain

⁵⁸ The form *dhāmma*, which occurs also below Ed. V 1 21, seems to be owing to a mixture of the Northern *dhāma* and the Ugrādhī *dhāmma*

Girnār.

charane vadhite vadhayisati cheva devānam
 priyo [7] Priyadasī rājā dhamma[cha]ranam idam []
 Putrā cha potrā cha prapotrā cha devānam
 priya-a Priyada-ino iāño [8] vadhīyisamti idam
 dhammacharanam āva samvatakr vā [] Dhammamhi
 silamhi tistamto dhammam anusāsīsamti [9]
 Eṣa hi eeste kamme ya dham-
 mānusāsanam [] Dhammacharane pi
 na bhavati asīlasi [] Ta imamhi athamhi [10] vadhī
 cha ihīni cha eḍḍhu [] Etāya athāya idam lekḥāpi-
 tam [] imasa athasa vadhi yujamtu hīni cha⁷² [11]
 mā lochetayvā [] Dhādas vāsābhīsitena
 devānam priyena Priyadasīnā rājā idam
 lekḥāpitam [12]

Mansehra.

Atikr[a]tam⁷⁷ a[m]ta[ram]⁷⁸ bahuni vashāsa nī
 vadhite vam prauara[m]bh[] vi[h]i[sā]⁷⁹ cha bhū-
 tanam ūatīna aeapa[t]ipatī śamanabramananam
 asampa[t]ipatī [12] Se aja devana priyasa
 Priyadrasīne ra ne dhīma[cha]ranena bherighoshe
 aho dhramagoshe⁸² vīmanadrasīna hastīne agikam-
 dham aña[ni cha] divani rupani draṣeti
 janasa [13] [A]diśe bahulī [va]sh[]śatehi na hu]ta-
 pruve tādīśe [aja]vadhite [de]v[] priyasa
 Priyadrasīne rajine dhramanusāstiya anirablie
 pīnanam avihisa bhutan ūatīna [14] sampatipatī
 ba[manāśramanana[m] sampatipatī matupitashu
 suśru[sha] vudhīana suśrushi [] Eṣhe aña cha ba-
 huvidhe dhramacharane vadhite [] Vadhīyisati yeva
 devana priye [15] Priyadrasī rāja dhramacharana
 ina [] Putra pi cha ku natāre cha prauṭika
 devanam priyasa Priyadasīne rajine
 pavadhayisamti dhramacharana imam ava
 lapam dhrame śile [cha] [16]
 [ti]stītu [dhramam] anusāsīsa[m]ti⁸³ [] Eṣhe hi
 sre[th]e am dhramanu[sa]śana []
 Dhramacharane⁸³ pi cha nī hoti asīlasi [] Se

Shāhbāzgarhī.

charanam vadhitarī vadhīsatī chayo devanarī
 priyasa Priyadrasīsa rājā dhramacharano im []
 Putra pi cha ku natāro cha prauṭika cha devanarī
 priyasa Priyadrasīsa rī[ño vadhe]śamti
 . ma[]charanam imam avakapaṇi dhra]me
 śi[le cha]⁷³ [9] tistīti dhramam anusāsīśamti []
 Eṭa h[]src[th]am] k[r]a[]am[] ya[m]⁷⁴ dhra-
 [ma]n[]śāsānam [] [Dhrama]charanarī pi cha
 na bhōti asīlasi [] So imisa athrasa vadhi
 ahimī cha sadhu [] Etaye athaye ima[m] dipi-
 sta [] imisa athasa vadhi yujamti hīni cha
 ma loche[sh]u [1] Ba[daya]vasha[bh]īsitena⁷⁵
 devanam priyena Priyadrasīna rājā [id]am nam⁷⁶
 dipi[pi]tam []

Kālsī.

Atikamtīm amṭilam bahuni vasīśātāni va[dh]i-
 te-vā pānālabhī vīhīśā-chā bhūtānam
 nātīnam⁸⁰ asampatipatī samanaibambhanānam
 asampatipatī [] Se-aja devānam priya-ā Priyadasīne
 lājine dhammachalanenā bherighose aho dhamma-
 ghose vīmanadasanā⁸¹ [9] [ha]thīni agikamdhāni
 amnāni-chā divjāni lupāni dīśyitu
 janas[] Ādis[e] bahulī vas[sa]tehi nā-huta-
 puluve tādīśe ajā vadlute devānam-priyasa
 Priyadasīne lājine dhammanusathīye⁸² anālabhī
 pānānam avihīśā bhūtānam nātī[su]⁸³ [10] sampati-
 patī bambhana[sa] manānam sampatipatī mātāpitisu
 sususā [] Esha-chā⁸⁴ amne-chā bahuvidhe
 dhammachala[n]e vadhite vadhīyisati-chevā
 devānam-priye Priyadasī lājā⁸⁵ imam dhammacharā-
 nam [] Putā-cha-kam⁸⁷ natāle-chā pau[ṭi]k[]ā-
 chā devānam-priyasa Priyadasīne lājine [11]
 [pa]vadhayisamti⁸⁸ chev[]⁸⁹ dhammachalanam
 i[ma]m āvakapam dhammasi sīlasi-chā
 [chi]thi[]tu⁹⁰ dhammam anusāsīsamti [] Eṣe-hi
 seṭhe kammam⁹¹ am-dhammānusāsānam []
 Dhammachalane-pi-chā no-hoti asīlasi [] Se-

⁷² It is impossible to read *chā*

⁷³ The bracketed letters at the end of the line are very indistinct

⁷⁴ The Anusvaras of this and of the two preceding words are uncertain

⁷⁵ The second and third letters are not distinct, the fourth may have been *vra*

⁷⁶ The first omitted sign looks somewhat like *chū*, *no* or *di*, but I am unable to find a suitable word. The Dhauk version has in the same place two illegible signs

⁷⁷ Possibly *atīkramam*

⁷⁸ The two Anusvaras are not certain

⁷⁹ The third sign of *vīhīsa* is not quite distinct and the reading *vīhīmsa* not absolutely impossible

⁸⁰ Possibly *nātīnā* to be read, but the abnormal shape of the apparent *ā* stroke points to its original form, an Anusvara joined with the *na* by an exfoliation of the roel

⁸¹ Read *imāna lasanā*

⁸² The unaspirated *ga* is very distinct

⁸³ Read *dhammānusathīye*

⁸⁴ The new impression seems to offer *nātīsu*, instead of *nātīnam*

⁸⁵ *Esha chā*, not *eshe chā*, is the reading of the new impression

⁸⁶ *Lājā* looks exactly like *lādā*

⁸⁷ *Kam*, not *ka*, is the distinct reading of the new impression

⁸⁸ The additional *pu* is badly mutilated, but certain, compare also the Mansehra version

⁸⁹ *Cheva*, not *eva*, seems to be the reading of the impression

⁹⁰ The first badly mutilated syllable may have been *chā*, the second is, according to the reverse of the impression, distinctly *phī*, not *pham*, the third seems to be *tu*. Compare the reading of the Mansehra version

⁹¹ *Kammam* is now more probable than *ome*

⁹² The Anusvara is doubtful

⁹³ The *na* is abnormal, and similar to a *na*

Mansehra.

imasā athrasa vadh[r]i ahini cha sadhu[]
 Etāye[17] athraye i[mam] l[khi]te[] e[ta]sa [a].
 sa vadhrā²⁴ yujamtu hini cha ma anu[lo]chayisu²⁵[]
 Duvādaśavashabhisitena devana priyena
 Priyadrasina rajina iyam²⁷ likhapite [18]

Kālsī.

imasā athasā vadhī ahini-chā sādhu[]
 Etāye athāye i[ya]m likhite[12]imasā a[th]asā
 vadhī yujamtu hini-cha mā-alochayisu[]
 Duvādasavāśābhisitenā devānam-priyēnā
 Priyadaśinā²⁶ jāṇā lekhitam[]

EDICT V.

Girnār.

Devānam priyo Priyadasi rājā evam āha []
 kalānam dukaram[] ye² a . . .³ kalānesa⁴
 so dukaram karoti [1] Ta mayā bahu kalānam
 katam[] Ta mama putā cha potā cha param
 cha tena ya me apacham āva samvatakapā
 anuvatisare tathā [2] so sukatam
 kāsati[] Yo tu eta desam pi hāpesati so
 dukatam kāsati[] Sukaram hi pāpam[]
 Atikātam antaram [3] na bhūtapurvam⁵ dhamma-
 mahāmātā nāma[] Ta mayā traidasavāsābhisit na
 dhammamahāmātā katā[] Te savapāsam-
 de-u vyāpatā dhāmadhistānāya¹⁴ [4]
 dhammayutasa
 cha Yona-Kambo . Gamdhārānam Ristika-Petenikā-
 nam ye vā pi amñe apātātā[] Bhatamāesu va [5]
 [s]khāya
 dhammayutānam paṇigodhāya vyāpatā te[]
 Bamdhanabadhasa¹⁷ patividdhānāya [6]
 [pra]jākatā-
 bhikāresu vā thuresu vā vyāpatā te [] Pātalipute
 cha bāhiresu cha [7]
 e vā pi²³ me añe nātikā
 sarvata vyāpatā te[] Yo ayaṃ dhammanisrito
 ti va [8]
 e
 dhammahāmātā[] Etāva²⁷ athāya ayam dham-
 malipī likhitā [9]

Shāhbāzgarhī.

Devana priyo Priyadasi¹ raya evam aha ti []
 ka[lanam] ukaram[] Yo a [ro] ka[la]nasa
 so dukaram karoti[] So mayā bahu kalam⁶
 katram[] Tam ma[ha] putra cha nataro cha param
 cha t a⁶ [ya] me apacha [a]chhamti avaka-
 pam tatham ye anuvatisamti⁷ te sukati[r]am
 kashamti[] Yo chu nto [kam pi hāpesati]⁸ so
 [du]katam kashati[] Papam hi sukaram[] So
 atik[ram]tam antaram na [bhu]tapruva dhrama-
 mahamatra uama[] So[tidaśavasha]bhisitena¹⁰[11]
 mayā dhramamahamatra kit[r]a¹¹[] Te savrap[r]-
 ashamedeshu¹² vapat[a]¹³ dhramadhitānāye [cha]
 dhramavadhiy[e] hidasukhaye cha dhramayutasa
 Yona-Kamboya-Gamdharanam Rastakauam Pitani-
 kanam ye va pi aparamta[] Bhatama[ye]slu
 bramamibheshuanatheshu v[u]dheshu¹⁵ hitasukhaye
 [dhra]may[u]tasa apalib[odhe]¹⁶ vapata[te] [12]
 Bamdhanabadhasa patividdhanāye apa[h]ibodhaye
 mo[chhay]e¹⁸ iyam a[n]uba[dh]am¹⁹ prajava kita-
 bhikaro va mahalaka²⁰ va viyapatra[] Ia²¹ babreshu
 cha nagareshu savreshu orodbaueshu bhratunam
 cha me spasunam²² cha ye va pi amñe nātika
 savatra viyaput[a][] Y[am²⁴]yamdhramanirite
 ti va dhramadhitān[e]²⁵ ti va danas[a]yute²⁶ ti va
 savatra vijite ma[ha] dhramayutasi viyapata te
 dhramamahamatra[] Etāve athaye ay[am]
 dhramadipi dipist[a]²⁹[] chiratbitaka
 bhotu tatha cha praja²⁹ anuvatatā [13]

²⁴ Read *vadhī*.²⁵ Read *alochayisu*.²⁶ The reading *Priyadaśinā* is distinct also on the rubbing.²⁷ The form of the Anusvara is abnormal.¹ The second *ra* stroke of *Priyadaśinā* is abnormal.² Possibly *yo* to be restored, as there is an abrasion at the top of the *ya*.³ The tails and tops of the lost letters are visible, and it is not difficult to see that the first was *de*.⁴ Read *kalānasa*.⁵ Read *kalānam*.⁶ Read *tena*.⁷ Read *anuvatisamti*.⁸ Read *ekam*, *lam* and the following bracketed letters are very indistinct.⁹ Read *bhūtapūriam* or *puriam*.¹⁰ The first and second letters are doubtful. The reading *tira*^o or *toda* is possible.¹¹ The *ra* stroke is doubtful.¹² The second *ra* stroke is doubtful.¹³ Possibly *vapatra*.¹⁴ Read *dhāmadhistānāya*. The single *ma* is to be read as double.¹⁵ Possibly *vadhesu*.¹⁶ The last sign has apparently also an Anusvara.¹⁷ The *na* has been added later as a correction.¹⁸ The second sign of *mochhaye* is not quite distinct.¹⁹ The last syllable of *anubadham* stands lower than the others.²⁰ Possibly *mahalake*.²¹ Possibly *hīa*.²² Regarding the first sign of *spasunam*, see the note to the German edition.²³ Restore *ye vā pi*. Before *e* there is only a vertical stroke, not a *na*.²⁴ The vowel is not certain.²⁵ The last vowel is not certain.²⁶ The third vowel is not certain.²⁷ The *ya* has been added later.²⁸ The lower end of the last syllable has been destroyed.²⁹ The *ra* stroke is abnormal.

Mansehra.

[Devanam] priye Priyadrasī raja evam āha [] kalanam dukaram [] Ye adikare kayanasa se dukaram karoti [] Tam maya hahu kayane kate³² [] [Tam] ma[a]³³ putra [cha] [19] natare³⁴ param cha tena ye apatiye me ava pam tatham annva[t]isati³⁵ se sukata kashati [] Ye chu atra deśa pi hapeśati se dukata kashati [20] Papehinama supadarev[a]³⁷ [] Se atikratam amtaram na bhñtapruva dhramamahamatra nama [] Se tredasavashahhisitena maya dhramamahamatra kata [] Te savrapashadeshu [21] vaputa dhramadhihanaye cha dhramavadhriya hidasukhaye cha [dhra]mayutasa Yona-Kamboja-Ga[m]dharanam Ratrakra-⁴⁰ Pitmikana ye va [p]i añe aparata [] Bhatamaye- [22] shu hramanibhyeshu anatheshuvudhreshu hidamsu[khay]e dhramayuta apalibo dhayeviyaputa te [] Badhanahadhasa pativi[dhana]ye apalibodhayemochhaye[cha]iyam⁴¹ [23] anubadhapa ja ti va kartabhikara ti va mahalake ti va viyaprata te [] Hidam habhreshu cha nagareshu savreshu [o]rodhaneshu⁴² bhatana cha spasuna cha [24] ye va pi añe natike savratra viyapata [] E iyam dhramanisiti ti va dhramadhihane ti va danasamyute ti va savratra vijitasī maa dhramayntasī vaputa[te] [25] dhramamahamatra [] E taye athraye ayi dhramadipi likhita [] churathitika[] hotu tatham cha me praja anuvata[]

Kalsi

Devānam-piye Piyadasī lājā ahā³⁰ [] kayāno dukale [] E-ādik[al]e³¹ la[yā]nasā se-dukalam kaleti [] Se-mamayā hahu kayāne kate [] T[ā-ma]-ma [pu]tā chā natāle-[chā] [13] palam-[chā] te[hī]y[e]- apatiye-me āvakapam tathā anuvatisamti se-sukatam kachhamti [] E-chu hetā desam-pi [hā]pa-[y] isamti³⁶ se-dukutam kachhati [] Pāpe-hi-nāma supadālaye [] Se-atikamtam amtalam no-huta-puluvā dhammamahāmātā-nāma [] T[e]dasavasā-bhisitenā mama[yā] dhammamahāmātā [ka]tā [] Te-savapāsandesu viyā[pa]tā [14] dhammādhithānāye-chā dhammavadhijā hī[da]sukhāye-chā³⁸ dhammayutasā Yona-Kamboja-Gamdā[hā]nam³⁹ e-vā-pi amne apalamtā [] Bhatamayesu bambhani-bhesu anathesu vudhesu hidasukhāye dhammayutāye apalibodhāye viyāpatā-te [] Bamdhanabadhasā patividhānāye apalibodhāye mokhāye-chā eyam anubā[dham] pajāva-ti-vā [15] [katābhikā]le-ti-vā mahālake-ti-vā viyāpatā-te [] Hidā bāhilesu-chā na[ga]lesu savesu [olo]-dhanesu bhātīnam ch[a]-ne⁴³ bhaginīnā⁴⁴ e-vā-pi amne nātīkye savatā viyāpatā [] E-iyam dhammanisite-ti-vā dānasamyute-ti-vā savatā vijitasī mamā dhammayntasī viyāpatā-te dhammamahāmātā [] E taye athāye⁴⁶ [16] [i]yam dhammalipi lekhitā [] churathitikyā hotu [ta]thā-ch[a]-me pa[jā] anuvata[m]tu []

Girnār

EDICT VI

Shāhbāzagrhi

Devānam pri⁴⁰ . sī rājā evam āha [] atikratam amtaram [1] na bhñtapruva sava la⁴⁹ athakamme va pativedanā vā [] Ta mayā evam katam [2] save lāle bhūmjamānasa

Devanam priyo Priyad[ra]sī⁴⁷ raya eva[m] alī ti [] atik[ra]tam⁴⁸ amtaram na [bhuta]pruvam savram kalam athakramam va pativedana va [] Tam maya evam katam [] savram kalam āsamana-

³⁰ The new impression gives distinctly *ahā* for *āha*

³¹ The reverse of the impression gives *ādikale*, which is supported by the reading of Mansehra *adikare*

³² Possibly *kate* to be read.

³³ Only the foot of the second sign of *maa* has been preserved

³⁴ Possibly *natars* to be read

³⁵ Possibly *anuvāsisati* to be read

³⁶ The impression has the Anuvāra distinctly, which must probably be deleted.

³⁷ There is a stroke, above *ra* which, however, seems not to be a real stroke, but an accidental scratch

³⁸ The impression seems to offer *hida*, with a badly flared *da* instead of *hita*, and *chā* instead of *chā*

³⁹ The impression shows no distinct letters, but merely scratches, between *gutarā* and *Yona*

⁴⁰ *Prad Rastika*, the second letter has not been written completely

⁴¹ *Cha* is much defaced and looks like *che* or *je* the Anuvāra of *iyam* is not certain

⁴² The first letter is much disfigured by several scratches and looks nearly like a deformed *cha*

⁴³ The impression offers distinctly *ne* (i.e. *nañ*) instead *na*, and according to the reverse *cha* is more probable than *chu*

⁴⁴ *Bhaginīnā* is more probable than *ñanā*

⁴⁵ The lingual of *athāye* is plain both in the rubbing and on the impression

⁴⁶ Only the lower portions of the first letters are distinct

⁴⁷ Possibly *Priyadāsi*, but see the notes to the German edition

⁴⁸ The *ra*-stroke is doubtful

⁴⁹ The tops of *ra*, *va* and *la* are gone Restore *pruvam savram kalam*

GIRNAR ASOKA EDICTS No VI



J. NUNCIOS REGI

Scale 1-5th

Girnār.

me orodhanamhi gabbhāgāramhi vachamhi va [3] vinī-
tamhi cha uyānesu cha savatra pativedakā⁴⁰ stita athe
me janasa [4] pativedetha itī [] Sarvatra cha janasa
athe karomi [] Ya cha kicchhi mukhato [5] āñapayāmi
evayam dapakam vā śrāvapakam vā ya va puna
mihāmātesu [6] āchāyika⁴¹ āropitam bhavati tājya
athāya vivādo nījhatī va sūnto pañsāyam [7]

ānamtaram pativedetayvam⁴² me sarvatra sarve kāle []
Evam mayā āñapitam [] Nāsti hi
me toso [8] usānamhi rthasamtiranāya va [] Kata-
yamate hi me sarvalokahitam [9] Tasa cha puna
esa mūle utānam chi rthasamtiranā cha [] Nāsti
hi kammāturam [10] sarvalokahitatpā [] Ya cha
kicchhi parākramāmi abam [] kimti [?] bhūtānam
ānamnam gachheyam [11] idha cha nāni sukhāpayā-
mi paratrā cha svagam ārādhamamtu [] Ta etāya
athāya [12] ayam dhammahipī lekhhāpī⁴³ [] kimti [?]
chiram tisteya itī tathā cha me putrā potā cha
prapotrā cha [13] anuvatarām⁴⁴ savalokahitāya []
Dukaram tu idam añata agena pārākramena [14]

Mansehra

Devānam piye Priyadasi raja eva[m]⁴⁵ aha []
atikramtam amtam [26] n[o]⁴⁶ hutapruve savram kalī
athrak[rama]⁴⁷ va pativedana va [] Ta maya evam
kītam [] savrakalam aśatasa me
orodhane grabhagarasi vrachaspi⁴⁸ vinitaspi uyanaspi
savatra pa[t]i[veda]ka athra janasa [27] pativedetu
me savatra cha janasa athra karomi abam []
Yam pi kicchhi mukhato anapemi abam dapakam
va śravakam va yam va puna mahamatrehī

⁴⁰ Below *pa* stands a *u*-stroke
⁴¹ The final sign is probably intended for *spi*, —see the
notes to the German edition of the Mansehra text

⁴² Possibly *puna* to be read
⁴³ Possibly *āchāyika* or *oke* to be restored, as there are
two large abrasions on both sides of the *ka*

⁴⁴ The vowel of *no* is very indistinct

⁴⁵ Complete *aropitam*

⁴⁶ The *ja* is indistinct

⁴⁷ The passage from *savatra* down to *pañsā* has been
repeated by mistake

⁴⁸ It looks, as if another sign had stood between *ki* and
chi

⁴⁹ A remnant of *va* below the *ya* is visible

⁵⁰ The stroke indicating the aspiration of *ja* is indis-
tinct

⁵¹ The *ra* stroke of *srava* is not quite certain

⁵² The initial sign of this word shows the same form as in
oradhanaspi, above l. 14, and seems to be intended for *spa*

Shāhbāzgarhī

sa me orodhanaspi grabhagaraspi vrachaspi vinitaspi
uyanaspi⁵¹ savatra pativedaka atham janasa
pat[r]ivedetu me savatra cha janasa athra karomi []
Yam pi [cha] kicchhi mukhato anapayami
[aham da]pakam va śravakam va yam va puna⁵²
mahamatranam v[o⁵⁴ achay]ika a pitam⁵⁵ bhoti
taye athaye vivade va ni[jha]ti⁵⁶ va samtam pañsha-
ye anamtariyena prativedetavo me [14] savatra⁵⁷ cha
rtham janasa karomi a[ham] [] Yam cha Li
[chi]⁵⁸ mukhato anapemi abam dapakam va śra-
vaka va ya va pana mahamatranam achayikam
aropitam bhoti taye athaye vivade samtam nījhatī⁵⁹
va pañshaye anamtariyena prativedetavo
me savatra sav[r]am kalam []
Evam anapitam maya [] Nasti hi me toso uttha-
nasi athasamtiranaye cha [] Katavamatam hi me
sav[r]alokahitam [] Tasa cha mulam et[ra]
uthanam athasamtiranā cha [] Na[sti] hi
kramataram [15] s[r]avalokahita[n]a⁶¹ [] Yam cha
kicchhi parakramami [] kiti [?] bhutanam
ananyam vracheyam va cha [sha] sukhayami
paratra cha spagam⁶² aradhetu [] Etaye athaye
ayi dhrama⁶³ dipista [] chirathitika bhotu
tatha cha me putra nataio parakramamtu
savalokahitaye [] [D]ukara[m] tu[kho] imam
amñatra agre⁶⁴ parakramena [16]

Kālsī

Devānam-piye Priyadasi lājā hevam āhā []
atikramtam amtalam no hutapuluve savam kalam
athakamme-vā⁶⁵ [pat] ivedanā-vā [] Se-ma[ma]yā
hevam kate [] savam kalam adam[a] nasā-me⁶⁶ [18]
olodhanasi gabbhāgālasī vachasi vinī[tasi] uyānasī
savatā pativedakā⁶⁷ atham janasā [pat]ivedemtu
me⁶⁸ [] Savatā⁶⁹ janasā atham kachhāmi hakam []
Yam pi chā [kicchhi mukha]te āna[payā]mi ha-
kam⁷⁴ dā[pakam]-vā [śāvakam vā] ye-vā-punā

⁶¹ Possibly *ayo* to be read, read *dhramadipi*

⁶² Read *anuvateram*

⁶³ Read *agrena*

⁶⁴ The Anusvāras of *devānam* and *evam* are not quite
distinct

⁶⁵ The vowel is doubtful

⁶⁶ Possibly *kamma* to be read

⁶⁷ The lingual in *atha*⁶⁸ is more probable than the dental

⁶⁸ The new impression shows a tolerably distinct *me* at the
end of line 17, and only scratches at the beginning of line 18
In the third syllable of *adamasā* a short *a* is more probable
than *mā*

⁶⁹ The last sign of this word and the next two show
the abnormal form, which probably stands for *spi*

⁷⁰ No letters seem to have been lost between *me* and *savatā*.

⁷¹ At least one syllable, probably *cha*, has been lost after
savatā

⁷² *Hakam*, not *sakam*. In the reading at the new im-
pression

Mansehra.

achayike aropita hoti [28] taye athraye vivade nijhat
va samta parisbaya a[nam]talyena pativeditaviyo
me savratia savra kila [] hva[m] anapita maya []
Nasti hi me toshe u[thanas] athrasamtiranaye
cha [29] Kataviyamato hi me savralokahite []
Tasa ehu [puna] eshe mule uthane athrasatirana eha []
Nasti hi kiamtara savralokahitena [] Yam eha
[ki]ehu para[kia]mam aham [] kitu [?] bhutu-
nam [30] ananiyam yeham i chi sha sukhayami
paratra eha spagram⁸¹ adadhetu ti [] Se etaye athrayo
iyam dharmadipi hikhita [] eluhatitakam hotu tatli im
cha me putra [nata]ie para[k]iamamte⁸⁰
savira [31] lokahitayo [] Dukare ehu kho anatra
agreva parakramena []

mahamātelu [18] atiyāyiko [ā] pitam] hoti tāyethāye
vivāde nijhatī-vā⁷⁶ samtam palisāye anamtalyenā
pati . . . viye me savatā savram kīlam hevarā
ānapayite mamayā [] Nathi-hi-me dose-va uthānasā
athrasamtirānāye-chā [] Kat[a]viyamute⁷⁹-hi-me
savralokahite [] [Tasā-punā⁷⁷ es[o]-mule uthāne [19]
athrasamtirānā [el]iā [] Nathi-hi kammatalā sava-
[loka]hitonā [] Yām eha-kichu palakamāmī hakam
[] kitu [?] bhūtānam [a]naniyam yeham hida-cha-
kāmī sukhāyāmī palata-ehā⁷⁸ svagam ālādhayitu⁷⁹ []
Se-etāyithāye iyam dharmāpī lekhitā [] Chila-
thitakā hotu tatli eha me putadāle palakamātu
savralokahitā [ye] [20] Dukale-eh[a]⁸¹ iyam anata
agenā palakamenā []

EDICT VII.

Gurnār.

Devānam piyo Priyadasi rājā sarvata iehhati
save pāsamdā vaseyu [] Save te
sayamam eha [1] bhāvasudhi eha iehhati [] Jano tu
uchāvachachhamdo uchāvacharāgo [] Te savram
va ekadesam va kasimti [2] Vipule⁸³ tu
pi dāne yasa nāsti sayame bhāvasudhitā va
katamnatā va dadhabhatitā eha nīchā bādham [3]

Shāhbāzgarhī.

Devānam piyo Priyāsī⁸² raja savatra iehhati
savre [1] prashamda vaseyu [] Savre hi te
sayama bhavāsudhi eha iehhamti [2] Jano ehu
uchāvuchachhamdo uchāvucharāgo [] Te savram
va ekadesam va [3] pi kashamti [] Vipule
pi elu dane yasa nāsti sayama bhava- [4] sudhi
kītanatā didhabhatitā mehe padham [5]

Mansehra

Dev[na piye] Priyadasi raja savatā iehhati
savra pashada vaseyu [] Savre hi te sayama
bhavāsudhi [cha] [32] iehhamti [] Jane ehu
uchāvuchachade uchāvucharage [] Te savram
ekadesam va pi kashati [] Vipule pi ehu
dane yasa nāsti sayame bhavāsuta
kītanatā didhabhatitā⁸⁹ eha [33] niche bādham []

Kālsī

Devānam-piye Priyadasi lājā [sa]vatā [1] iehhati []
sav[api]samda vas[ce]v []⁸⁴ Save hi-te sayamam
bhāvasudhi-ehā⁸⁵ iehhamti [] Jane-ehu
uchāvuchachhamde⁸⁶ uchāvuchalāge [] Te-savram
ekadesam-pi kashhamti [] Vipule-pi-chu
dān[am]⁸⁷ asā nathi [21] sayame bhāvasudh[ī]
kītanatā⁸⁸ didhabhatitā chā niche bādham []

EDICT VIII.

Gurnār.

Atikratnam amtaram rājāno vihāra-
jātām āyāsu [] Eti magaviāt aīāni
cha etārisani [1]⁹¹ abhīramakāni ahimsu [] So

Shāhbāzgarhī

Atikratnam⁹⁰ amtaram devānam priya vihara-
yatra nama mīkāmishu [] Atra mrugaya ānāni
cha [h]edisam a[bh]iramanī abhavasus⁹² [] So

⁷⁶ *Nijhati*, not *nikati*, is the distinct reading of the reverse of the impression

⁷⁷ The absence of the Anusvāra and the reading *smute* are certain from the reverse of the impression

⁷⁸ *Tasā* is more probable than *tasa*

⁷⁹ *Palata*, not *palatā*, is distinct

⁸⁰ Read *ālādhayamtu*

⁸¹ Read *parakramamtu*

⁸² Possibly *chu*

⁸³ The initial *sa* is again abnormal and the sign must be read *spa*

⁸⁴ Read *Priyadasi*

⁸⁵ The apparent second *u* stroke which makes the word look like *vipule* is, to judge from the impression, an accidental scratch

⁸⁶ The short *h* of [*pā*] *amda* seems certain, as there is

no stroke or abrasion to the right of the *da*

⁸⁷ *Chā*, not *cha*, is distinct

⁸⁸ The impression shows everywhere distinctly *uchāvucha*, not *uchāvacha*

⁸⁹ *Dānam* is, according to the reverse of the impression, more probable than *dāne*

⁹⁰ According to the impression the reading is *kītanatā*, for which *kītanatā* must be read

⁹¹ One of the *sa*-strokes in *dridhra*⁹² is superfluous, and ought to be removed. The form was probably *dridhra*⁹², i.e. *dridhi*

⁹² This stands for *atikratnam* just like *savira* for *sarva*.

⁹³ Read *etārisani*

⁹⁴ The second vowel is not quite distinct, and the reading, *abhavasus* is perhaps possible

Girnar

devānam piyo Priyadasī rājā dasavasābhīsito
santo ayāja sambodhim⁹⁴ [2] Tenesa dhamma-
yātā[] Etayam⁹⁵ hoti bāhbanasamananam
dasane cha dane cha thāranam dasane cha [3]
hīramnapatividhāno cha janapadasa cha janasa⁹⁶
dasanam dhammānusastī cha dharmāpucchha
cha[4] Tatopayā esā bhūya ratī bhavati devānam
piyasa Priyadasīno rājā bhāge amhe [5.]

Mansehra

Atikratam amtarām devana piya viharayatā
nama nikramīshu[] I[ha]⁹⁷ migaviya añāni
cha edīsa⁹⁸ abhiramanī husu[]
Se devana piye Priyadasi [34] rājā dasavashabhi-
site samtām nikramī sambodhi[] Tenad[am]⁹⁹
dharmayatra[] Atra iya hoti[] śramanā-
bramanana draśane dane cha vadhrana draśane
[cha] hīrapatividha[ne]¹⁰⁰ cha [35] janapadasa
janasa draśane dharmānusastī cha dharmāpuc-
chha cha[] Tatopaya eshe bhūya ratī hoti
devana Piyasa Priyadasīsa [36] rajane bhag[e]¹⁰¹
ane [37]

Girnar

Devānam piyo Priyadasī rājā evam āha[] asti
jano uchāvacham mamgalam karote ābādhesu vā [1]
āvābavivāhesu vā putalābhesu vā pravāsammi vā [2]
Etamhi cha añāmi cha jano uchāvacham
mamgalam karote [2] Eta tu mahidāyo bahulam
cha bahuvudham cha ebhudam cha niratham
cha mamgalam karote[] Ta katayvameva tu
mamgalam[] Apaphalam tu kho [3] etarīsam¹⁰²
mamgalam[] Ayam tu mahāphale mamgale
ya dhammamamgale[] Tata dāsabhatakamhi samya-
pratipatī gurdnam apachiti s[ā]dhu [4] pānesu
sayamo sādhu bambanasamauānam sādhu dānam[]
Eta cha añā cha etāream dhammamamgalam nāma[]

⁹⁴ The *dra* looks very much like *dam*

⁹⁵ The impression makes the second Anusvara very pro-
table

⁹⁶ *Etayam* stands for *Eta iyam* According to the analog-
yename for *yena ime*, etc.,—see E Müller *Simplified Palī*
Grammar, p. 60

⁹⁷ The Anusvara is doubtful

⁹⁸ Possibly *tenadra* to be read

⁹⁹ Read *janasa*

¹⁰⁰ The *dra* looks very much like *dam*

¹⁰¹ Possibly *eshe* to be read

¹⁰² The upper part of the 1 stroke is very faint

¹⁰³ Possibly *sa* is to be read

¹⁰⁴ *Chā*, not *cha*, is the reading of the impression

¹⁰⁵ The impression shows no Anusvara

¹⁰⁶ This looks like *rajam*

Shāhbāzgarhī

devānam piyo Priyadasi¹⁰⁷ rājā dasavashabhi-
sito nikramī sambodhi[m]¹⁰⁸ [] Tenamd[ā]¹⁰⁹ dharmā-
vatra[] Atra iyam hoti[] śramanābramanana
draśane danam vu[dha]nam draśane¹¹⁰
[hī] [ra]nā patividha[ne] cha [jana] padasa janasa
draśanam dharmānusastī dharmāpucchha
cha[] Tatopavami esh[a]¹¹¹ bhūye ratī hoti devānam
piyasa Priyadasīsa rājā bhag[e]¹¹² a]mhi [17]

Kālsī

Atikratam amtarām devānam-piyā viharayatā
nama nikramīshu[] Hida migaviyā amuāni-
chā¹¹³ bodhisatū¹¹⁴ abhīlāmān[] husu[]
Devānam-piye Priyadasi lājā dasavasābhī-
site samtām nikramī[th]¹¹⁵ sambodhi [22] Tenatā
dhammayatā, [H]tā iyam hoti samana-
bambhīnānam dasane-cha dāne-cha vudhānam
dasane-cha hīramnapatividhāne-cha janapadasā
janasā¹¹⁶ draśane dharmānusastī-cha¹¹⁷ dharmāpuc-
chha cha, [] Tatopayā ese bhūye lāti hoti
devānam-piyasā Priyadasīsa lājane bhāge
amhe [23]

EDICT IX

Shāhbāzgarhī

Devānam piyo Priyadasi rājā evam āha[] asti
jano uchāvacham mamgalam karoti ābādhesu vā [1]
āvābavivāhesu vā putalābhesu vā pravāsammi vā [2]
Etamhi cha añāmi cha jano uchāvacham
mamgalam karoti [2] Eta tu mahidāyo bahulam
cha bahuvudham cha ebhudam cha niratham
cha mamgalam karoti[] Ta katayvameva tu
mamgalam[] Apaphalam tu kho [3] etarīsam¹⁰²
mamgalam[] Ayam tu mahāphale mamgale
ya dhammamamgale[] Tata dāsabhatakamhi samya-
pratipatī gurdnam apachiti s[ā]dhu [4] pānesu
sayamo sādhu bambanasamauānam sādhu dānam[]
Eta cha añā cha etāream dhammamamgalam nāma[]

¹⁰⁷ Possibly *tenadra* is to be read

¹⁰⁸ The obverse of the impression seems to give *sate*, but
the reverse shows *samtām* to be the right reading

¹⁰⁹ Possibly *nikhamithā* to be read

¹¹⁰ The impression shows no *cha* after *janasā*, only super-
ficial scratches

¹¹¹ Read *hīrapatividhāne*

¹¹² Read *dhammānusastī*

¹¹³ There is no Anusvara in *dharmāpucchha*

¹¹⁴ Possibly the reading may have been *bhagā*

¹¹⁵ Read *edīsiye*

¹¹⁶ Read *bahu*, only the lower half of the first letter has
been preserved, the second has been omitted

¹¹⁷ *Karotne* stands for *karonte*

¹¹⁸ For *etarīsam*

¹¹⁹ Read *dhammamamgalam*

Gurnār.

Ta vatayvam pitā va [5] putena vā bhātrā vā
svāmikenā vā [] id mśādhu idam katayvam mamgalam
āva tāsā athasā nistānāya [] Asti cha pī vutam [6]
Sādhu

danam²² itī [] Na tu etārisam asti dānam va anugaho²³
va yāsisam dharmadānam va dharmānugaho va []
Ta tu kho mitrenī va suhādayena vā [7] nītikena²⁸
va sikhāyana²⁹ va ovāditayvam tīmhi tīmhi pakarīne []
idam kaeham idam sādha³² itī iminā sakam³³ [8] svā-
gam āśādhetu itī [] Kī cha iminā katayvataram
yathā svagādhā [9]

Mansehra

Devana piye Piyadasi raja evam aha [] jane ueha-
vueha[m⁰ ma]gala[m]³⁷ karoti [1] abādhi[a]sī avā-
[ha]sī vivāhasī pajopadāye pravāsasī³⁸ [] Eṭaye
añāye cha [edi]śā[ye⁴¹ ja]ne [2] bahu mamgalam
ka[ro]ti [] A[ti]a tu balika janika bahu cha
bahuvīdhī[a]⁴⁵ cha khud[a]⁴⁶ cha nīrathriya cha
magala[m]⁴⁷ karoti [] Se ka vī cha kho [3]
[ma]gale [] Apaphale ehu kho c[she] [] Iyam
ehu kho māhāphale j[e] dharmamāmagale [] Atia
iyam [] dasābhātakasi samyapātīpati guru[na
apa]chitī [4] pranva sa[ya]me śramanabramana-
na [dane] [] Eshe ane cha edīśe dhama-
magale nama [] Se vataviy[e]pit[u]na⁵⁴ pī putrena
pī bhātunī pī spamikena [5] mitasāmstute[nī
va] pativesiyena pī [] iyam sādhu iy[im]⁵⁶
kataviye magale ava tāsā athasā nivutīyā []

²² The first letter, which is badly damaged, seems to have been one of the abnormal signs, occurring Ed VI in *oro dhanaspi* and so forth, and is probably meant for *spa*

²³ The last sign is the same as in *orodhanaspi* and so forth,

²⁴ Read *dānam*

²⁵ Probably a mistake for *anugaho*

²⁶ The *ra* stroke is not quite certain

²⁷ The second and fourth vowels are not quite distinct, and one might possibly read *nivuteyeti*

²⁸ The last vowel is not quite certain

²⁹ The two signs of this word stand the one above the other

³⁰ Read *nātikena*

³¹ Read *sikhāyena*

³² Possibly *pana* to be read

³³ Possibly *ia* to be read

³⁴ Read *sādhu*

³⁵ The Anusvara of *salām* is at least very probable

³⁶ Possibly *pana* to be read

³⁷ Read *dharmamāmagala*

³⁸ The Anusvara is uncertain

³⁹ The Anusvara is uncertain

⁴⁰ Thus distinct in B, instead of *piyasasi*

Shāhbāzgarhī

So vatavo pituna pī putrena pī bhātuna pī
[spa]mikenā²⁰ pī mī[tra]sāmstutena ava pratī-
vesiyena [] imam sādhu iminā kātavo [mam]galam
yava tāsā athasā nivutīyā [] Nivutāspī²¹ va pana
[19] imam ke[sha] [?] Ye hī et[ra]ke²⁴ magale
s[ri]mīsayike tīm [] Sīya vo tam atbam
niv[ri]tīy[ri]²² tī [] sīya pāna ialokach[e]²⁵
vo tithe [] Iya²⁷puna dharmamāmagalam
akalīkam [] Yadi p[u]na³⁰ tam attham na
nivite [hī]nā³¹ [] [a]ttha paratra anantam puñam
prāsavati [] Iimehe p[u]nā³⁴ [a]ttham
nivite tī tato ubhayaśa ladhām bhōtī
ilachaso atho paratra cha inantam puñam prasavati
tena dharmamāgalena³⁵ [20]

Kālsī

Devānam piye Piyadasi lājā āhā [] jane uehā-
vuehām³⁹ mamgalam [ka]letī [] Ābādhasī vā-
hasī vivāhasī pajopadāyo⁴⁰ pravāsasī etāye amnā-
ye chā edīśāye jine bahu magalam
kaletī [] Heta-ehu abikīyānī[yo]⁴³ bahu-ehā
bahuvīdham chā khudā⁴²-chā nīlathiyām-chā⁴⁴
magilum kīlamti⁴⁸ [24] Se-katavi-eha-l ho⁴⁹
mimgale [] Apaphale-vu-kho es[e] Iyam-
ehu-kho māhāphale ye-dharmamāmagale [] He[tā]⁵⁰
iyam dāsibhātakasi samyāpātīpātī-gulunā⁵¹
apachitī pā ānam sayame samanāmbhānānam
dāne [] Eso amne-ehā hedise tam dhamma-
magale-nāmā⁵² [] Se-vataviye pitinā-pī putena-
pī⁵³ bhātunā-pī suvāmikenā [ā]-pī mitasamthutenā
āva-patīvesiyenā-pī [25] iyam sādhu iyam
kataviye [ma]gale āva-tāsā athasā nivutīyā⁵⁶ []

³⁹ The *vu* in the third syllable is distinct

⁴⁰ The lower stroke is nearly straight and *pajopadāne* a possible reading, but see the Mansehra version

⁴¹ The first and last syllables of *edīśāye* are very indistinct

⁴² This is the reading of the reverse, distinct except in the last syllable

⁴³ *Khudā*, not *khudam*, is the reading of the impression

⁴⁴ Read *nīlathiyā* or *oyam*

⁴⁵ Possibly *bahuvīdhī* to be read

⁴⁶ Possibly *khude* to be read

⁴⁷ The Anusvara is uncertain

⁴⁸ *Kālamti*, not *kaletī*, is distinct.

⁴⁹ Read *kataviye*

⁵⁰ The existence of this word is certain, the quantity of the last syllable doubtful

⁵¹ *Gulunā* not *ōnam*, is the reading of the impression

⁵² *Nāmā*, not *nāma*, is the reading of the impression

⁵³ *Putena*, not *putenā*, is the reading of the impression

⁵⁴ Possibly *pitina* to be read

⁵⁵ The *ya* has besides the Anusvara an apparent *e* stroke, which must be accidental

⁵⁶ The third syllable of *nivutīyā* is superficially damaged. The reverse leaves no doubt regarding the reading





Mansehra

Nivutasi va puna ima k[e]sh[a]miti [?] E hi
[a]trake⁵⁷ ma . . [6] śaśayike⁵⁸ se[] [Si]ja
[va] ta[m] athram nivateya[] siya [na] no
[ha]ch[a]loki[cha]⁵⁹ vase[] Iyam puna dhrama-
magal[e] akalike[] Hache pi tam athram na
nivat[e] ti [hida] [a] paratna . [7]
an[am]tam puñam⁶⁰ prasavati[] Hache [puna
tam ɾ]ra nivate ti hida tato ubhayasa [va
la]dhe [ho]ti hida cha se athre paratra cha
ana[m]ta[m]⁷⁰ punam prasa[va]ti tena
dhramagalena⁷¹ [8]

Kālsī

Imam ka[tha]m-iti [?] E-hi
ivale⁵⁷ magale sam[ay]ikye-ae [hoti]⁶⁰ []
Siyā-va-tam atham⁶¹ nivateyā siyā-punā-no
hidāloke-cha-va-e[] Iyam-punā dhammagale
akālikye[] Hameche-pi tam-atham no-nite-ti
hida atham⁶² palita anantam punā pavasati⁶³ []
Hameche-punā-tam ɾham nivate-ti hida⁶⁴ tato⁶⁷
nbhaye⁶⁵ [26] [la]dhe hoti hida-chā⁶⁶ se-athe
palatā-chā anantam punnam pasavati
tenā dhammagalenā[]

EDICT X

Gernār.

Devānam priyo Priyadasi jājā⁷² yaso va kiti va na
mahāthāvahā mānate añāta tadatpano dighāya cha

me jano [1] dhammasusrusā⁷³ susrusatām dhamma-
vutam cha anuvīdhiyatām [] Etakāya devānam priyo
Priyadasi rājā yaso va kiti va ichhati [2]
Yam tu kimchi parākamate devānam Priya-
dasi⁷⁴ rājā ta savam paratrikāya [] kimti [2]
sakale appaparisrave asa[] Esa tu parisrave ya
apumñam⁷⁵ [3] Dukaram tu kho etam khudakeni
va janena usatena va añātra agena parākamen⁷⁶
savam parichajitpā [] kta tu kho usateni
dukaram [4]

Shāhbāzgarhī.

Devana priye Priyadasi raya yaso va kiti va na
mahathavaha mānati añātra jo pi
yaso kiti va ichhati tadattaye⁷⁷ ayatiya cha [jan]e
dhramasusrasha⁷⁸ susushatu me ti dharmav-
tam chi anuvi[dhi]yatu [] Etakaye devanam priye
Priyadasi raya yaso va kiti va [21] [ichha]ti []
Yam tu kichi parākamati devanam priyo Priya-
dasi raya tam savam paratrikaye va [] kiti [2]
sa[kale]⁷⁹ aparisrave siya ti [] Esho tu parisrave
yam apuñam [] Dukaram t[u] kho cse khudra-
kena vagiena usatena va añātra agreni parākamen⁸⁰
savam paritipitu [] Etam chu usate⁸⁰
[22]

Mansehra

. . [8] priye Pri dāśī raja yaśo va kiti va
n[a] mahathravaham mānati anatra yam pi ja[śo
va] kiti va ichhati tadattaye⁸³ ɾyatij[a]⁸⁴ cha jane
dhramasusrusha su [sha]tu me ti

Kālsī

Devānam-priye Priyadashā⁸¹ lājā yasho-vā kiti-vā
no mahathāvā⁸² manati anatā yam pi yaso-
vā kiti-vā ichhati tadatvāye ayatiye chā jane
dhammasusushā susushatu me-ti⁸³

⁵⁷ This may be read *ichale*

⁵⁸ Possibly *etrake* or *etake* according to B, which also shows the *ma*

⁵⁹ This is plain in B

⁶⁰ The existence of this word, which is not found in the closely corresponding Mansehra version, is very doubtful

⁶¹ The lingual of *atham* is plain in the impression both here and in the next sentences

⁶² This may also be read *thache loki cha* or *thachalohike*

⁶³ Read *nivate ti* and *atha*

⁶⁴ Thus according to B

⁶⁵ Read *pasavati*, as suggested by M Senart

⁶⁶ *Hida*, not *hidā*, is the distinct reading of the impression

⁶⁷ *Tato*, not *tatā*, is the reading of the impression though the *e* stroke is short (compare Mansehra and Shāhbāzgarhī)

⁶⁸ *Ubhaye* is distinct on the reverse, but the following omitted syllable is very doubtful. It looks most like an original *nam* or *nām*. I would conjecture *nbhayesam* in accordance with the Mansehra and Shāhbāzgarhī versions

⁶⁹ *Hida*, not *hidā* is the reading of the impression

⁷⁰ The two Anusvaras are probable, but not certain

⁷¹ Read *dhramamagalena*

⁷² The syllable *de* has been inserted between *si* and *rā* and the syllable *id* between *rā* and *jā*

⁷³ The apparent Anusvara after *sru* is too irregular in shape to be read. It is probably due to a flaw in the rock.

⁷⁴ Regarding the sign see the remarks to the German edition. It is, of course, possible to read *tadatmaye* or *tadatraye*

⁷⁵ Read *dhramasusrusha*

⁷⁶ Restore *priyo* before *Priyadasi*

⁷⁷ The Anusvara is faintly visible on the impression

⁷⁸ The *ka* has been added as a correction.

⁷⁹ Possibly *parākramena* to be read, as the top of the *ka* is slightly bent towards the right

⁸⁰ The conclusion of the edict is missing and seems not to have been incised

⁸¹ Read *Priyadasi*

⁸² Possibly *mahathāvahā* to be restored

⁸³ It is, of course, possible to read *tadatmaye* or *tadatraye*

⁸⁴ Possibly *ayatiye* is to be read.

⁸⁵ A Vedic imperative

Mansehra

. . [9] [tam] a[nu]vidhiyatn ti[] Etakaye
devana priye Priyadra[śi] raja yaśo va kiti va
ichhati[] [E tu] lichhi parakrama i devana priye
Priya[dra]śi [raja tam]savram para[trikaye va] []
[kiti] [?] . . [10] [r]paparisave siya ti ti⁹¹ []
Eshe tu parisave e[apu]ñā[m] [] Dukaram chu [kho]
eshe khudrakena va vagre[na nsa]tena va a[ñā]tra
a[gre]na parakramena savram pariti . tu []
E [tu kbo] usatena va duka[ra] []

EDICT XI.

Girnār

Devānam priyo Piyadasi rājā evam āha []
nāsti etāsisam dānam yāsisam dhammādanam
dhammasamstavo vā dhammasamvibhāgo vā dhamma-
sambadho va [1] Tata idam bhavati dāsabhatakanhi
samyapratipati mātari pitari sādhu susrusā mita-
sastutañātikanam bāmhanaśamānānam sādhu
dānam [2] prānānam anārambho sādhu []
Eta vatayvam pitā va putrena va bhātā
va mitasastutañātikena va āva pativesi-
yehi [] idam sādhu idam katayvam [3] So tathā⁹⁷
haru ilokac⁹⁸ asa āradho hoti parata cha amnamtam⁹⁸
pumñam bhavati tena dhammadānena [4]

Mansehra

. [pr]ye Priyadasi raja evam aha []
nasti diśe dane adiśe dhramadane dhramasa ve
dhra]masa[m]vibhage⁹⁵ dhrama dhe [I]
Tatra eshe [] dāsa[bha]ta sa sa[mya]sampaṭipati⁹⁶
matapitushu . . [12] samstutañātika-
na śramanabramanana dane pranana aua-
rambhe[] Eshe vataviye pituna pi putrena pi
bhātuna pi spamī pi mitrasam-
stutena ava pativesīyena [13] iyam sadhu iyam
krataviye [] Se ta[tha] karamtam hida ka eha¹⁰
aradhe i . ratra eha a . tam puṇam
prasavati . [dhra]madanena [14]

Kālsī

dharmavatam-vā anuvīdhiyat-ti[] Etakāye
devānam piye Piyadasi [27] lājā yasho-vā⁹⁹ kiti-vā
ichha⁹⁷ [] Am-chā-kichhi-lakamata⁹⁸ devānam-piye
Piyadasi⁹⁹ lājā⁹⁹ ta shavam pālāṭikyāye-vā [],
kiti [?] Sakale apapalāshave shiyā-ti-ti⁹² []
Eshe chu-palīsave⁹³ e-apumue[] Dukale-chu-kho
eshe khudakena-vā vageṇa ushutena-vā⁹⁴ anat[a]⁹⁵
agenā palakamenā shavam palitiditu[]
He[ta]-chu-kho [28] nshatena-vā dukale[]

Shāhbāzgarhī

Devānam priyo Priyadasi raya evam aha ti []
nasti ediśam danam yadiśam dhramadānam
dhramasamstave dhramasamvibhago [dhra]ma-
sambandho[] Tatra etam [] dasabhatakanam
sammpratipati matapitushu suśrusa mitra-
samstutañātikanam śramanabramanānam [23]
danam pranānam anārambho []
Eta vatavo pitna⁹⁶ pi putrena pi bhātuna pi
[sa]mīkēna pi mitrasamstutena ava pativesī-
yena [] [1] mam sadhu imam katavo [] So tatha
karamtam ilokā[m]⁹⁹ eha aradheti paratra eha
anatam puñam prasavati [24] [te]na dhrama-
danena [25]

Kālsī.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā hevam hā¹ []
nathi hedishe dāne [ā]dīsham² dhammadāne |
dhammashamvibhage³ | dhammasambandhe⁴ | []
Tat[a] eshe [] [dāshabhatakanāhi | shamypatipati
mātāpitushu | shushushā | mitashamthutanā [ti] kyā-
nam samanabambhanānam dāne [29] pānānam anā-
lambhe [] Eshe vataviye pitinā-pi pute-pi⁷
bhātina-pi [sh]avāmīkyena-pi⁸ mitasam-
thutanā⁹ avā pativesīyeuā [] iyam sādhu iyam
kataviye [] Śe tathā kalamta hīdalokikīye eha kam
āladhe hoti palata-cha anamta¹¹ puṇnā
paśavati tenā dhammadānenā []

⁹⁵ *Yasho*, not *yaso*, is the reading of the impression.

⁹⁷ Read *ichhati*.

⁹⁸ Read *palakamata*.

⁹⁹ *Piyadasi*, not *esi*, is the reading of the impression.

⁹⁰ Read *lājā*.

⁹¹ *Siya ti ti* is also the reading of the Kālsī version. It stands for *itī*, which occasionally occurs also in Sanskrit.

⁹² Read *apapalāshave*, *shiyā*, not *siyā*, is the reading.

⁹³ *Eshe*, not *ese*, is the reading of the impression here and in the next sentence.

⁹⁴ The *u*-stroke is distinct.

⁹⁵ A short final is more probable than a long one.

⁹⁶ This looks like *pitūna*, with two *u* strokes.

⁹⁷ The two apparent *ā* strokes after *ta* are due to fissures in the rock.

⁹⁸ Probably *anamtam*.

⁹⁹ This may possibly be *hīloka*.

¹ Read *āhā*.

² Possibly *adīsham* to be read.

³ *Dhammashamvibhage*, not *vibhāge*, is the distinct reading.

⁴ The impression shows no Anusvara in *obadhe*.

⁵ The Anusvara is uncertain.

⁶ Possibly *samma* is to be read.

⁷ Read *putenā-pi*.

⁸ Read *shavāmīkyenā*.

⁹ Read *mitasamthutanā*, the *ta* stands below the line. There is no *pi* after this word.

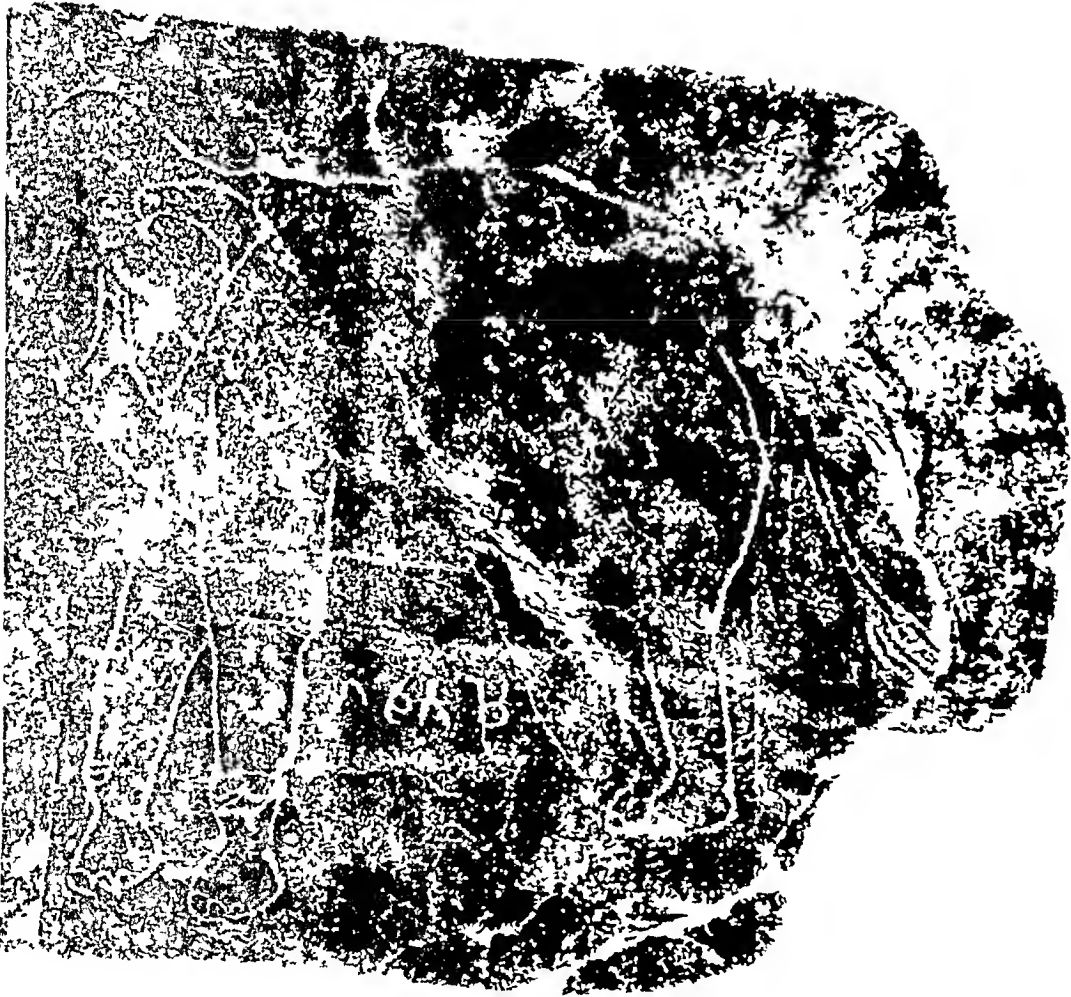
¹⁰ Possibly a sign (*ku*?) may have stood between *cha* and *aradhe*.

¹¹ Possibly *anata* to be read.

KÂLSI AŚOKA



INSCRIPTION,—(IV) ON EAST END OF THE STONE



Girnār

EDICT XII.

Shāhbāzgarh

Devānaṁ piye Piyadasi rājā savapāsamdāni
 cha¹¹ pavajitāni¹² cha gharastāni¹³ cha pūjayati
 dānena cha vividhāya cha pūjāya pūjayati ne [1]
 Na tu tathā dānam va pūjā va devānam piyo
 mamūate yathā kiti[?] sāvavadhi¹⁴ tu bahuvīdha [2] Tasa tasa¹⁵
 danam [] Sāvavadhi¹⁶ tu bahuvīdha [2] Tasa tasa¹⁵
 tu idam mūlam ya vachiguti [] kiti [?] ātpa-
 pāsamdapūjā va parapāsamdagarahā¹⁷ va no bhava
 apakaranimbi labhukā va asa [3] tamhi tamhi
 prakaraṇe [] Pūjetiyā¹⁸ tu eva parapāsamdā tena¹⁹
 tana²⁰ prakaraṇena [] Evam karum ātpapāsamdā
 cha vadhayati parapāsamdasa cha
 upakaroti [4] Tadamūritā karoti ātpapāsamdā
 cha chhanati parapāsamdasa cha pi apakaroti []
 Yo hi lochi ātpapāsamdā pūjayati parapāsamdā
 va garahati [5] savam ātpapāsādabhatijā []
 kiti [?] ātpapāsamdā dipayema iti so cha
 puna tatha karato²¹ ātpapāsamdā
 badhataram upahaniti [] Ta samavāyo
 eva sādhu [6] kiti [?] amānamāsa dhammam
 sūnāru cha susūera cha [] Evam hi devānam
 piyasa ichha [] kiti²² [?] savapāsamdā bahusrutā
 cha asu kalanāgama cha asu [7] Ye cha tatra
 tite²³ prasannā telhi vatayam [] devānam piyo
 no tathā dānam va pūjā va mamūate yathā kiti [?]
 sāvavadhi²⁴ asa savapāsādānam bibhakā²⁵
 cha [] Etaya [8] athā vāpatā dhammamamahāmāta
 cha itihakkhamamahāmāta cha vachabbhūmika cha añe
 cha²⁶ nikāyā [] Ayam²⁷ cha etasa phala ya ātpapāsa-
 dvadhi cha hoti dhammasa cha dipanā [9]

Mansehra

Devana piye Priyadasi raja savra prasha-
 dani pravrajitani gabathani cha pujeti danena
 vividhaye²⁸ cha pujayati [] No [chu] tatha
 dana va puja va [1] devanam piye manati atha
 kiti [?] salavadhi siya savrapashadana ti []

Devanam piyo Priyadasi raja savra prasham-
 pravrajita²⁹ graha[tha]ni cha pujeti
 danena vividhaye cha pujaye []
 Nochu tatha dana[m] vapuja va [1] devanam piyo
 manati yatha kiti [?] salavadhi siya savraprasham-
 dana[m] [] Salav[a]dhi tu bahuvīdha [] Tasa
 tu iyo mula yam vachaguti [2] kiti [?] ata-
 siya aprakaranasi [] labhuka va siya tasi tasi
 prakara[ni]e [] Pujetivaya vachu paraprasham-
 [da] tena tena [a] karena³⁰ [] Evam kara[m] tam
 [a] taprashamdā vadhcti paraprashamdasa pi cha
 upakaroti [] Tada afiatha ka[rata] cha ataprasham-
 dam [4] chhanati paraprashamdasa cha apakaroti []
 Yo hi k[oti] chhi ataprashadā pujeti paraprash[a]da
 garahati savre ataprashadabhatiya va []
 kiti [?] ataprashamdā dipayami ti [] so cha
 puna tatha karatam so cha puna tatha karatam³¹
 badhataram upahanti ataprashadā [] So sayamo
 vo sadhu [] kiti [?] amānamāsa dharmo [3]
 sūneyu cha sūrusheya cha ti [] Evam hi devānam
 piyasa ichha [] kiti [?] savraprashamda bahusruta
 cha kala[na] gama cha siyasu [] Ye cha tatra
 tatra [7] prasana tesham vatavo [] devānam piyo
 na tatha dānam va puja va manati yatha kiti [?]
 salavadhi siya ti savraprashadanam bahuka cha []
 Etaya a [8] vipata [dhra] mama [ha] matra
 i[stidhi] yachhamamahamatra vachabbhūmika añe
 cha nikāye [] Imamchaetisaphalamyamataprasa-
 dvadhi [bhoti] [9] dhramasa cha dipana [10]

Kālsī

Devanā-piye Piyadasi [30] rajā shavā pāsham-
 dani³² pavajitāni gabathāni vā pujeti dānena
 vividhena³³ cha-[puja]ye [] No chu-tathā³⁴
 dane-vā puja vā devānam-piye manati athā
 kiti³⁵ [?] Sāvavadhi siya-ti savapāsamdānam³⁶ []

¹¹ Dele cha

¹² Possibly pravajitāni to be read

¹³ Possibly gharastāni to be read

¹⁴ Pravrajita, first read by M. Senart, stands according to a direct photograph above the line, just before gabathani

¹⁵ The apparent 4 stroke after va is probably an accidental scratch or a serif

¹⁶ The first ta and the second sa of tasa tasa have been obliterated, as the sense requires

¹⁷ The syllable sah has been added as a correction

¹⁸ Read garaha

¹⁹ Probably a mistake for pujetayā

²⁰ Read tena tena

²¹ Dr. Burgess' new facsimile shows more distinctly than the older materials this reading. My former reading prakara

nenā is impossible, so is M. Senart's pakarena

²² Read karoto

²³ Dele the repeated words

²⁴ The syllable ti has been inverted as a correction

²⁵ Possibly the reading was tatra tatra

²⁶ Read bahukā

²⁷ The word cha has been added as a correction

²⁸ The letter a has been added as a correction

²⁹ Only the right half of the anusvāra is distinct

³⁰ Read pāshamdāni

³¹ Meant for vividhaye

³² Possibly vividhaya to be read

³³ Chu, not cha, is the reading of the impression

³⁴ Possibly kiti to be restored

³⁵ Nāh stands, as a correction, above the line,

Kalsi

Śālavadhī-nā bahuvīdhā²⁹ [] Taśa-chu iyam-mule
 [a]-vachnguti [] kitī [?] ta atapāsāmdc
 puṣā³¹ palapāsāmdc-galabhā-va³² no śāyā³³ [31]
 apakalanāśī lahakā-vā³⁴ śīyā trāsī-taśī-pakalanāśī³⁵
 [] Puṣṭaviya chu palapāsādā tena-tena
 akālana³⁶ [] Hevam kalāta atapāsādā bādham
 vadhyatī palapāsāda-pi-vā upakaletī []
 Tādā amnathā³⁸ kalata atapāsāda-cha ehhanatī
 palapāsāda pi-vā apakaletī [] Ye hi kechha
 atapāsāda punatī³⁹ [32] palapāśhada-vā [ga] [la] hatī |
 shave atapāśham[da] bhatiyā vā [] kitī [?]
 Atapāśhamda | dipayema she-cha-punā tathā |
 kalamtīm | bādhitale | upahamtī | ata-
 pāśhamdaśī | [] Samavāye-va śhādhu [] kitī [?]
 amnamanashā dhammam [shuncyu-chā] [shushusheyu
 chā-tī | [] Hevam-hi devānam-piyashā-nehā []
 kitī [?] [33] Savapāśhamda | bahushutā-chā kayānāgā
 cha⁴² huveyu-tī [] E-va-tata-tatā | pashamna/ te-
 [hi] vataviye [] devānā-piye-no-tathā | dānam-vā
 puṣā-vā | mamnatī | athā-kitī [] śhālavadhī śīyā
 shavapāśhamdatīm⁴³ | babukā-chā [] Etāyāthāye
 viyāpatā dhammamahāmātā | itthidhiyakhamahā-
 mātā | vachabhumikā [] ane-vā nikā [yā] [34] Iyam
 cha etāhā | phale | yam atapāśhamdavadhi-chā | hoti
 dhamashā chā dīpanā []

EDICT XIII

[illegible]

A[stava]sha⁴⁵ abhisita[sade]vana priasa Priadra-
 si[sā] rñño Kṛ[hga vijita] [Diyadha]matre
 [pranaśatasa]hasre yctato apavudhe satasahasra-
 [ma]tre tñtia hato bahu[tavatake] mute[1]
 Tato [pa]cchā adhuna lābheshu [Kalmageshu]
 tñvre dhrama[palanam]⁴⁷ dhrama[kā]mata dhra-
 manuśasti cha devana pri[yā]sa[] So asti anuso-
 chan[am] devana priyasa vijñit[u]⁴⁸ [Kā]lmgā-
 [nī][2] Avijitam hī [vij]ñāman[ī ye]tatra
 vidh[o]⁴⁹ va [ma]ñnam va ipava[ho] va jana-
 sa[] Tam badham vedānyamatam gurumatam
 cha devauam priyasa[] Imam pī chu⁵⁰ tato

- ³⁹ Read *pujet*.
- ⁴⁰ Possibly *dipayema* to be read, if it may be assumed that the *e* stroke can stand at the top of *ya*.
- ⁴¹ The *na* is a little indistinct and seems to be a correction as it has been put quite close to the following letter.
- ⁴² Read *kayāṅgamā*.
- ⁴³ Read *śhāvapūshamāṇam*.
- ⁴⁴ Possibly *śtriyacchha*^o to be read, as all events the stroke denoting the aspiration is very faint and short.
- ⁴⁵ *śta* is probable according to B.
- ⁴⁶ Read *adhund*.
- ⁴⁷ The last three letters are not recognisable in B.
- ⁴⁸ Possibly *vijinst* in B.
- ⁴⁹ Thus B instead of *vadhē*.
- ⁵⁰ Thus B for *ima pi cha*.

Mansehra.

amteshu a shashu pi y . . t shu . . . yok
nama . na . . [9] . . .
.
[Maha nama]
Ahkasu[dare] nama[ni]cham cha Choda-Pamdiya
a Tambapanniya evameva . . . raja[]
Visha-Vaj[11] Yona K . shu [Nabha]ke⁷⁹ [Na]-
bhapamtishu-oja Pitani . shu Amdha-P .. [10]
.
[na priyasa] no
j tr te pi śrutu devanam priyasa dhramavutam
vidhnam dhramanuśasti dhrammam anuvidhi-
yamti anuviddhi[yasanti cha][.] Y .
takena [boti vija]
. [11]
.
priye[] [Eṭaye] ath[ra]ye iyam dhrama .
hkhita [,] kiti[?] putra prapotia me a nava
. [12]
.
[loḥika][.] Savra cha nrati
hotu ja[s]rama[rati][] Sa[hīhida]loḥika paraloka-
kika[]

Girnár

Ayam dharmmalipi devānam priveri Priyadaśi-
na ratiā lebhāpitā asti eva [1] samkṛitena asti
majhamena asti vistatana⁶⁰[] Na cha sar-
vam sarvata ghaṭitam [2] Mahālakṣṇa hu vijitam
babu cha lihitam lihapayisam cheva []
Asti cha eta lam [3] puna puna vutam tava
tava athas⁶¹ madhūrataya [] kṛimti [?] jano tathā
pratipajetiha [4] Tatva ekada asamatram lihi-
tam aśa desam va sacchhaya karanam va [5]
alocheti lipikaraparadhena⁶² va [6]

Shāhbāzgarhī

Ayo⁹³ dhramadipi devanam priyena Priṣṇa⁹⁰
 raṇa dipapito asti vo samkhitena asti
 yo vistrītena[] Na hi savratra
 [80] savre ghaṭīti[] Mahalake hi vijite
 bahu cha līhite līhapesamī cbeva[]
 Asti cha atra puna puna [la]pitam tsa
 tsa [rtha]sa madhuryaye []e[na] ja[na] tatha
 [13] pratīpajya tī[] So siya va atra kichu asa-
 matam līhīti devam va samkhye karana va
 aloCeti dipikarasa va aparadhena[14]

Kalsi

Ivaṃ dhanimalipi devānam piyenī Pivdashuna jagatā līkṣapitā athi yevā sukhi-[19] tenā
 athi maghnenā athi vitāṣṭena[] No hi savata save ghatitē⁶³[] Mahālakṣe hi vi-[20] jite

²¹ Rend mamnati devānam piye

25 Restore asu

22 Probably *shaya^hlashakashi yo* (i.e. [e]vo for *eva*) to be read

*, Probably *o*likye to be read

29 According to B

23 Read *visatena*

⁹³ *Peod Privadrasinga*

²¹ The syllable *sa* has been added as a correction

⁷² Probably a mistake for *lipikarāparādhenā*.

Kālsī

bahu cha lkhite lekhpēsā-ni cheva nīkjam [] Athi chā heta punampuna lapī-[21] te tashā
 tashā athashā madhulivāye yena jane tathā patipajeyā [] She shiyā⁹¹ ata kichhi a-[22]samatī
 lkhite dīshā vā shamkheye kālanam vā alochayitu lipikalapaladhena vā [23]

TRANSLATION OF THE SHĀHBAZGARHĪ VERSION¹

EDICT I

This religious edict has been incised by order of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods —No animal may be slaughtered and offered here as a burnt sacrifice, nor shall any festive assembly be held, for King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, sees much evil in festive assemblies. There are, however, also some *kinds of* festive assemblies considered most excellent by King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods.

Formerly many hundred thousand animals were slaughtered daily in the kitchen of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, in order to *prepare* euries. Now, when this religious edict is incised, only three animals are slain *daily*, two (2) peacocks *and* one (1) deer, the deer, however, not even regularly. But in future even these three animals will no *longer* be slaughtered.

EDICT II

Everywhere in the empire of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, as well as *among those nations and princes* that are *his* neighbours, such as the Chodas, the Pamdiyas, the Satiyaputra, the Keralaputa, Tambapamnī, the Yona king, called Amtiyoka as well as *among those* who are the vassal-kings of that Amtiyoka,—everywhere King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, has founded two (2) *kinds of* hospitals, both hospitals for men and hospitals for animals. Everywhere where herbs wholesome for men and wholesome for animals are not found, they have been imported and sown by *the king's* order. And wells have been dug by his order for the enjoyment of men and beasts³.

EDICT III.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus —*When I had been* anointed twelve years [this *following* order was given by me] —“Everywhere in my empire both my loyal Rajukas⁴ and vassals shall go forth on a tour every five years,—the reason of this

⁹¹ *Shi* stands above the line

¹ The subjoined translation of Edicts I—V, XIV differs only slightly, as the text requires from that given, *Arch. Survey, South Ind.*, vol. I, p. 121ff. The translation of Edict XII has been taken over almost unaltered from the first volume of this Journal, p. 19f. The translation of Edict XIII is based on my German rendering in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLIII, p. 172f. The few notes given here mostly contain matter not given in my former articles on these inscriptions.

² The Chodas are the Cholas of Kāñchi, the Pamdiyas are the Pandiyas of the extreme south, the Satiyaputa is probably the king of the Satvats, the Keralaputa, the king of Kerala or Malabar. Tambapamnī, or Tamraparni, is Ceylon, the Yonas are the Yavanas or Greeks, and Amtiyoka is Antiochos II (see below Edict XIII).

³ Two sentences had been left out, and the last has been mutilated (see the Dhuli version).

⁴ *Rajuka* in Pali *rajjuka* literally, ‘royal holder,’ means ‘Revenue Settlement officer,’—see the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* vol. XLVII, p. 166f.

is the preaching the sacred law—as also for other business, (saying) —Meritorious is the obedience towards mother and father [meritorious is the liberality] towards friends, acquaintances, and relatives, towards Brahmans and ascetics, [meritorious is the abstention from killing living creatures], meritorious is the abstention from reviling heterodox men. Moreover, *the teachers and ascetics of all schools will inculcate what is* befitting at divine service, both according to the letter and according to the spirit ”

EDICT IV

A long period, many hundreds of years, have passed, *during which* the slaughter of animals, the cruel treatment of created beings, the unbecoming behaviour towards relatives *and* the unbecoming behaviour towards ascetics and Brahmans have only increased. But now, in consequence of the fulfilment of the sacred law by King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, the sound of drums,⁵ or rather the sound of the law, *has been heard*, while the sight of cars of the gods,⁶ elephants, and other heavenly spectacles were exhibited to the people. As has not happened formerly in many centuries, even so have grown now through the god-beloved King Priyadarśin's preaching of the law the non-destruction of animals, the good treatment of living creatures, the decorous behaviour towards relatives, the decorous behaviour towards ascetics and Brahmans, the obedience towards parents, *the obedience* towards the aged. Thus, and in many other ways, the fulfilment of the sacred law has grown, and King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, will make this fulfilment of the sacred law grow *still more*. Moreover, the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, will make this fulfilment of the sacred law grow until the end of time, *and* will preach the sacred law, abiding by the sacred law and by virtuous conduct, for that is the best work, *viz'* the preaching of the sacred law, but the fulfilment of the sacred law is not *possible* for a man destitute of virtuous conduct. The growth of this very matter and its non-diminution are meritorious. For this purpose, *viz' that* they may cause the growth of this matter and may not permit its diminution, this *edict* has been written. This *edict* has been written by King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, when he had been anointed twelve years.

EDICT V

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus —Good *works* are difficult of performance. He who is the originator⁷ of good *works* does something difficult of performance. Now much good has been done by me. If then, my sons and my grandsons and those *among* my descendants who *may come* after them until the end of time, will thus follow *my example*, they will do *what is* meritorious. But he who will give up even a portion of these *virtuous acts* will commit sin, for sin is easily committed.

Now a long period has passed, *and* the *officials* called the Overseers of the Sacred Law have formerly not existed. Now, when I had been anointed thirteen years, I appointed Overseers of the Sacred Law. They are busy among all sects with watching over the sacred law, with the growth of the sacred law, and with the welfare and happiness of *my*

⁵ Compare *Jātaka*, iv, 269-76 *dhammabhesim charāpesi*.

⁶ Compare F. Hian's account (Beal, p. 106) of religious processions at Patna.

⁷ The word *adikara*—*ādīkārā* has been completely preserved in the Ussuhra and Kālsi versions alone.

loyal subjects, as also among the Yonas, Kamboyas, Gamdhāras, Rastikas, Pitinikas,⁹ and all other nations which are my neighbours. Among my hired servants, among Brahmans and Vaiśyas, among the unprotected and among the aged, they are busy with the welfare and happiness, with the removal of obstacles among my loyal ones. With the prevention of *unjust* imprisonment and of *unjust* corporal punishment, with the removal of obstacles and with loosening bonds, for these purposes they are busy, considering that there is a numerous progeny, or that the person concerned has been overwhelmed by misfortune, or that he is aged. Here, and in all the outlying towns, they are everywhere busy in all the harems of my brothers and sisters, and among my other relatives. These Overseers of the Sacred Law are busy with what concerns the Sacred Law, with watching over the Sacred Law, and with what is connected with pious gifts, in my whole loyal empire. This religious edict has been written for the following purposes, viz that it may endure for a long time, and that my subjects may act accordingly.

EDICT VI.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus —A long period has elapsed, during which formerly the despatch of business and the hearing of the informers have not regularly taken place. Now I have made the following arrangement, that the informers may report to me the concerns of the people at any time, while I dine, in my harem, in my private rooms, in the latrine, in my carriages, and in my pleasure-garden and everywhere I despatch the business of the people. Moreover, if, with respect to anything which I order by word of mouth to be given or to be obeyed as a command, or which as a pressing matter is entrusted to my officials, a dispute or a fraud happens in the committee of any caste or sect, I have given orders that it shall be brought forthwith to my cognisance in any place and at any time, for I am never satisfied with my exertions and with the despatch of business. For I consider the welfare of all people as something for which I must work. But the root of that is exertion⁹ and the despatch of business. There is no more important work than to secure the welfare of all. And what is the purpose of every effort which I make? It is that I may discharge the debt which I owe to the creatures, that I may make some happy in this world, and that they may gain heaven in the next. This religious edict has been written for the following purpose, that it may endure for a long time and that my sons and grandsons may thus exert themselves for the welfare of all men. But that is difficult to carry out without the utmost exertion.

EDICT VII.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, desires that adherents of creeds of all kinds may dwell everywhere, for they all seek after self-control and purity of mind. But men possess various desires and various likings. They will put in practice either the whole or a part only of what they profess. But self-control, purity of mind, gratitude and firm attachment are laudable in a lowly man,¹⁰ to whom even great liberality is impossible

⁹ The Rastikas I identify with the Rastikas, a southern nation. The Pitinikas, or Pitenikas, probably had their seats in the same districts.

⁹ Compare *Mahābhārata*, XII 56, 14 and 36, 14, where *utthāna* "exertion" is prescribed for kings and declared to be the root of all good government.

¹⁰ The form *nichā* in the Gīrṇār version instead of *nichā*, may be explained as a contraction of *nichāya* i.e. *nichāya*, compare Pillar Edict IV, note on *nyhapayitā*.

EDICT VIII

A long period has elapsed, *during which* the beloved of the gods used to go forth on so-called pleasure-tours¹¹ On such *occasions* the chase and other similar amusements used to be *pursued* Now, when King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, had been anointed ten years, he went forth *in search* after true knowledge Owing to this *event*, religious tours *have become a regular institution* here *in my empire* On that *occasion* the following happens, *viz* the reception of, and almsgiving to, Brahmins and ascetics, the reception of the aged, the distribution of gold, the reception of the people of the provinces, the preaching of the Sacred Law and inquiries concerning the Sacred Law *It is thus that*, in exchange *for past pleasures*, King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, since then enjoys the pleasures *which* these *virtuous actions* procure.

EDICT IX

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus —The people performs various auspicious rites in misfortunes, at marriages of sons and daughters,¹² on the birth of sons, at the time of starting on a journey. On these and similar occasions the people perform many auspicious rites. But at such *times* the women perform many and various despicable and useless rites Now, auspicious rites ought indeed to be performed But rites of this description produce no results But the following, the auspicious rite, *which consists in the fulfilment of* the Sacred Law, produces, indeed, great results¹³ That includes kindness towards slaves and servants, reverence towards venerable persons, self-control with respect to living creatures, liberality towards ascetics and Brahmins These and other similar *virtuous actions* are called the auspicious rites of the Sacred Law Now a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, ought to speak *as follows* —“ This is meritorious, this auspicious rite must be practised until the *desired* aim is attained ” To the success of which *auspicious rites* does this refer? For every worldly auspicious rite is doubtful It may be that it accomplishes the *desired* object, but it may be that it remains even in this world. But that auspicious rite of the Sacred Law acts without reference to time If it does not secure here the *desired* object, it yet produces endless merit in the next world. But, if it secures the *desired* object both are gained, here that *desired* object, and endless merit is produced¹⁴ in the next world through that auspicious rite of the Sacred Law

EDICT X.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, does not think that glory and fame bring much profit, except that he desires glory and fame *with the view* that at present and in the future the people may practise obedience to the Sacred Law, and that they observe the duties of the Sacred Law For this *purpose* King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, desires glory and fame But all the efforts of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, are made with reference to the *results* for a future life How so? *It is his wish* that all may be free from danger Now the danger is sin. But assuredly the thing is difficult

¹¹ The word *vishārayātrā* occurs in the sense of “pleasure-tour” in Asvaghosha's *Buddhacharita*, III, 3, and *passim*

¹² For the use of *āvāho* and *vedāho* compare the *Ambattha Sutta* 21 (*Dighanikāya*, vol. I, p. 99)

¹³ Compare the beginning of the Jaina *Daśarūpikā* sūtra, —*dhammo mangalam ukkattham*, etc.

¹⁴ Compare *Jātaka*, IV, 239, 9, *mahantaṃ puññaṃ parardanti*.

to accomplish, whether for the low or for the great, except by the greatest exertion and by the renouncing everything But it is [most difficult] for the great

EDICT XI.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus —“There is no such gift as the almsgiving of the law, *nor anything like* the intimacy through the law, the charitable gift of the law *and* the connection through the law”¹⁵ This law includes the good treatment of slaves and servants, obedience towards parents, liberality towards friends, acquaintances, relatives, ascetics and Brahmins, *and* the non destruction of living creatures *Therefore* a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, or a friend and acquaintance, or even a neighbour ought to give advice on this matter, *saying* —“This is meritorious, this ought to be done” He who acts thus both gains this world and produces for himself endless merit in the next through this almsgiving of the sacred law

EDICT XII

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, honours men of all creeds, both ascetics and householders, by gifts and honours of various kinds But the Beloved of the gods thinks not so *much* of gifts and honours as of what?—that an increase of essentials may take place among men of all creeds. But the increase of essentials *may happen* in various ways. But this is its root, *viz* guarding one's speech—how so? “Honouring one's own creed and blaming other creeds shall not be in unimportant points, or it shall be moderate with respect to this or that important point” But other creeds must even be honoured for this or that reason. Acting thus, one exalts one's creed and benefits also the other creeds Acting differently, one hurts one's own creed and injures the other creeds How so? For he who honours his own creed and blames all other creeds out of reverence for his own creed *thinking* “I promote *thereby* the interests of my own creed,” however, acting thus, injures his own creed exceedingly. Hence self-restraint¹⁶ alone is commendable. How so? “They shall hear each other's law and love to hear it”¹⁷ For this is the desire of the Beloved of the gods What?—“that men of all creeds shall have heard much and shall possess holy doctrines And to those who adhere to this or that *faith* it must be said “The Beloved of the gods thinks not so *much* of gifts and honours as of what?—“that an increase of essentials may take place among men of all creeds and a large one” For this end are working the Overseers of the Sacred Law, the Superintendents of women, the *Vachabhūmikas*¹⁸ and other bodies of officials. And this is its result, *viz*. the exaltation of one's own creed and the promotion of the interests of the law.

EDICT XIII

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, being anointed eight years, conquered the country of Kalinga. One hundred and fifty thousand souls were carried away thence, one

¹⁵ Compare *Itivuttaka*, p. 98 (Wundisch) where most of the terms used in this Edict occur as well as the general views

¹⁶ The reading of the other three versions *samavāya* “concord, harmony” is better than *sayama* “self restraint,” as with respect to opponents

¹⁷ Or, possibly, [they shall obey (it as far as it is worthy to be obeyed)]

¹⁸ As the Manichaean version offers *Vachabhūmika*, the term may mean either ‘Overseers of the latrines, or (*vajra-bhūmika*) ‘Overseers of cowpots,’ see *Kāmasūtra*, p. 290 | 1 (Durand)

hundred thousand were slain, *and* many times as many died. Afterwards, now that Kalinga has been conquered, *are found* with the Beloved of the gods a zealous protection of the Sacred Law, a *zealous* love for the Sacred Law, a *zealous* teaching of the Sacred Law. That is the repentance of the Beloved of the gods on account of his conquest of Kalinga, for when an unconquered country is being conquered¹⁹ there *happens* both a slaying and a dying, and a carrying-off of the people. That appears very painful and regrettable to the Beloved of the gods. But the following appears to the Beloved of the gods still more regrettable than that, for there dwell Brahmans, or ascetics, or men of other creeds, or householders, among whom the following is practised, *viz* obedience towards the first-born (?), obedience towards parents, obedience towards venerable persons, becoming behaviour towards friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, slaves and servants, and firm attachment. Such *men* suffer there injury or destruction, or forcible separation from their beloved ones. Or misfortune befalls the friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives of those who themselves are well protected, *but* whose affection is undiminished. Then even that misfortune becomes an injury just for those *unhurt ones*. All this *falls* severally on men, and appears regrettable to the Beloved of the gods. And *men* have faith not merely in a single creed.²⁰

Even one hundredth or one thousandth part of those men who were slain, died, or were carried off during the conquest of Kalinga, now appears to the Beloved of the gods *a matter* of deepest regret. Even, if *a man* does *him* an injury, the Beloved of the gods holds that all that can be borne should be borne. Even on the *inhabitants* of the forests, found in the empire of the Beloved of the gods he takes compassion, *if he is told* that he should destroy them successively,—and the Beloved of the gods possesses power to torment *them*. Unto them it is said—what? “Let them shun *doing evil*, and they shall not be killed,” for the Beloved of the gods desires for all beings freedom from injury, self-restraint, impartiality and joyfulness.

But this conquest the Beloved of the gods holds the chiefest, *viz* the conquest through the Sacred Law. And that conquest has been made by the Beloved of the gods both here *in his empire* and over all his neighbours, even as far as six hundred *yojanas*, where the King of the Yonas, called Amtiyoka dwells, and beyond this Amtiyoka, *where* the four (4) Kings dwell, *viz*, he called Turamaya, he called Amtikini, he called Maka, and he called Alikasudara²¹ *further* in the south, *where* the Chodas and Pamdās dwell as far as Tambapanni, likewise *where* the Hida-king dwells. Among the Visas, Vajris,²² Yonas, Kambojas, in Nābhaka of the Nābhitis, among the Bhojas, the Pitinikas, the Amdhras, and Pulidas—everywhere they follow the teaching of the Beloved of the gods with respect to the Sacred Law. Even those to whom the messengers of the Beloved of the gods do not go, follow the Sacred Law, as soon as they have

¹⁹ For the construction compare the reading of the MSS. A and B in the passage *Jātala*, III, p. 275 — *Senako - āra rajjam kārento Bodhisatto Sakkaṭṭam kāressi*.

²⁰ The King means to say that on the occasion of conquests many creeds suffer, as there is no country where the people are contented with one only. The Kālsi version, with which that of Gurnār seems to have agreed, is more explicit, as it says: “And there is no country where there are not found these countless congregations into which these Brahmans and ascetics are divided. And there is nowhere a country where the people have faith in one creed alone.”

²¹ According to Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Bd. II, p. 251 f. the five Yona or Greek kings named are Antiochus II, king of Syria (died 247 B.C.), Ptolemy II, king of Egypt (died 246 B.C.), Antigonos Gonatas king of Macedonia (died 239 B.C.), Magas, king of Cyrene (died 253 B.C.), Alexander, king of Epirus (died between 262 and 258 B.C.).

²² The Visas are probably the Bais Ratputs, the Vajris the Vrijis of Eastern India.

heard of the orders of the Beloved of the gods, issued in accordance with the Sacred Law, and his teaching of the Sacred Law, and they will follow it in future.

And the conquest which thereby has been made everywhere—a conquest made everywhere—yields a feeling of joy. But this joy is indeed only *something* small. The Beloved of the gods esteems as precious only that which refers to the next world.

And this religious edict has been written for the following purpose Why? “In order that my sons and grandsons *as many as* they may be, may not think a new conquest desirable, in order that on *the occasion of* a conquest, only possible by the sword,²² they may find pleasure in mildness and gentleness, and in order that they may deem a conquest through the sacred law alone a *real* conquest That yields bliss in this world and in the next All their joy be the joy in exertion, for, that yields bliss in this world and in the next

EDICT XIV.

These religious edicts²³ have been written by order of King Priyadaśin, beloved of the gods, *under a form*, whether abridged, or expanded For not everything is suitable in every place. For my empire is large, and much has been written, and I shall write *still more*. Certain *sentences* have been repeated over and over again because of the sweetness of their import And for what purpose *has that been done?* *It is with the intention* that the people may act thus. But it may be that something has been written here incompletely, be it on account of the space, be it on account of some reason to be *specially* determined, or through a mistake of the writer.

XXXVII —A COLLECTION OF SANADS OF MOGHUL EMPERORS.

By PAUL HORN, Ph D, STRASSBURG

Mr H. Blochmann remarks in his translation of the *Āin-i-Akbarī* that the 19th chapter of the second book on the *Sayārghāls* is one of the most interesting in Abul Fazl's whole work The collection of seventy *sanads* discussed here may therefore claim some interest¹ as almost all of them refer to the grant of such rent-free lands, and thus illustrate the formalities and usages of the institution in the most instructive manner, even if they fail to furnish much valuable historical information

The general points concerning the granting of *Sayārghāls* being well known, I shall restrict myself, after a few short remarks as to the age and origin of the *sanads*, to hint at some details that arise from their study, giving as specimens the text of three of them with translation They belong chiefly to the *pargana* of Batāla (spelt Batālah or Batālā, and perhaps in the oldest of the documents Watalah) in the Panjāb, only a small number being from other cities or districts as Akbarābād, Jalālābād, Biāh, Chamāri, Dabhāwāla, and Patihāibatpūr Occasionally we find mention of such villages as Bhagwānpūr, Faizuddīnpūr, Harpūr, Kartārpūr, Rahimābād, Rasūlpūr

²² The translation gives a free rendering of the Gîrnar reading, *sarasake eva*, literally “only possible by arrows”

²³ The word *dharmadāpi* or *dhammalipi* has here to be taken in a collective sense, compare the use of *Smṛiti*, *Śruti* and similar terms in Sanskrit

¹ These *sanads* were obtained by Mr C J Rogers, of the Archaeological Survey in the Panjāb, and by the Government of India were ordered to be distributed among the British, Calcutta, Lahore and Lucknow Museums.

and Sháhjahánpûr, belonging to the *pargana* of Batála, or Pâd'sháhpûr *alias* Kalánkhurdpûr, belonging to Patíhaibatpûr, or with localities in Batála as the *masjid-i jámi'-i kalán* 'the large jámi-mosque' and the *mahalla-i qāzī Isma'íl Muhammad* 'the quarter of judge Ism'ail Muhammad' The sanads were written under the rule of the Emperors Bâbar, Jahângir, Sháhjahân, Aurangzêb, Sháh 'Âlam, Farrukh Sýyar, Muhammad Sháh, Ahmad Sháh, and Tímûr Sháh

Among all the names of the persons on whom lands were conferred through these papers only a very few belong to important men They are almost all small people, mostly women who scarcely would be found in the chronicles, not even the Shaikhs and Qāzís that sometimes appear No assignation of grounds to one person reaches a hundred *big'has*, an allowance that Badáuní (vol. III, p. 205) states as too mean for a learned man, and in most cases the grants vary between 10 and 12 big'has or something more, except rare grants of 40, 60 or 70 to Shaikhs, or once to a wife of such a pious man The *big'ha* is defined as a *jarīb-i shastgāzī*, i.e. 60 *gaz* long and by 60 broad,² if fractions of *big'has* occur we find *biswas*, but no *biswānsas* It was not customary, as appears from these sanads generally to execute a separate document for every single little allotment, but to take together several persons in one party. Sometimes an order extends even to several parties, the amounts of the property of individuals not being specified in the text But the statements, in question are given on the back, written in *siyāqat*-characters. Also, the individual members of each party are not enumerated in the text, but only one as a representative followed by the words *wa ghairuhu*, *wa ghairuhā*, or seldom *wa jamā'atuhu*, with or without the added *shurakhā-i* (for men and women), viz., *sharikahā-i farmān* A *farmān*, e.g., generally concerns *musammāt Maulānā Khātīb wa ghairuhu*, and afterwards we learn that these others were Maulānā Hāmid, Maulānā Ahmad, and Maulānā Ya'qûb; or it is about *musammāt Daulat Khātûn wa ghairuhā*, and on the back we find the other names Rahmat Khātûn, Bibi Ama, Bibi Fâtima, and Maryam Khātûn, all written without diacritical points and in very cursive characters, the representative person pointed at only by a *mushār ulaihi*. A *farmān* of a first grant of lands naturally always prescribes the measurement and boundaries (*parmûdan u chak bastan*) of the new territory, a superfluous business if the grounds were already in the possession of somebody and if therefore the matter was only a re-investment. In this case in the beginning the date of the first grant is always mentioned We seldom read that the donations took place at different times (*batawârikh u sanîn-i mukhtalifa*)

For a rent-free fee the Chagatai word *sayûrghâl* is only once used, viz., in the oldest sanad of Bâbar's time, and the Arabic *aima* seldom occurs, generally the Arabic-Persian *madad-i-ma'âsh* is used If an owner has died it can be transferred to his heir, and so we find grounds that have been for some centuries in the possession of the same family Likewise the heir succeeds to the testator in case of the latter undertaking at an advanced age the pilgrimage to Makka and Madîna Once the grant is renewed because one of two parties has died, the other being alive In the new *farmān* therefore the dead person is replaced by his heirs and the lands are granted anew to those and the old surviving possessors, quite on the former conditions. A *sanad* of Sháhjahân's reign mentions

² Cf. Col. H. S. Jarrett's note in his translation of the *Áin-i-Akbari*, vol. II, p. 61, and the 10th chapter, p. 62 We learn from Badáuní (vol. II, p. 206) that the salary of a commander of twenty, lowest rank of an officer in the Moghul army, was equivalent to the revenues of a thousand *big'has*

an order that restricted the right of the heirs in the *Śūba* of Lāhōr to part of the property of the testators in *sayūrghāl*-land, *viz*, to 58 *big'has* 8 *biswas*; in one case the number of 107 *big'has* 8 *biswas* is diminished therefore by 49 *big'has* that were again made domain lands (*khālīśā sharīfa*), and the rest was handed to the heirs. This may be one of the many tricks invented by the *śadrs* and *qāzīs*—who, as Abul Fazl says, wear a turban (as a sign of respectability), but are bad at heart, and who wear long sleeves, but fall short in sense—in order to injure people if they did not prefer even open force.

If a person gets a fee for the first time, it is always stated that he was a worthy one and could not gain his livelihood by other means, the latter formula also occurring in the re-instatement of a former possessor or on the succession of his heir. The former owners of these sanads therefore must be reckoned amongst the third class of men that lands were bestowed upon (*Āin-i Akbarī*, vol. I, p. 198)—I may mention here that *sayūrghāls* are conferred on certain persons even in the so-called '*Institutes of Amīr Timūr*,' (see Davy-White's edition pp. 235, 305) Besides, it was to be proved by credible witnesses that the people in question were alive, a function mostly performed by two Shaikhs, at Batāla often by the *nudarras* of the *jāmi'*-mosque and the *muftī*. Before the sanad could be written a memorandum or a *yāddāsh-i waqī'a* was to be presented, and such papers are sometimes specially mentioned.

It is often said that the owners of a rent-free fee are to be 'assiduous in prayer for the perpetuity of the enduring empire' This was also the common benevolent phrase for persons that were discharged from the service in the Moghul empire (conf. '*Ālamgīr-nāma*, p. 591)

In Akbar's time the rule followed in conferring land was, that all *sayūrghāl*-lands should consist of one-half of tilled land and one-half capable of cultivation; in these sanads only land of the latter kind is granted (*zamīn-i uflāda-i lā'iq-i-zir'at*) and sometimes *banjar*-land, *i e*, such as has been uncultivated for five years or more (*Āin-i-Akbarī*, vol I, p. 297)

Of course a certain order is observed in putting the seals on these *farmānhā-i thabī*—such were issued for conferring *sayūrghāls* according to the *Āin-i Akbarī*, vol I, p. 194—as in all Muhammadan public documents; naturally with some differences under various kings. The sanad of Bābar's time renewing the grant of a village with a revenue of 5,000 copper tankas (*i e*, 250 rupees) to Qāzī Jalāl, judge of Batāla, in A H 933, has been signed only with the emperor's own seal—round the middle field bearing the words *Zahīruddīn Muhammad Bābar* and the date 928, in five panels the names of his ancestors to Amīr Timūr have been inscribed. Likewise the documents bestowing a first *sayūrghāl*, besides the *tughra*, bear only the seals of the emperors, *viz*, Jahāngīr—a square, round the centre the names of his forefathers inscribed in circles, and in the four extreme corners four names of Allāh, 'Ālamgīr—a square exactly like that of Jahāngīr's, only larger, and one with the seal of prince Aurangzēb before his accession to the throne, dated the 6th *Jumādī'l awwal* 1069 (30th January 1659), the *julūs* being on the 24th *Ramazān* (the 15th June) of the same year. The seal of the king's son is a round one and contains the words *Muhammad Aurangzēb Bahādur Ghāzī thānī-i Shāhib-qurān thānī*³ These sanads are all on paper about 33 inches by 17 (but the margins are

³ See *Ep Ind*, vol II, p. 147 note 23—A drawing of Aurangzēb's imperial seal is to be found in Sir Thomas Roe's account of his residence at the court of the Great Moghul (cf. *Histoire générale des voyages Paris 1746 seq* vol. 21, p. 57)

now all more or less cut and torn off), and are handsomely written in fair *ta'liq*, except Bábar's one (that measures 13 by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and is in very cursive characters) In Akbar's and Jahāngir's time we find the *Ilāhī* era exclusively used, while later it is seldom mentioned, but that of the Hijra is employed

There are also some sanads granting *sayūrgāls* sealed only by officials, and not by the emperor himself, whose name however is read on the seals of the latter⁴ The size of these sanads is considerably smaller than that of the monarch's, it varies between 16 to 20 inches by about $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches, the writing generally is very irregular Sometimes the *Šadr ul-šudūr* commands the performance of an imperial *farmān* and gives orders for the assigned lands to be surveyed, such sanads in 'Ālamgir's time bear only the seal of the functionary named, whereas under Jahāngir and Shah 'Ālam the seals also of the *Diwān* or of the *Khān Khānān* were affixed In Farrukh Siyar's reign in these cases the Qāzi's seal takes the first place accompanied by those of different lower officials and private people If the matter is a re-investment, as in most cases, we always find two seals

There occur as sealing *Šadr ul-šudūr's*

Rizawī Bukhārī, 24th year of 'Ālamgir (who died in the same year,—conf. *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgirī*, p (207) and *Ma'āthir ul-Umarā*, vol II, pp 308, 309),

Sharīf Khān, 25th year of 'Ālamgir (who was elevated to this dignity in the same year,—conf. *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgirī*, p 219),

Asad Khan, 15th and 32nd years of 'Ālamgir (with the dates 1081, 14 and 1088, 20 on his seals), i.e., Āsaf uddaula Jumlat ul-Mulk Asad Khān He is styled *Tarkhān* in another *farmān* (16th year), and

Amjad Khān *Šadr Jahān*, 49th year of Shah 'Ālam

Not bearing the title of *Šadr ul-šudūr* on their seals, as also Asad Khān does not, but in that function, appear

Siyādat Khān, 38th year of 'Ālamgir (with the date 1096, 28 on his seal, in which year he, Sayyid Oghlan, received this title, cf. *Ma'āthir ul-Umarā*, vol II p 495),

Amīn Khān Bahādur, 47th year of 'Ālamgir (with the date 1113, 46 on his seal), and

Amīr ul-Umarā, 48th year of 'Ālamgir (with the date 1113, 45 on his seal)

In the re-investment-documents we find two seals that of the *Diwān* (-i *qul*) and that of the *Šadr*, but generally without titles That one of them must belong to the *Diwān* is (besides *Āin-i Akbarī*, vol I, p 195, line 6 *et seq*) shown in a sanad of the 50th year of 'Ālamgir which bears Hāfiz Khān's seal, who in that year became *Diwān* of Lāhōr,—till then having been in the service of Gauharārāi Bégum, younger sister of the emperor (*Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgirī*, p 513) The same document has also the seal of Mīr Khwāja Shāh, who is here exceptionally styled *Šadr* The dates of the entries of the sanads in the registers of the *šadārat* and the *dīwān* (-i *sa'ādat*) are always noted, the latter falling one or more weeks later than the first The *šadr's* seal is placed outside the text in the vertical fold on the right, that of the *Diwān* is a little higher up, above the text itself and under a single line containing the name of the reigning

⁴ The same was also the case during the Sassanian period (cf. *Mittheilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen der koeniglichen Museen zu Berlin*, Heft IV, *Sassanidische Siegelsteine*, herausgegeben von Paul Horn und Georg Stenmdorff, Berlin, 1891, p 28) The Sassanian high functionaries did not seal with the portrait of the king, but often with his name

king (on the margin the monarch who had first granted the fee is shortly mentioned with his *post-mortem*-title) The following *Diwāns* and *Šādrs* appear together

Šābir 'Alī and Sayyid Ahmad, 11th and 13th years of Jahāngir,

Diyanat Khān and Nizāmuddīn Hasan Qādīrī, 23rd year of 'Ālamgīr (the first with the date 1084, 17 on his seal),⁶

'Abd Ilāhyārul-Husainī and Aslam Khānazād, 33rd year of 'Ālamgīr (with the dates 1089, 21, viz, 1093, 27 on the seals),

Mīr Ahmad Khān and Aslam Khānazād, 37th year of 'Ālamgīr (the latter with the date 1094, 27 on his seal),

Abū (?) Kāzīm and 'Abd ul-Bāqī, 44th year of 'Ālamgīr (with the dates 32, viz, 1110, 42 on the seals),

Sa'adatmand Khān and Sayyid Ashraf Khān, 3rd year of Shāh 'Ālam (with the dates 1120, viz, 1119, 1 on the seals),

Sa'adatmand Khān and Khwāja Futūh, 2nd year of Farrukh Siyar (the latter with the engraved 'first year' on his seal, as also in the following case),

Fazl 'Alī Khān and Khwāja Futūh, 4th and 5th years of Farrukh Siyar;

Ziyā uddīn Muhammad Khān and Futūh Khān, 7th year of Farrukh Siyar (the latter with the date 'third year' on his seal);

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Mīr Muhammad Šālīh, 5th and 8th years of Muhammad Shāh (with the dates 1133, viz, 1134 and 1135 on the seals),

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Sayyid 'Azīz Khān, 10th year of Muhammad Shāh (with the dates 1138, viz 1139, 9 on the seals),

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Sayyid Mīrakshāh Khān, 14th year of Muhammad Shāh (the latter with the date 1142, 12 on his seal),

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Sayyid Sultān Husain Khān Mausawī, 15th year of Muhammad Shāh (with the date 1138, viz, 1145, 15 on the seals);

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Mīr Muhyi'ddīn Mausawī, 18th year of Muhammad Shāh (with the dates 1138, viz 1148 on the seals); and

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Khwāja Islāh Khān, 19th year of Muhammad Shāh (with the dates 1138, viz., 1149, 19 on the seals).

With one seal only (on the right) the same documents have been sealed in the 25th year of Muhammad Shāh (Sayyid Mīrak Khān, 1153, 22), in the 2nd year of Ahmad Shāh (Shamshêrbêg Khān Khānazād, 1161, 1), and in the first year of Timūr Shāh (Dāwar Khān Šadr ul-šudūr). Except the farmāns sealed with the personal seals of the emperors a *tughrā* has but seldom been added the drawing of which is then always very poor and artless

Even the higher functionaries did not employ a new seal every year, that is to say, they did not alter the date. We often find seals therefore with years that considerably differ from those of the sanads themselves

On some signets the possessors are styled *murīd* or *murīd-i pādīshāh*, a title introduced by Akbar.

⁶ Nizāmuddīn Hasan Qādīrī occurs as *Sadr ul šudūr* also in the text of some sanads from 'Ālamgīr's 22nd year. The Qādīrīs were a darwēsh order. Nineteen principles of theirs are enumerated in the Berlin Persian manuscript, *Petermann*, No 721, (cf. Pertsch, *Verzeichnis der persischen Handschriften der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, No 233, 2, p 276) —Khanazads were a sort of pages educated at the imperial court (cf. *Ma'āthir ul Umarā*, vol I, p 797)

There are also some private documents in this collection of sanads, the most interesting of which concern the sale and purchase of lands. We learn from them the value of arable lands in the *pargana* of Batála, *viz*, 251 rupees for 100 *big'has*, 20 rupees for 5 *big'has*, 42 rupees for 15 *big'has* 17 *biswas*, 122 rupees 8 annas for 35 *big'has banjar*-land, and 60 rupees for 20 *big'has zamín-i bārání*, the price of the *big'ha* varying therefore between 2½ and 4 rupees. The sales took place under the rule of Muhammad and Ahmad Sháh, the rupees and the annas being specified as '*álamgírí*'. In Sháh 'Álam's time once *Buhlálís* or *Dám-i 'álámgírí's* are mentioned. One-half of the fixed amount is always paid on account. As is customary in Christian countries by illiterates to draw a cross instead of the signature, we find a circle once adopted for this purpose by a woman obliged to sign the document about the sale of her grounds. These papers bear the seal of the *Qází* as of the competent official and the signatures and seals of a number of witnesses. Judges of Batála were according to our sanads:—

Qází Arjumand in the year 1115 (2), the seal with the date 1112, *Qází 'Atá Ulláh*, son of 'Azim Ulláh, 1139, on the seal 1120, *Qazí Ahliyat Ulláh*, 1141, on the seal 1138, *Qazí Mir Muhammad*, 1141, 1147, and 1161, and

Walí Muhammad, son of the dismissed *Qází Híbat Ulláh*, 'who, as his father extended the hand of oppression and tyranny over the inhabitants,' and for this reason, in the second year of Sháh 'Álam's reign, the citizens presented a petition that he should be deposed and be replaced by their former just *Qází Ghulám Muhammad*, whose seal with the date 48 appears on documents from 'Álamgír's 49th year. I am not sure if this request was entirely successful, at all events in A. H. 1120, 1125, and 1126 the desired *Ghulam Muhammad* was not judge, but *Muhammad Walí Ulláh*, who is perhaps identical with the unjust *Walí Muhammad*.

In the 16th year of *Muhammad Sháh Mir Muhammad*, son of *Mir Muhammad Qáim*, was appointed judge of Batála, as successor of *Amánat Ulláh*, and he was confirmed in this office after *Ahmad Shah's* accession to the throne. The documents bear the seals of *Mir Muhy'uddin Khánazád*, 1118, and *Shamshêrbêg Khán Khánazád*, 1161. That *Jalál* was *Qází* of Batála in A. H. 933 has already been mentioned.

Finally there are a few other sanads, *e g*, one concerning the grant of a daily allowance of 12 annas to *Shaikh Núr Muhammad* and his companions in *Patihai-batpúr*, to be paid by the *fautadár* of that town, or regarding the lease of the village of *Pádisháhpúr alias Kalánkhurdpúr* in the *pargana* of *Patihai-batpúr*, amounting to 550 rupees a year and being to be delivered to the *fautakhána*, which need not to be further described.

I now give as a specimen the text* of three *sayúrghál-sanads*, together with their English translations —

در بزرگوار منسوب عبدالرحمن والاشان راحب الادعای صادر شد که چهل بیگمہ رمعی امتداد لائق رراع
 خارج جمع ار پرگنہ جماری مضاف بصوبہ پنجاب در وجہ مدد معاش مسماہ راج بی بی و عذرہا حسب الصمن
 معرر باشد کہ حاصل آنرا صرف مایحتاج بمردہ بدعای بقای دولت اندطرار مرابط نماید ناید کہ حکام و عمال
 و حاکمیداران و کروریان حال و استعمال اراضی مزدورہ را پیمرہ و چک بستہ نتصرف آنها نارکدارد و اصلاً و مطلقاً

* I have spelt the Persian words more correctly than they appear sometimes in the originals

تعییر و تدیل بدان راه بدعد و بعلت مال و جهات و احراحاب مثل قتلعه و پیشکش و خریدانه و مایطانه و محصلانه و مهرانه و داروغخانه و پیکار و شکار و معدومی و قابونگری و صط هر ساله بعد تشخیص چک و تکرار رراع و کل بمطالعات سلطانی و تکالیف دیرانی مزاحم بشود و اندرین باب هر سال سند متحد بطلند و اگر در محل دیگر چیزی داشته باشد آنرا اعتبار نکند و بهم شوال سال چهل و اربعه ساله نوشته شد

TRANSLATION

"In this happy time the high order which is necessary to be heard came forth that 40 *bīg'has* of fallow land, capable of cultivation, allodial to the *pargana* of Chhamāri that belongs to the *śūba* of the Panjāb, according to the endorsement were bestowed as a rent-free fee upon P. P. Rāj Bibī and companions They may spend the revenues of it for their needs, being assiduous in prayer for the perpetuity of the enduring empire. The present and future magistrates, tax-gatherers, *jāgīr*-holders and *krōrīs* having surveyed the stated lands and marked their boundaries⁷ should give them into their possession, and by no means allow any alteration or change After the settlement of the boundaries and the new cultivation one should not trouble them for any demands of the Government and the levies of the court in the shape of quit-rent, taxes, and tributes, as *qutlugha*, presents, the rates of *jai ibāna*,⁸ *zābitāna*, *muhaṣṣilāna*, *mahrāna*, *dārōghagāna*, for war and chase, the *muqaddimī* and *qānūngōyī*, and the annual sequestrations Regarding this no new order should be yearly expected and other eventual existing appointments not considered⁹ Written on the 29th Shawwāl of the 40th year since the sublime accession to the throne (*viz*, of 'Ālamgīr")

On the back the text of the *yādhāshī-i iāqī'a*, dated Monday, the 13th Rabi II, of the 39th year (21st November, 1695) is given, and besides the dates of entry in the registers the names of Rāj Bibī's companions, *viz*, Nār Bibī, Šahib Khatūn, and Sharīfa Bānū, each of them getting 10 *bīg'has*.

Another sanad concerning a re-investment runs:

حکم صدر
حضر محمد شاه پادشاه عاری حلد ملکه اندا
گماشتهای حاکمیداران و کروریان حال و استعمال پرگنه نتالا مصاب صوبه پنجاب نداند چو بموجب
مرامعالیشال حضرت مرقوم نتاریخ ۲ شعبان سنه ۳ مراری پنجاه و نه دیگه رمس از پرگنه مذکور در وجه مدد
معاش مسماة نورخاتون و غیرها شرکای فرمال و عندالعنی و غیره ورث محمد عاقل و غیره تحویر صدر سابق مقرر
است درپرد لا تصدیق ثعاب بومرج پیوست که مشار الیهم حی و قائم و اراضی مربره را قانس و متصرف اند و از
ممر دیگر وجه معیش ندارد ندان آن تصدیق فرق منارک ندان حضرت حدیو حها حدادند زمان ناعت
امی و امان طل طلیل ایرد متعال نائب نبیل دادار دهمال مطهر اتم پروردگار رحمناعم آمیدگار مقس قوایی
حباداری مہمہ مہاد کرم گستری حلام پناه طل اراضی مرقومہ ۱۰ از محققدم بدستور سابق بشرط مدد و تصرف
حسبالصق مقرر و مسلم داشته شد می باید کہ رمس مسطورہ را در تصرف آنها و اگداشته اصلاً و مطلقاً متعوض

⁷ In other sanads the *Chaudhāris* (I cannot understand for what reason Blochmann has banished this spelling into the notes of his *Āin-i Akbarī*-edition, — *see* vol I, p 198, line 16, instead of putting it into the text), *Qānūngōis*, *Muqaddams* and *Mālsks* are said to have taken part and consented to this act

⁸ These technical terms are all fully explained in the dictionaries

⁹ I know that this last phrase also could be translated 'if they should have possessed something in another place (*bessides* the above *sayārghāl*) it should not be taken notice of,' but I have preferred the above translation as more harmonizing with the contents

¹⁰ Corrected from *marqūma-rā* according to other sanads

نشدند تا حاصلات آنرا فصل بعمل رسال سال صرف مایحتاج خردهها ساخته بدعای درام در لب اندرزار مرادیت
میدهند و ناسند و اگر در محله دیگر چیزی داشته باشند آنرا اعتبار نکنند شرح تحریر فی التاریخ دریم شهر حمدانی الزل
سنه ۱۸ حارس متعلی مطابق سنه ۱۱۴۸ هجری المعتمد شد

TRANSLATION

"Shah 'Ālam"—His Majesty Muhammad Shāh-i Ghāzī, may God perpetuate his reign for ever!

"The present and future representatives of the *Jāgīr*-holders and *Krórīs* of the *pargana* of Batala, belonging to the *sūba* of the Panjāb, may know According to the high order of His Majesty, dated the 2nd Sha'bān of the third year (*i e*, of *Shāh 'Ālam*), 59 *big'has* of the land of the *pargana* stated have been bestowed as a rent-free fee, by former *Sādrs* upon P. P. Nūr Khātūn and companions, partners of the *farmān*, and upon P. P. 'Abd ul Ghani and companions, heir of Muhammad 'Āqīl and companions. It now being evidenced through trustworthy testimony that the above-named are alive, really own and possess the stated lands, and do not get their livelihood otherwise, on that account as an alms of the blessed head of the slave (*of God*), His Majesty the sovereign of the world, the master of the time, the author of safety and security, the covering shadow of the sublime God, the excellent viceregent of the peerless distributor of justice, the most perfect manifestation of the all-nourisher, the universal pity of the creator, the founder of the institutions of the world-possessing, who lays the foundation of the carpet of graciousness, the asylum of the khalifate,—the possession of the stated lands, in the former place and on the former conditions, according to the endorsement has been graciously ratified and intrusted. One ought to restore the described grounds into their possession, hindering them not at all, and absolutely not from spending the revenues from season to season and year to year for their own needs and to be assiduous in prayer for the perpetuity of the everlasting empire. If there should exist any appointment, otherwise¹² it is not to be taken notice of. Written on the 2nd *Jumād-i' l auwal* of the 18th year since the sublime accession to the throne (*i e*, of *Muhammad Shāh*), corresponding to the year 1148 of the holy flight (*the 20th September, 1735*)"

On the back the endorsement of Shāh 'Ālam is written, as always in these cases. The names of Nūr Khātūn's partners were 'Azīz Khātūn, daughter of Shaikh Muhammad, 'Āmila, Shams Khātūn, daughter of Ilyās, Hayāt Bānū, those of 'Abd ul Ghani's Jān Bibī, Šāliha Bānū, etc

Babar's sanad runs—¹³

هر العالی

فرمان طهرالدین محمد نادر عاری

درین وقت فرمان جهان مطاع و احب الانعام شرف نداد یاب که چرن موضع مختصر اکل بهروری از پرگنه
رتاله که جمع رقبی آن مبلغ پانچهار دکنه سناه (اسب درسم سدورعال تعلق نقاصی حلال قاصی پرگنه مذکور اسب

¹¹ *Khuld manzil* was Shah 'Ālam's *post mortem* name

¹² Cf. note 9

¹³ This *farmān* is very difficult to decipher. The characters want almost all diacritical dots, they are indeed not more fluently written than those of the other sanads but the tenor is different, so that it cannot be understood by the help of the others. I am indebted for a very few hints to Mr. Jamī Khān Ghōrī at Berlin, who has seen the document, but notwithstanding there remain some doubtful words. My transcript of the name of the village is quite tentative.

میداشته حالا در همانستدر بدر معلق شش سده و نعل مال رحبات و سار منرحبات مزاحم و منعرض مشارالیه
 فشرید و نعرض شد و حوالی تراید می آمد که درین مرتب معمر [؟] حاضره بصریح شد و هر ساله نعمران و پیرانچه
 متحد محتاج بدانند در رمال [؟] نعمر شما تحریر شد می شهر دی قعده سنه ۹۳۳

TRANSLATION.

"He (*God*) is the conqueror!

"*Farmān* of Zahir-uddīn Muhammad Bābar-i-Ghāzī

"Now the order to be obeyed by all the world and necessary to be respected has the honour of setting forth that the village of Manchharākāl, belonging to *pargana* Watāla, the total register of which amounts to 5,000 copper-*tanukas* (250 *Rupees*) and which as a *Sayūgrhāl* has been bestowed upon Qāzī Jalāl, judge of the city named, is now granted to him on the same conditions for six years. No one should molest nor trouble the aforesaid for quit rents, *jihāt* and *sār mutawajjihāt* ¹⁴ On request it was further enjoined that the imperial seal has been affixed for evidence, and every year a new *farmān* or order shall not be thought necessary. Written at in the castle 'Phoenix,' in the month Zī Qa'da, 933 (*began the 30th July, 1527*) "

On the back the following words are written —

"Order of the chief wazīr of the cities of faithful mankind, Shaikh ... "

Unfortunately the name of the Shaikh is not legible and his seal is also very indistinct.

XXXVIII.—FURTHER PĀBHOSĀ INSCRIPTIONS.

By G. BULLER, PH D, LL D., C I E.

In addition to the three larger inscriptions, published by Dr Fuhrer (*ante*, p 240ff), the Pābhosā cave contains a number of small and difficult ones, regarding which I offer some remarks at the request of the Editor, though I am unable to give in every case certain and complete readings or satisfactory explanations. All of them are somewhat carelessly incised on the hermit's bed and seem to belong to a period, when the cave was no longer occupied by the original donee or donees. The characters show the types of the seventh or eighth century A D. The language is incorrect Sanskrit, occasionally, it would seem mixed with Prakrit.

No. I

TRANSCRIPT.

L 1. Śrī-Prayagam var[e ?]uttam(?)[p ?]odhakī(?)h

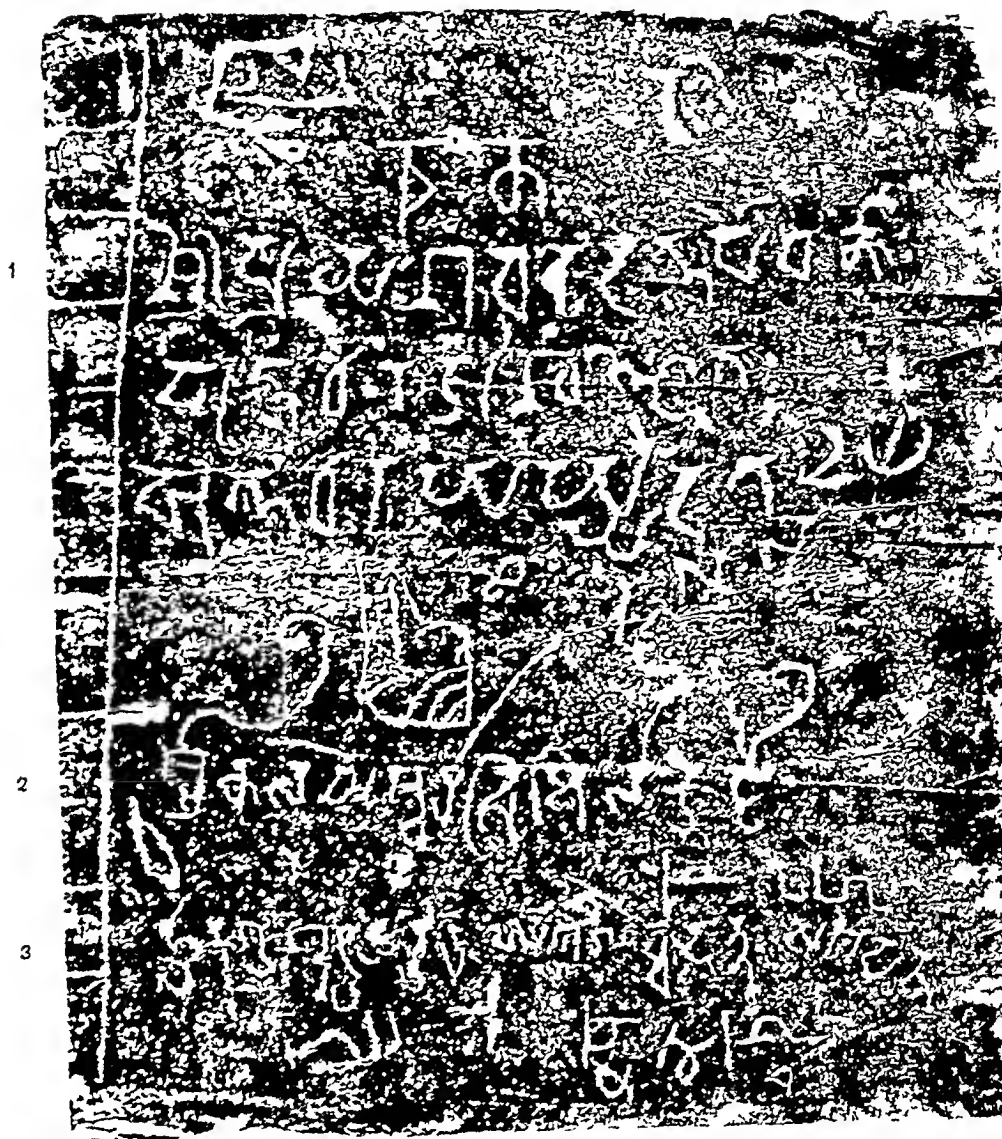
L 2. Suttadhār[a ?] akhamndatah

L 3. Suttadhār[a ?] yayyo ?[a ?] ubha(?)daya [|| *]

Above l. 1 stands high up in the left hand corner a large sign, which may be intended for *jñā*, and lower above the middle of the line two letters, the second of which

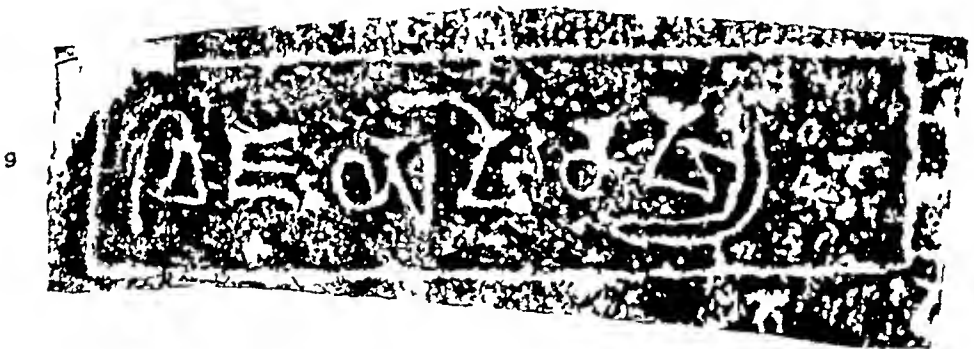
¹⁴ Otherwise *sār-jihāt*

PABHOSA INSCRIPTIONS ON THE HERMIT'S BED INSIDE THE CAVE

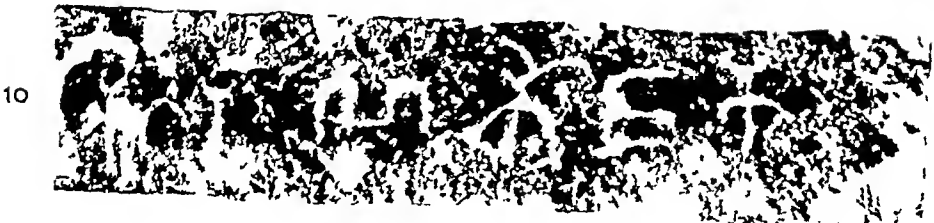


PABHOSA INSCRIPTIONS

ON THE HERMIT'S BED INSIDE THE CAVE



ON THE WEST WALL, INSIDE THE CAVE



Scale 1/4 of originals

Dr A. Fuhler, impress

is *la* Below 1 3 there is the representation of a conch-shell and to the right three rudely scratched illegible letters

As regards the interpretation, the only certain facts are (1) the occurrence of the name of "glorious Pray[ā*]ga" and (2) the mention of two *sūtradhāra* or masons. Possibly the whole may be intended for *Śrī-Prayāg[ād Varaputtra Modhakī [or Podhakī], sūtradhāro' lhanditah sūtradhāro Yayya ubha[yoh*] deyam* || or in English "From glorious Prayāga, the unblamed mason Modhakīn (or Podhakīn) son of Vara, (and) the mason Yayya (Jayya),—the gift of both these" If this is correct, the inscription probably records repairs of the cave, done by the two persons mentioned

No II

TRANSCRIPT

Śrī-Kalase[śe*]śvarādīśi(?)lā kuttī ||

The reading of the seventh and eighth consonants is uncertain, *kuttī* is probably a mistake for *kutī*, the two dots, which I have taken for stops, may, of course, denote the *Visarga*, which however would be wrong The translation is "The *cella* (or temple) of glorious Kalaśeśvara and the rest" *Kalaśa* is the name of a *Nāga*, and the inscription probably refers to the legend, which makes the cave the home of an enormous *Nāga*, (see *ante*, p 241)

No. III

The only signs readable with any certainty are *revadatta* towards the end of the line.

No IV

[Nanda]dattaprasādo lolī

No V

Deva

No. VI

TRANSCRIPT.

Om Ke[Kī*]rane[śv]arī(?)īla(?)kedah(?)va . . . sya [u*]

The inscription seems to refer to a deity called *Kīraneśvarī*, which seems to occur again in No. VII.

No VII

TRANSCRIPT.

Kīrane[śva]rīśr[ī*]ka[r*]ttā [u*]

If the restoration is correct, the translation will be, "The maker of (*the statue of*) glorious *Kīraneśvarī*" and the inscription may refer to one of the masons, mentioned in No. I, see also No VIII.

No. VIII

TRANSCRIPT

Śrī-Kṛṣṇinagopīūpakartta [11]

The second *ta* of °*arttā* looks like *va*. The translation is, "The maker of the statues of glorious Krishna and of the milkmaids." The inscription probably refers to one of the masons in No. I

Nos IX AND X

TRANSCRIPT

Vijayasenasyah[ya*] 1

Kuanabhogah[a?]

These two pieces may belong together and may possibly mean, "Of Vijayasena, the temple-priest of Kīraṇa (i.e. *Kīraṇeśvarī*)" If this interpretation is correct, the two notes may indicate that Vijayasena visited the cave when the two masons, named in No. I, repaired it. The contents of the whole series may perhaps be connected as follows — "Some time in the seventh or eighth century the Pābhosa cave was gratuitously restored by two masons of Prayaga and dedicated by Vijayasena, the *Bhogaḥ* of Kīraṇeśvarī, to the *Nāga* Kalaśa and other deities." This would account for the existence of the legend mentioned by Dr. Fuhrer, according to which the cave is inhabited by an enormous *Nāga*.

XXXIX — AN ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE BAIJNĀTH PRAŚASTIS

By G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

During the Christmas vacation of 1892 Dr. M. A. Stein, the energetic and learned Principal of the Oriental College at Lahore, visited the Kangrā district and spent some days at Kīragrāma, where he studied the Baijnāth *Praśastis* on the spot and made enquiries regarding various facts they mention. After a certain show of resistance the temple-priests became communicative, no doubt, as Dr. Stein thinks, because they wanted to learn what their inscribed tablets contained. And the results of his enquiries are so valuable for the interpretation of the inscriptions that I am sure I shall render a service to the readers of the *Epigraphia Indica* if I publish here a translation of the portion of his letter, which contains them. Writing from Lahore on February 6th, 1893, he says —

"Navagrāma, mentioned in the inscription [I, 33] is probably identical with the village of Nāur,¹ where the temple still owns 2½ *halas* of land. Naur lies about 3 miles west from Kīragrāma and belongs to the ancient pargana of Palam, which latter word I would identify with the name of the village of Pralamba, of which the inscription speaks [II, 31]. About thirty years ago, when the introduction of tea-planting induced many Europeans to settle in Kangrā, Palam² was turned into Palampur.

¹ The Sanskrit prototype of Naur would be Navapura, which probably was another name of Navagrāma — [G. B.]
The Kangrā Gazetteer still mentions Palam

"In the bazar of Kīragrāma I was shown the spot where, so late as two generations ago, stood a shop, belonging to the temple and where the two pious Banians, whom the local traditions too know as the founders of the temple, are said to have lived. This is clearly the *panyasāla* mentioned in the *Prasasti* II, 34. Regarding the oil-mill which Manyuka and Āhuka dedicated I could not hear anything, and the god has long lost the income from the *mandapikā*. But there was formerly a custom-house on the frontier of the territory of Mandi which passes close to the village. On the rocky hill which rises near the village and is now occupied by the Dāk bungalow, the Rane family is said to have had a fort. I do not dare to decide if these *Rānes*, whose descendants are still Rajput zamindārs in the parganā of Baijnāth, are identical with the *Rājānakas* of Kīragrāma³

"But in illustration of what you have said on p. 102, vol I, of the *Epigraphia* regarding the intermarriage of this Rajput family of Kīragrām with the Rājās of Traigarta, I may mention that the Rājā of Kapurthala quite lately married a girl from the house of a bitterly poor Rajput of the Gulherian Miān clan, who lives as zamindār not far from Baijnāth. Though the man is so poor that his daughter, the present Rānī, used to work for wages in the tea plantations, his countrymen have not yet pardoned him that he contracted the alliance with the Rājā.

"Your proposed identification of Suśarmapura with Kot is fully confirmed by the local traditions.

"The temple [of Baijnāth] is well preserved, and in my opinion it has not undergone such very great alterations as the earlier describers state⁴. Thus, big statues of Gangā and Yamunā, which clearly belong to the time of the inscription, are found on the gateway pillars of the *Purī*, exactly as Rāma describes them in the *Prasasti*, I 29, and his other detailed statements regarding the building fully agree with the actualities. Only the roof seems to me modern, according to the statements of the Purohitas it was renovated about one hundred years ago by Rājā Samsārchand"⁵

XL—A NOTE ON THE PRĀKRIT GRANT OF THE PALLAVA KING ŚIVASKANDAVARMAN (VOLUME I, pp 2—10)

BY ERNST LEUMANN, PH D, STRASSBURG

Prākṛit inscriptions always present particular difficulties. Dr Buhler, with his usual sagacity, has removed most of those connected with Śivaskandavarman's grant. Some others of the same inscription can only be mastered when further documents of a similar type turn up. A few, however, may perhaps be dealt with now. We have

³ I consider the identity of the *Rāne* family with the *Rājānakas* to be very probable. *Rājānaka* is also the parent of the title *Rānā*—[G B]

⁴ Cunningham, *Arch Surv Rep*, vol V, p 179 f

⁵ I take this opportunity to note that Professor Kielhorn has published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol XX, pp 114 ff, certain emendations of my readings of the two *Prasastis* in accordance with rubbings made by Sir A Cunningham. The following among Professor Kielhorn's proposals appear to me acceptable.—I 6, *śureshu nāstāra aparesku kuraatām*, I 29 *bhaktitratullohamalena tena*, I 37, *śāstradrishṭim anusṛitya*, II 2 *sa pātu vo Mahādevo Brahmādyā bhaktim āsthitāh*, and II 9, *Kṛtārthau*. In addition, I would mention that I now translate *astriyano* in I 13a by "archers" instead of by "heroes," as *astri* is clearly the nominative of *astrin*, note 64 must be altered accordingly.

to correct the following passages in Dr Buhler's transcript (on pages 5—7 of volume I).—

1 1, Read *aggittihoma* The irregular combination *tth* (for *tth*) is a mistake of the engraver which has crept in on account of the similarity of the signs for *th* and *th*

1 3, Separate *visaye savattha*, i.e. *visaye sarvatra* 'everywhere in our (*amham*) country.'

1 4, Read *mādabika* and restore it to *mādambika* This word, which means 'chief of a *madamba* district' is often found in the older Jain literature,¹ its base *madamba* occurs in the same texts and beside in some *Niryuktis* and *Bhāshyas*.

1 5, Read *ārakhādhihate*, which stands for *āraklkhādhihate* and is equivalent with *ārakkhaya* 'guard' of the Jain literature, literally it means 'employed as a guard (*ārakshā'dhikṛita*)' As to the sign *khā*, cf lines 27 and 38

1 7, Read *e* instead of *cha* and cf. the sign for *e* in lines 27, 30, 34 The word *ettha* (*atra* 'here') opens of course a new phrase, and we need not follow Dr Bühler in inserting a second verb, *vitārāma* is indeed the verb wanted and closes well the preceding phrase The first verb (*ānaveti*), however, is certainly well supplied by Dr. Bühler, only we think its place is not before *amham* (in l 3), but after *ppayutte* (in l 6) At any rate we are not to combine in irregular co-ordination the accusatives of lines 3—6 with the genitive *samcharan-taka-bhāda-manusāna*.

I would then translate the whole passage thus "Śivaskandavarman informs (*ānaveti*) in our country everywhere the royal princes, generals, rulers of larger and smaller districts (*ratthikas* and *mādumbikas*), local prefects and others, the freeholders of various villages, *vallavas*, *govallavas*, ministers, guards, captains² *tūthikas*, *neyikas* and all others employed in our service We grant an exemption from (any taxes that might be levied by or for) *samcharantakas*, soldiers or other persons³

1 44, Read *vasudhādhipataye* (acc pl from *°pati*)

¹ e.g. in the *Supapātika sūtra*, *Paryushanākalpa* ('*Kalpāsūtra*'), etc

² The corrected reading *ārakhādhihate* (in l 5) makes it very probable that the word immediately following (*gumika*) is also a military term

³ In reply to Dr Bühler's appended notes, I may remark that the persons favoured by the grant are undoubtedly "the Brahmins, who are the freeholders of the settlement (*koḍunka*) called Chullareka" The gift is therefore a Brahmin *parihāra*, i.e. 'an immunity granted to Brahmins Honorary allowance, as Dr Buhler proposes, does not change the sense, but is less appropriate, *koḍunka* is apparently a contracted form of *koḍumbaka* (Sansk. *lauṣumbaka*) in the same way *naṣyoka* seems to me to stand for *naṣyogika*, which would be a synonym of the term *ābhizogika* 'servant'—of the Jain literature The term *kumāra parihāra* similarly denotes an immunity presented to a prince, the Jataka phrase adduced by Dr Bühler means— "When, afterwards they noticed that he was a prince, they no longer gave him any work to do, but spared him, so to say, by a princely immunity"

The inscription, of course, mentions, also, the persons who are to respect the grant, i.e. who are not allowed in any way to trouble the above named Brahmins (by levying taxes, etc) So the two cognate Pallava plates clearly state *Sarvavyuktakāḥ sarva naṣyokāḥ rājavallabhāḥ samcharantakāś cha tat simam sarva parihāraḥ pariharantu parihārayantā cha ayuttu sarva parihāreḥ pariharantu parihārayan (tu cha)*, "The persons of the king's service and party must spare and cause to spare the territory (described before) by all the (eighteen) kinds of exemption "In face of these parallel passages, the words—*samcharantaka-bhādamanusāna parihāraḥ vitārāma* can only have the sense which I have given them, without pretending however, that my translation reflects accurately the grammatical construction This latter can only be made clear when the three syllables before *parihāraḥ* are deciphered

That *samcharantakas* are a nuisance to people, we learn, e.g. from the description of a model town given in the *Nemicharita*, I 14 (on Hemachandra's *Bhāvabhāvanā*, v 5) in that town no *samcharantakas* are allowed to stroll about (*...samcharantakāḥ tirai na tatttha bhāmum*) Another Prakrit word of the Pallava Inscription (which however occurs also elsewhere) is *bappa* 'father' this is found in *Dasaraṇakālikasūtra* vii, 18,—See *Zeitsch d Deut Morgenl Gesellsch* vol XLVI pp 628

l 45, Read *mejālāye*, i e *mejjātāye* In Jaina Prākṛit *maryādā* becomes *mejjā*, the last two syllables being contracted The Sanskrit sounds *arya* in Prākṛit generally are changed to *era*, sometimes to *ejja* or *ariya* or *ajja*

l 46, Separate *cha si*. The word *si* refers to *mejātāye*, and therefore represents a singular case like *tasyāh*, it is indeed a short form for the anaphoric pronoun *se* that is often met with in the *Niryuktis* and *Bhāṣhyas* of the Jain literature The function and origin of *se* has been well discussed by Professor Wackernagel in the *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung* (vol XXIV, p. 600) Though *se* and *si* refer to *all genders and numbers* we find occasionally in the *Niryuktis* and *Bhāṣhyas* a special plural form *sim* which, by the addition of the Anusvāra, has been formed after the fashion of plural genitives like *tesim* (*teshām*), etc

What remains to be said is of less importance, we are probably to read *vādaka* for *vātaka* (in lines 12 and 30), misprints are apparently *hiroqa* for *hirogo* (10), *patibhāgo* for *patibhāgo* (12), *patibhāgo* for *pattibh-* (21), *ttivas°* for *ttivās°* (36), *pilā* for *pīlā* (40), *dattā* for *datā* (48), *kada* for *lada* (51), *brāhmana* for *brah.nana*, and *lekhaka* for *lekhaka* (52)

SOME FURTHER NOTES ON THE GRANT OF ŚIVASKANDA- VARMAN (VOLUME I, pp 2—10)

The corrections of my reading and rendering of Śivaskandavarman's grant, which Professor E Leumann has proposed above, make, I think, a few further remarks from me desirable

(Line 1) Professor Leumann's statement that the plates have *aggutthoma*, not *aggutthoma*, is correct I should say that the nonsensical form has been caused by a confusion between the two possible forms with *ttha* and *ttha* Both in literary and in epigraphic Pali, Sanskrit *śhta* or *śhtha* is represented occasionally by the dental *tenus* and the *tenus aspirata*. Thus, we have in literary works for *kroshtri* 'a jackal,' both *lotthuka* and *lotthuka*, or even *kutthu*, as well as forms in *ttha* for various past participles in *śhta* And the Sanchi votive inscriptions offer *sethi* and *sethi* for *śreshthin*, Aśoka's New Edicts both *vivutha* and *vyutha* for *vyushta*. In such words the Pali *ttha* probably goes back to originals with *sta*, similar to those in the Shāhbāzgarhī version of the Rock Edicts, where we find *sresta* for *śreshtha*, *dipista* (3rd pers sing aor. Ātm) equivalent to a Sanskrit form *adipishta*

(L 3) Professor Leumann is right in separating *visaye savattha*, but the correction has already been given by me in the Addenda and Corrigena to vol I, p 479.

(L 4) The plates have not *mādabika*, as Professor Leumann asserts. The last sign is mutilated, the crossbar of the *ka* on the right having been omitted by mistake. The sign, which has thus come out, can only be read *nu*. Professor Leumann's restoration *mādambika* "governors of Madambas," instead of *māmdabika* "custom-house officers," is possible, though, owing to the rarity of the word *madamba* (except in Jaina works), somewhat doubtful I add an explanation of the term *madamba*, which Professor Jacobi has kindly furnished to me from the Jaina commentaries *madambām sarvato'rdha yojanāt parato'asthita-grāmāni*.

(Ll 5-7.) Professor Leumann's readings *ārakhādḥikate* and *ettha* for my *āranadhikate* and *chattha* are certainly correct. His translation of lines 6-7, "We grant an exemption from (any taxes that might be levied by or for) *Samcharantakas* (soldiers) and other persons" cannot stand, for *°bhadamanusāna* is separated from *parihāram* by a not now readable word ending in *o*, and in all probability the two expressions do not belong together. Even supposing that *samcharamtakabhadamanusāna parihāram vitarāma* had to be taken together, the meaning could only be, "We grant an exemption to Samcharantakas, etc.," it is against the custom observed in the grants to name first an exemption and afterwards the object granted. I must add that my translation of *parihāra* by "an immunity" ought to be changed to 'a honorific grant'. Of late I have found in the *Jātakas* several passages where *parihāra* has a concrete meaning and is used for "appanage, honorific allowance, special grant". In several stories it is narrated how queens receive or are deprived of their *parihāra*, and there is the compound *humāra-parihāra* "an allowance suitable for a prince."

(L. 40.) The correct reading is *pīlā* (not *pīlā*, as Professor Leumann says), the short *i* being expressed, as is done very often, by a complete circle.

(L. 45) *Majātāye* is the reading of the plates, not, as Professor Leumann holds, *mejātāye*. The little stroke above the *ma* has been caused by a slip of the engraver's punch. A real *me* looks very different (see lines 1, 29, 41).

(L. 46) As *śm* is permissible for *tesm*, *etesm* and *esm*, according to Hemachandra *Prākṛita Vyākaraṇa* III, 81, and occurs, as Professor Leumann says, in Jaina works, I agree with him that its equivalent *ś* in *cha ś* should be written separate. *Ś* refers, however, not, as Professor Leumann thinks, to *majātāye*, but to the grantees. Compare the corresponding passages in the Sanskrit grants, e.g. *Indian Antiquary*, vol. V p. 196, l. 6, p. 207, l. 9, p. 212, l. 25, vol. XI, p. 113, l. 43; p. 159, l. 50.

TABLES FOR CALCULATING HINDU DATES IN TRUE LOCAL TIME

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In my paper on the computation of Hindu dates, etc (vol I, page 403 ff), I have given rules for calculating, according to the curiously inaccurate Hindu method, the corrections which must be applied to a date, computed for mean sunrise, in order to obtain the same for true sunrise at any given place in India. As this calculation is rather tiresome, I have computed the following tables, which will make the process easy without detracting from the accuracy of the results. As the problem, to solve which these tables serve, is somewhat complicated, a few remarks on the theory of true and mean time may not be amiss.

1 Suppose the sun to move with an equal motion on the equator (instead of on the ecliptic), then this equatorial sun will exactly regulate mean time. His rising will occur at 6 o'clock for every place on the earth the whole year round, marking the mean beginning of day. The interval between his risings at two distant places will be the time-difference between these places (see vol. I, Table XXV).

2 Now assume a second sun to move with the same equable motion on the ecliptic. This supposed sun is meant when the "mean sun" is spoken of. It is obvious that this mean sun and the first will not rise at the same time, except when they coincide at the two points of intersection of the equinoctial and the ecliptic. At every other time the second will, in places in north latitude, rise earlier than the first, when he is in the northern half of the ecliptic, and later, when he is in the southern half. Table XXVII, A-F, gives the interval in *ghatikās* and *vinādīs* between the risings of both supposed suns,¹ for every degree of the ecliptic as entered in the vertical index to the left and right of each table, and for all degrees of north latitude from 10°—35° as entered in the horizontal index at the top of each table. At the intersection of the horizontal and vertical columns is given the interval of rising for the tropical longitude of the mean sun and for the terrestrial latitude in question, e.g., in Table XXVII-B, we find that for 44° trop. Long O and 20° terr. Lat the difference in rising is 1gh 22v. If the trop. Long O is entered in the index to the left, the ecliptical mean sun rises before the mean beginning of the day, if on the index to the right, it rises after the mean beginning of the day.

3 We thus find the time of rising of the *mean* sun (moving on the ecliptic), but what is really wanted is the time of rising of the *true* sun. The true sun only twice in the year coincides with the mean sun, at every other time he either precedes or lags behind the mean sun. Their difference in longitude is the equation of the sun's centre, the amount of which in degrees, minutes, and seconds is furnished by Table XXIV-B. If the equation has the sign —, the true longitude of the sun is greater than his mean one, and consequently the true sun rises *later* than the mean one, if the equation in Table XXIV has the sign +, the true sun rises *before* the mean one, always by the time corresponding to the sun's equation of the centre. In order to compute the equivalent in time for the sun's equation of the centre, we must know how much time is occupied in rising by one degree of the ecliptic at the place where the sun is at the moment in question in a given latitude. The amount in *vinādīs* is furnished by the entries immediately below the degrees of terrestrial latitude in Table XXVII. Though continually changing, it is considered by Hindu astronomers to be constant throughout each single

¹ Or between the risings of a point on the equator and one on the ecliptic, which have the same distances from the equinox.

sign, and equal to the mean² As the different parts of Table XXVII represent the tropical signs, one entry serves for the whole part. Thus we find in Part B that on the 20th parallel one degree of the ecliptic (between 30° and 60° trop Long) takes up 8·79 *vinādīs* in rising. Knowing the time taken up in rising by one degree, we can easily calculate the time corresponding to any given value of the equation of the sun's centre.

4 Table XXVII refers to tropical longitude, while the other tables yield sidereal longitude. The former is found by adding to the latter the *ayanāmsās* (or amount of the precession of the equinox) for the year in question.

The rule for calculating the *ayanāmsās* is given in section 39 of the former paper (page 421), to find them without calculation is the object of Tables XXVIII and XXIX, e.g., we find by Table XXVIII that in K. Y. 4683 the *ayanāmsās* were—

$$\begin{array}{rcl} 16^{\circ} 14' 42'', \text{ viz K Y 4600} & = & 15^{\circ} 0' 0'' \\ 80 \text{ years} & = & 1^{\circ} 12' 0'' \\ 3 \text{ ,,} & = & 0^{\circ} 2' 42'' \\ \text{Ayanāmsā} & = & \underline{16^{\circ} 14' 42''} \end{array}$$

Table XXIX serves for the *Brahma Siddhānta* and *Siddhānta Śuomanī*, Table XXVIII, for the other *Siddhāntas*.

5 I shall now illustrate by examples the working of these tables in connection with the Special Tables, for when such accuracy is wanted, that the difference between mean and true time comes into consideration, the calculation must be made by means of the Special Tables.³

1st Example—Let it be proposed to calculate the true *Tithi* for true sunrise on the 7th (solar) Jyāishtha K. Y. 4128 at Aligarh, whose latitude is 27° 53' (or roundly 28°) and time difference + 14 *vin*. We use for this and the following examples the tables for the *Sūrya Siddhānta*—

(a) We calculate the elements Distance ☾—☉ etc, for the year and day in question, viz.—

	Dist ☾—☉	☾'s An	☉'s An	Corr
4100 years	69° 43' 0"	217° 8' 30"	282° 44' 16"	+ 20 <i>gh</i> 5 <i>v</i>
28 ,,	117° 47' 3"	58° 38' 37"	.	— 14 <i>gh</i> 43 <i>v</i>
7th Jyāi	66° 40' 34"	97° 16' 26"	34° 29' 46"	
	<u>254° 15' 37"</u>	<u>13° 3' 33"</u>	<u>317° 13' 52"</u>	<u>+ 6 <i>gh</i> 11 <i>v</i></u>

(b) Add the time difference, with the sign changed, for the place in question, to the Corr (+ 6 *gh* 11 *v*. — 14 *v* = + 5 *gh* 57 *v*) and find by Table XXII the corresponding increase of the elements, distance, etc—

5 <i>gh</i>	=	1° 0' 57"	1° 5' 19"	4' 56"
57 <i>v</i>	=	11' 35"	12' 25"	56"
5 <i>gh</i> 57 <i>v</i>	=	<u>+ 1° 12' 32"</u>	<u>+ 1° 17' 44"</u>	<u>+ 5' 52"</u>

(c) Add (or subtract, according to the sign) the increase from the first result—

254° 15' 37"	13° 3' 33"	317° 13' 52"
+ 1° 12' 32"	1° 17' 44"	5' 52"
<u>255° 28' 9"</u>	<u>14° 21' 17"</u>	<u>317° 19' 44"</u>

(d) Find the equations for the anomalies of the moon and sun by Table XXIV—

An ☾	14° 21'	Eq ☾ =	— 1° 15' 32"
An. ☉	317° 20'	Eq ☉ =	— 1° 29' 12"
Sum of eq's		=	<u>— 2° 44' 44"</u>

² The same inaccuracy pervades all Hindu calculations of true sunrise, and makes all figures in Table XXVI wrong when compared with the true values. However, we do not require the latter, but those which the Hindus assume in their calculations.

³ I shall indicate below §7, how these tables may be used in connection with the general tables for an estimate of the difference between mean and true local time.

(e) Add the sum of equations to the distance, the result is the true distance at mean sunrise for the place in question, *viz.* $255^{\circ} 28' 9'' - 2^{\circ} 44' 44'' = 252^{\circ} 43' 25''$.

(f) Find the sidereal longitude of the sun by subtracting from the above the \odot 's an, the same for beginning of the century (Table XIII)

$$\begin{array}{r} 317^{\circ} 19' 44'' \\ - 252^{\circ} 44' 16'' \\ \hline \text{Sid Long } \odot = 64^{\circ} 55' 28'' \end{array}$$

(g) Find the *ayanāmas* for the year in question, by Table XXVIII—

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{K 1 4100} \quad = 7^{\circ} 30' 0'' \\ 28 \text{ years} = \quad 25' 12'' \\ \hline \text{K 1 1125} \quad = 7^{\circ} 55' 12'' \end{array}$$

(h) Add the *ayanāmas* thus found to the sidereal longitude of the sun, the result is the tropical longitude of the sun —

$$\begin{array}{r} 64^{\circ} 55' 28'' \\ + 7^{\circ} 55' 12'' \\ \hline \text{Trop Long } \odot = 72^{\circ} 50' 40'' \end{array}$$

(i) Look out in Table XXVII the “interval of rising” of the degree of trop Long \odot now found for the latitude of the given place

If the left hand index ($0 - 180$) is used, the amount is subtractive, if the index to the right ($180 - 360$) the amount is additive

In this case we get, for trop Long 72° on the 28th parallel, — 1gh 46v

(l) Take, from the same part of the Table just used, the time required by one degree in rising, as given there immediately below the degree of latitude in question, and calculate the equivalent in time for the sun's equation. If the equation has the sign +, the amount is subtractive; if —, it is additive

In the present case 1° takes up 8 24 *vinādīs*, consequently $1^{\circ} 29'$ will take up 12v. The equation being negative, the amount is additive. We put it down as + 12v

(U) Add (or subtract according to the sign) the *vinādīs* in (k) to the result in (i), find the increase of Dist $\odot - \odot$ for the sum, in Table XXII, add the increase (or subtract according to the sign of the sum) to the true Dist $\odot - \odot$ (found in e). The result is the true Dist $\odot - \odot$ for true sunrise at the place in question. Here — 1gh 46v + 12v = — 1gh. 34v.

$$\begin{array}{r} 1gh = 12' 11'' \\ 34v = 6' 54'' \\ \hline - 1gh 34v = -18' 5'' \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{This, added to the result in (e), viz, } 252^{\circ} 43' 25'' \\ \text{52'', makes } 252^{\circ} 24' 20'' \end{array}$$

(m) This result is not quite correct, because we have made use of the mean increase (or decrease) of Dist $\odot - \odot$ instead of the true, as the Hindus do. However, we may rest satisfied with this approximation when the true distance comes out larger or smaller, by 4 minutes or more, than an entire number of degrees marking the end of a *Tithi*. This is the case in the present example 252° mark the end of the 21st *tithi* or the 6th *tithi* of the dark fortnight, but as we found the true distance to be $252^{\circ} 24' 20''$, which is more than $4'$ above the end of the *Tithi*, *viz.* 252° , the final result is not affected by the slightly incorrect calculation

In rare cases where the strictest accuracy is required, proceed as follows —

Add the increase (or decrease) of the distance, etc, for the sum found in (l) to the

result in (e); again, find the equations of α and \odot , as in (d), and add their sum to the distance, as in (e). The result is the true distance. In this case — *1gh. 34v* —

	Dist $\alpha - \odot$	α 's An.	\odot 's An
1 gh.	0° 12' 11"	0° 13' 4"	0' 59"
34 v.	6 54	7 24	31
— 1 gh. 34 v	19 5	20 28	+ 1 33
subtracted from	255 28 9	14 21 17	317 19 44
makes	255 9' 4"	14 0' 49"	317 18' 11"
An α 14° 1' eq. = —	1° 13' 49"		
An \odot 317° 18' eq = —	1 30 8		
Sum of eq's = —	2 43 57		
Dist $\alpha - \odot$	+ 255 9 4		
True dist	252° 25' 7"		

This then is the strictly accurate *true* distance $\alpha - \odot$. The error in the preceding method was — 47"

It may be borne in mind, however, that it is a waste of time to attempt this degree of accuracy, unless we know the *Hindu* value of the latitude and longitude of the place for which the date is to be calculated. This uncertainty is enhanced when we have to deal with dates in inscriptions, for we never know for what place the almanac was calculated, from which the date recorded in the inscription was taken, though in most cases we shall probably be right in assuming that the almanac referred to the capital of the kingdom.

The following examples will be understood without further comment I use the same letters as in the first example to indicate the operations to be gone through —

Ex. 2 — K Y 4128, 4th Bhādrapada, place Ratnagiri, 17° Lat and time difference — 34 vin

	$\alpha - \odot$	α 's An	\odot 's An	(or. An.
(a) 4100 years	69° 48' 0"	217° 8' 80'	282° 44' 16"	+ 20 gh 54 v
28 "	117 47 3	58 38 37	.	— 14 43
4th Bhādra	96 2 4	216 11 10	124 11 9	+ 6 11
	283 37 7	131 58 17	46 55 25	(b) + 34
(c) + 6 gh.	1 13 9	1 18 23	5 55	+ 6 45
45 v.	9 9	9 48	44	
	284 59 25	133 26 28	47 2 4	(d) eq α = — 3° 43' 44"
(e)	— 2 7 39			eq \odot = + 1 36 5
	282 51 46			Sum = — 2 7 39

(f) 407° 2' 4" (an \odot + 360°) (g) 4128 K Y, *ayanāntā* as above 7° 55' 12"

— 282 44 16 (mid Long. \odot)

(h) + 7 55 12

132 13 . (trop Long \odot)

(i) trop. Long \odot = 132°, on 17° Lat, Interval . = — 32 vin

(k) Eq \odot = + 1° 36' (1° = 10 97 vin), time of rising = — 18 vin

(l) 282° 51' 46"

— 10 9

Sum = — 50 vin = — 16' 9" (l)

282 41 37 . Result.

Ex 3 — K. Y. 4325, 4th Mārgaśīra Śrinagar, Lat 34° 6', time difference — 8 vin.

(a) 4300 years	345° 24' 0"	276° 1' 30"	282° 43' 58"	— 24 gh. 10v.
25 "	79 27 0	142 21 38		— 28 8
4th Mārg.	137 35 2	338 9 48	214 51 41	
	202 26 2	296 32 56	137 35 34	— 52 18
				(b) + 8
				— 52 10

(c) 52 gh	=	10° 33' 55"	11° 19' 23"	0° 51' 15"	
10 v	=	2 2	2 11	10	
52 gh 10 v	=	—10 35 57	—11 21 34	—51 25	(d) eq. \odot \approx + 4° 55' 16"
		202 26 2	296 32 56	137 35 34	eq \odot \approx + 1 31 7
makes		191 50 5	285 11 22	136 44 9	Sum \approx + 6° 26' 23"
Sum of eq	+	6 26 23			
(e)		198 16 28			
(f)	496° 44' 9" (an \odot + 360°)			(g) 4300 <i>ayanāmsa</i>	= 10° 30' 0"
	— 282 43 53			25 years	= 22 30
	214 0 16 (sid Long \odot)			4325 K Y <i>ayanāmsa</i>	= 10° 58' 30"
(h)	+ 10 52 30				
	224 52 46 (trop Long \odot)				
(i)	trop Long \odot = 225° on 31° Lat	Interval			\approx + 1 gh 32 v
(j)	Eq " \odot = + 1° 31' (1° = 12 18), time of rising				= — 18
					Sum \approx + 1 gh 14 v.
(l)	1 gh.	.	.	=	12' 11"
	14 v	.	.	=	2 51
+ 1 gh 14 v				=	15 2 (added to e)
					198 16 28
makes	.				198° 31' 30" Result

6 In §62 of my former paper I have said "In the *Siddhānta Śiromani Golādhyāya*" IV, 20, Bhaskara states that the ancient astronomers ⁴ assumed that at Lankā (or on the Equator) the zodiacal signs rise in the same time with 30 degrees of the equinoctial, while in fact they do not. The tables give the interval according to Bhāskara's theory. If the value without Bhāskara's correction is wanted, it may be elicited from the tables. For that purpose the column 0° has been added, in it are given what Bhāskara calls the *udnyāntara*. They must be added to, or subtracted from (according to the sign), the value in the table. Under this supposition, we shall get in (i) of the first example above 1 gh 21 v instead of 1 gh 46 v, and in (l) we find 8 27 *vin* instead of 8 23 as the time taken up in rising 1 degree, the latter correction does not, in this case, sensibly affect the final result, while the former will.

In calculating dates anterior to Bhāskara (K Y. 4251) the value of the "interval" given in the table should be corrected in the way just explained.

7 The present tables may be used roughly to estimate the difference between mean Indian and true local time, as in the following example.

In §24 of my first paper we found that in K Y 4682 the 11th tithi of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha ended 46 ghatikas after mean sunrise in Lankā on the 18th Vaiśākha of the Tables. What is the corresponding local time at Purniya (26° N Lat. and + 1 gh 58 *vin* time difference)?

First add the time difference to the given Lankā time 46 gh + 1 gh. 58 v = 47 gh 58 *vin*. Then look out in Table VIII the sidereal Long \odot on the 18th Vaiśākha 16° 10', add the *ayanāmsa* for K Y 4682, *viz* 16° 15', the sum is the trop Long \odot , 16° 40' + 16° 15' = 32° 55' (or nearly 33°). Now look out in Table XXVII, Part B, the interval between the mean beginning of the day and sunrise on the 26th parallel and for trop Long \odot = 33°, *viz* 1 gh 25 v. The left hand index being used, the true sun rises before the mean beginning of the day, accordingly we must add the interval to mean time 47 gh 58 v + 1 gh 25 v = 49 gh 23 v. This is the required true local time for the end of the 11th tithi in Purniya.

⁴ Our text of the *Surya Siddhānta* III, 43, 44, is in accordance with Bhāskara's theory, and must therefore be later. From the error in the position of the Moon's node relative to that of the Sun, I am persuaded that the present text of the *Surya Siddhānta* was fixed not before the 13th century A D. The *bīja* is a still later addition.

TABLE XXVII (PART A—Trop Long 0=0°—29°, 360°—331°)

Lat.	10°	11°	12°	13°	14°	15°	16°	17°	18°	19°	20°	21°	22°	23°	
Fin	8 58	8 51	8 43	8 37	8 29	8 21	8 15	8 07	7 99	7 92	7 84	7 76	7 68	7 60	
Long	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	Long
0°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	360°
1	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	359
2	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 5	0 5	358
3	0 4	0 4	0 5	0 5	0 5	0 5	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 7	0 7	0 7	0 7	357
4	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 7	0 7	0 7	0 7	0 8	0 8	0 8	0 9	0 9	0 9	0 10	356
5	0 7	0 7	0 8	0 8	0 9	0 9	0 9	0 10	0 10	0 10	0 11	0 11	0 12	0 12	355
6	0 9	0 9	0 9	0 10	0 10	0 11	0 11	0 12	0 12	0 12	0 13	0 13	0 14	0 14	354
7	0 10	0 10	0 11	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 13	0 14	0 14	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 16	0 17	353
8	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 13	0 14	0 14	0 15	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 19	352
9	0 13	0 13	0 14	0 15	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 19	0 20	0 21	0 22	351
10	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 19	0 20	0 21	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 24	350
11	0 16	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 20	0 20	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 24	0 25	0 26	0 26	349
12	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 20	0 21	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 24	0 25	0 26	0 27	0 28	0 29	348
13	0 18	0 19	0 20	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 24	0 25	0 26	0 27	0 28	0 29	0 30	0 31	347
14	0 20	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 24	0 25	0 26	0 27	0 28	0 29	0 30	0 31	0 32	0 34	346
15	0 21	0 22	0 24	0 24	0 26	0 27	0 29	0 29	0 30	0 31	0 32	0 34	0 35	0 36	345
16	0 23	0 24	0 25	0 26	0 27	0 29	0 30	0 31	0 32	0 33	0 35	0 36	0 37	0 38	344
17	0 24	0 25	0 27	0 28	0 29	0 30	0 31	0 33	0 34	0 35	0 37	0 38	0 39	0 41	343
18	0 26	0 27	0 28	0 29	0 31	0 32	0 33	0 35	0 36	0 37	0 39	0 40	0 42	0 43	342
19	0 27	0 28	0 30	0 31	0 32	0 34	0 35	0 37	0 38	0 39	0 41	0 43	0 44	0 46	341
20	0 28	0 30	0 31	0 33	0 34	0 36	0 37	0 39	0 40	0 41	0 43	0 45	0 46	0 48	340
21	0 30	0 31	0 33	0 34	0 36	0 38	0 39	0 41	0 42	0 43	0 45	0 47	0 49	0 50	339
22	0 31	0 33	0 35	0 36	0 38	0 39	0 41	0 42	0 44	0 46	0 48	0 49	0 51	0 53	338
23	0 33	0 34	0 36	0 37	0 39	0 41	0 43	0 44	0 46	0 48	0 50	0 52	0 53	0 55	337
24	0 34	0 36	0 38	0 39	0 41	0 43	0 44	0 46	0 48	0 50	0 52	0 54	0 56	0 58	336
25	0 35	0 37	0 39	0 41	0 43	0 45	0 46	0 48	0 50	0 52	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	335
26	0 37	0 39	0 41	0 42	0 44	0 47	0 48	0 50	0 52	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	1 2	334
27	0 38	0 40	0 42	0 44	0 46	0 48	0 50	0 52	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	1 3	1 5	333
28	0 40	0 42	0 44	0 46	0 48	0 50	0 52	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	1 3	1 5	1 7	332
29	0 41	0 43	0 46	0 47	0 50	0 52	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	1 3	1 5	1 7	1 10	331

PART A,—continued

Lat.	24°	25°	26°	27°	28°	29°	30°	31°	32°	33°	34°	35°	0	
Fin	7 52	7 43	7 34	7 26	7 17	7 08	6 98	6 89	6 80	6 69	6 59	6 49	+0 72	
Long	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	Long
0°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	360°
1	0 2	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 1	359
2	0 5	0 5	0 5	0 5	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 7	0 7	0 7	0 1	358
3	0 7	0 8	0 8	0 8	0 8	0 9	0 9	0 9	0 10	0 10	0 10	0 11	0 2	357
4	0 10	0 10	0 11	0 11	0 11	0 12	0 12	0 12	0 13	0 13	0 14	0 14	0 3	356
5	0 12	0 13	0 13	0 14	0 14	0 15	0 15	0 16	0 16	0 17	0 17	0 18	0 4	355
6	0 15	0 15	0 16	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 18	0 19	0 19	0 20	0 20	0 21	0 4	354
7	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 19	0 20	0 20	0 21	0 22	0 22	0 23	0 24	0 25	0 5	353
8	0 20	0 21	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 23	0 24	0 25	0 26	0 26	0 27	0 28	0 6	352
9	0 22	0 23	0 24	0 25	0 25	0 26	0 27	0 28	0 29	0 30	0 31	0 32	0 7	351
10	0 25	0 26	0 27	0 27	0 28	0 29	0 30	0 31	0 32	0 33	0 34	0 35	0 7	350
11	0 27	0 28	0 29	0 30	0 31	0 32	0 33	0 34	0 35	0 36	0 38	0 39	0 8	349
12	0 30	0 31	0 33	0 33	0 34	0 35	0 36	0 37	0 38	0 40	0 41	0 42	0 9	348
13	0 32	0 33	0 35	0 36	0 37	0 38	0 39	0 40	0 42	0 43	0 44	0 46	0 10	347
14	0 35	0 36	0 37	0 38	0 40	0 41	0 42	0 44	0 45	0 46	0 48	0 49	0 10	346
15	0 37	0 39	0 40	0 41	0 42	0 44	0 45	0 47	0 48	0 50	0 51	0 53	0 11	345
16	0 40	0 41	0 43	0 44	0 45	0 47	0 48	0 50	0 51	0 53	0 55	0 56	0 12	344
17	0 42	0 44	0 45	0 47	0 48	0 50	0 51	0 53	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	0 13	343
18	0 45	0 46	0 49	0 49	0 51	0 53	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	1 1	1 3	0 13	342
19	0 47	0 49	0 51	0 52	0 54	0 55	0 57	0 59	1 1	1 3	1 5	1 7	0 14	341
20	0 50	0 51	0 53	0 55	0 57	0 58	1 0	1 2	1 4	1 7	1 8	1 10	0 15	340
21	0 52	0 54	0 56	0 58	0 59	1 1	1 3	1 5	1 7	1 10	1 12	1 14	0 16	339
22	0 55	0 57	0 59	1 0	1 2	1 4	1 6	1 8	1 10	1 13	1 15	1 17	0 16	338
23	0 57	0 59	1 1	1 3	1 5	1 7	1 9	1 12	1 14	1 16	1 18	1 21	0 17	337
24	1 0	1 2	1 4	1 6	1 8	1 10	1 12	1 15	1 17	1 19	1 22	1 24	0 18	336
25	1 2	1 4	1 7	1 8	1 11	1 13	1 15	1 18	1 20	1 23	1 25	1 28	0 18	335
26	1 4	1 7	1 9	1 11	1 14	1 16	1 18	1 21	1 23	1 26	1 29	1 31	0 19	334
27	1 7	1 9	1 12	1 14	1 17	1 19	1 21	1 24	1 26	1 29	1 32	1 35	0 20	333
28	1 9	1 12	1 14	1 17	1 19	1 22	1 24	1 27	1 30	1 33	1 35	1 38	0 21	332
29	1 12	1 15	1 17	1 19	1 22	1 25	1 27	1 30	1 33	1 36	1 39	42	0 21	331

TABLE XXVII. (PART B—*Trop Long* $0=30^{\circ}$ — 59° , 330° — 301°)

Lat	10°	11°	12°	13°	14°	15°	16°	17°	18°	19°	20°	21°	22°	23°	
"	94	934	929	922	917	911	904	898	892	885	879	872	866	859	
Long	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	Long
30°	0 43	0 45	0 47	0 49	0 51	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	1 2	1 5	1 7	1 10	1 12	330°
31	0 43	0 45	0 48	0 50	0 52	0 55	0 57	0 59	1 1	1 4	1 6	1 9	1 11	1 13	329
32	0 44	0 46	0 48	0 51	0 53	0 55	0 58	1 0	1 2	1 5	1 7	1 10	1 12	1 14	328
33	0 44	0 47	0 49	0 51	0 54	0 56	0 59	1 1	1 3	1 6	1 8	1 11	1 14	1 16	327
34	0 45	0 47	0 50	0 52	0 55	0 57	1 0	1 2	1 4	1 7	1 10	1 12	1 15	1 17	326
35	0 46	0 48	0 51	0 53	0 55	0 58	1 0	1 3	1 6	1 8	1 11	1 14	1 16	1 19	325
36	0 46	0 49	0 51	0 54	0 56	0 59	1 1	1 4	1 7	1 9	1 12	1 15	1 18	1 20	324
37	0 47	0 49	0 52	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 2	1 5	1 8	1 10	1 13	1 16	1 19	1 22	323
38	0 47	0 50	0 53	0 55	0 58	1 1	1 3	1 6	1 9	1 12	1 14	1 17	1 20	1 23	322
39	0 48	0 51	0 53	0 56	0 59	1 2	1 4	1 7	1 10	1 13	1 16	1 19	1 22	1 25	321
40	0 49	0 51	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 3	1 5	1 8	1 11	1 14	1 17	1 20	1 23	1 26	320
41	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 58	1 0	1 3	1 6	1 9	1 12	1 15	1 18	1 21	1 24	1 27	319
42	0 50	0 52	0 56	0 59	1 1	1 4	1 7	1 10	1 13	1 16	1 19	1 23	1 26	1 29	318
43	0 50	0 53	0 56	0 59	1 2	1 5	1 8	1 11	1 14	1 17	1 20	1 24	1 27	1 30	317
44	0 51	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 3	1 6	1 9	1 12	1 15	1 19	1 22	1 25	1 28	1 32	316
45	0 52	0 54	0 58	1 1	1 4	1 7	1 10	1 13	1 16	1 20	1 23	1 26	1 30	1 33	315
46	0 52	0 55	0 58	1 1	1 5	1 8	1 11	1 14	1 17	1 21	1 24	1 27	1 31	1 35	314
47	0 53	0 56	0 59	1 2	1 5	1 9	1 12	1 15	1 19	1 22	1 25	1 29	1 32	1 36	313
48	0 53	0 56	1 0	1 3	1 6	1 10	1 13	1 16	1 20	1 23	1 27	1 30	1 34	1 37	312
49	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 4	1 7	1 11	1 14	1 17	1 21	1 24	1 28	1 32	1 35	1 39	311
50	0 54	0 58	1 1	1 5	1 8	1 11	1 15	1 18	1 22	1 25	1 29	1 33	1 36	1 40	310
51	0 55	0 58	1 2	1 5	1 9	1 12	1 16	1 19	1 23	1 27	1 30	1 34	1 38	1 42	309
52	0 56	0 59	1 3	1 6	1 9	1 13	1 17	1 20	1 24	1 28	1 31	1 35	1 39	1 43	308
53	0 56	1 0	1 3	1 7	1 10	1 14	1 18	1 21	1 25	1 29	1 33	1 37	1 40	1 44	307
54	0 57	1 0	1 4	1 8	1 11	1 15	1 19	1 22	1 26	1 30	1 34	1 38	1 42	1 46	306
55	0 58	1 1	1 5	1 8	1 12	1 16	1 20	1 23	1 27	1 31	1 35	1 39	1 43	1 47	305
56	0 58	1 1	1 5	1 9	1 13	1 17	1 21	1 24	1 28	1 32	1 36	1 41	1 44	1 49	304
57	0 59	1 2	1 6	1 10	1 14	1 18	1 22	1 26	1 29	1 33	1 37	1 42	1 46	1 50	303
58	0 59	1 3	1 7	1 11	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 27	1 30	1 35	1 39	1 43	1 47	1 51	302
59	1 0	1 3	1 8	1 12	1 15	1 20	1 23	1 28	1 32	1 36	1 40	1 44	1 48	1 53	301

PART B,—continued

Lat	24°	25°	26°	27°	28°	29°	30°	31°	32°	33°	34°	35°	0°	
"	852	845	838	831	824	816	808	800	791	784	776	767	+003	
Long	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	Long
30°	1 14	1 17	1 20	1 22	1 25	1 28	1 30	1 33	1 36	1 39	1 42	1 45	-0 22	330°
31	1 16	1 19	1 21	1 24	1 27	1 29	1 32	1 35	1 38	1 41	1 45	1 48	0 22	329
32	1 17	1 20	1 23	1 26	1 29	1 31	1 34	1 37	1 40	1 44	1 47	1 50	0 22	328
33	1 19	1 22	1 25	1 27	1 30	1 33	1 36	1 39	1 42	1 46	1 49	1 52	0 22	327
34	1 20	1 23	1 26	1 29	1 32	1 35	1 38	1 41	1 44	1 48	1 51	1 55	0 22	326
35	1 22	1 25	1 28	1 31	1 34	1 37	1 40	1 43	1 46	1 50	1 54	1 57	-0 22	325
36	1 23	1 26	1 29	1 32	1 36	1 39	1 42	1 45	1 49	1 52	1 56	1 59	0 22	324
37	1 25	1 28	1 31	1 34	1 37	1 41	1 44	1 47	1 51	1 55	1 58	2 2	0 22	323
38	1 26	1 30	1 33	1 36	1 39	1 42	1 46	1 49	1 53	1 57	2 0	2 4	0 22	322
39	1 28	1 31	1 34	1 37	1 41	1 44	1 48	1 51	1 55	1 59	2 2	2 6	0 22	321
40	1 29	1 33	1 36	1 39	1 43	1 46	1 50	1 53	1 57	2 1	2 5	2 9	-0 22	320
41	1 31	1 34	1 37	1 41	1 44	1 48	1 52	1 55	1 59	2 3	2 7	2 11	0 22	319
42	1 32	1 36	1 39	1 43	1 46	1 50	1 54	1 57	2 1	2 5	2 9	2 13	0 22	318
43	1 34	1 37	1 41	1 44	1 48	1 52	1 55	1 59	2 3	2 7	2 11	2 16	0 22	317
44	1 35	1 39	1 42	1 46	1 50	1 53	1 57	2 1	2 5	2 10	2 14	2 18	0 22	316
45	1 37	1 40	1 44	1 48	1 51	1 55	1 59	2 3	2 7	2 12	2 16	2 20	-0 22	315
46	1 38	1 42	1 46	1 49	1 53	1 57	2 1	2 5	2 9	2 14	2 18	2 23	0 22	314
47	1 40	1 43	1 47	1 51	1 55	1 59	2 3	2 7	2 12	2 16	2 20	2 25	0 22	313
48	1 41	1 45	1 49	1 53	1 57	2 1	2 5	2 9	2 14	2 18	2 23	2 27	0 22	312
49	1 42	1 47	1 51	1 54	1 58	2 3	2 7	2 11	2 16	2 20	2 25	2 30	0 22	311
50	1 44	1 48	1 52	1 56	2 0	2 4	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 27	2 32	-0 22	310
51	1 46	1 50	1 54	1 58	2 2	2 6	2 11	2 15	2 20	2 25	2 29	2 34	0 22	309
52	1 47	1 51	1 55	1 59	2 4	2 8	2 13	2 17	2 22	2 27	2 32	2 37	0 22	308
53	1 48	1 53	1 57	2 1	2 6	2 10	2 15	2 19	2 24	2 29	2 34	2 39	0 22	307
54	1 50	1 54	1 59	2 3	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 21	2 26	2 31	2 36	2 41	0 22	306
55	1 51	1 56	2 0	2 4	2 9	2 14	2 19	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 44	-0 22	305
56	1 53	1 57	2 2	2 6	2 11	2 15	2 20	2 25	2 30	2 35	2 41	2 46	0 22	304
57	1 54	1 59	2 3	2 8	2 12	2 17	2 22	2 27	2 32	2 37	2 43	2 48	0 22	303
58	1 56	2 1	2 5	2 10	2 14	2 19	2 24	2 29	2 35	2 40	2 45	2 51	0 22	302
59	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 11	2 16	2 21	2 26	2 31	2 37	2 42	2 47	2 53	0 22	301

TABLE XXVII (PART C—Trop Long $\odot=60^{\circ}-89^{\circ}, 300^{\circ}-127^{\circ}$)

Lat	10°	11°	12°	13°	14°	15°	16°	17°	18°	19°	20°	21°	22°	23°	
Var	10 52	10 50	10 47	10 45	10 42	10 40	10 37	10 35	10 32	10 29	10 27	10 24	10 22	10 18	
Long	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	
60°	1 1	1 4	1 8	1 13	1 16	1 20	1 24	1 29	1 33	1 37	1 41	1 45	1 49	1 54	205
61	1 0	1 3	1 8	1 13	1 16	1 20	1 24	1 28	1 32	1 37	1 41	1 45	1 49	1 54	206
62	0 59	1 3	1 8	1 13	1 16	1 20	1 24	1 28	1 32	1 37	1 41	1 45	1 49	1 54	207
63	0 59	1 2	1 7	1 12	1 15	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 32	1 36	1 40	1 45	1 48	1 54	207
64	0 58	1 2	1 7	1 12	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 27	1 32	1 36	1 40	1 45	1 48	1 54	208
65	0 58	1 1	1 6	1 11	1 14	1 18	1 23	1 27	1 31	1 36	1 40	1 45	1 48	1 54	209
66	0 57	1 1	1 6	1 11	1 14	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 31	1 35	1 39	1 44	1 47	1 53	210
67	0 57	1 0	1 5	1 11	1 13	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 31	1 35	1 39	1 44	1 47	1 53	211
68	0 56	1 0	1 5	1 10	1 13	1 17	1 21	1 26	1 30	1 35	1 39	1 44	1 47	1 53	212
69	0 56	0 59	1 4	1 10	1 12	1 17	1 21	1 26	1 30	1 34	1 38	1 43	1 47	1 53	213
70	0 55	0 59	1 4	1 9	1 12	1 16	1 21	1 25	1 30	1 34	1 38	1 43	1 47	1 53	214
71	0 55	0 58	1 3	1 9	1 12	1 16	1 20	1 25	1 29	1 33	1 37	1 42	1 47	1 52	215
72	0 54	0 58	1 3	1 8	1 11	1 16	1 20	1 25	1 29	1 33	1 37	1 42	1 47	1 52	216
73	0 54	0 57	1 2	1 8	1 11	1 15	1 20	1 24	1 29	1 33	1 37	1 42	1 47	1 52	217
74	0 53	0 57	1 2	1 8	1 10	1 15	1 19	1 24	1 28	1 32	1 37	1 42	1 47	1 52	218
75	0 53	0 56	1 1	1 7	1 10	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 32	1 37	1 42	1 47	1 52	219
76	0 52	0 56	1 1	1 7	1 10	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 32	1 37	1 42	1 47	1 52	220
77	0 52	0 55	1 0	1 6	1 9	1 14	1 18	1 23	1 27	1 32	1 37	1 42	1 47	1 52	221
78	0 51	0 55	1 0	1 6	1 9	1 13	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 32	1 37	1 42	1 47	1 52	222
79	0 51	0 54	1 0	1 5	1 8	1 13	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 31	1 36	1 41	1 46	1 51	223
80	0 50	0 54	0 59	1 5	1 8	1 12	1 17	1 22	1 26	1 31	1 36	1 41	1 46	1 51	224
81	0 50	0 53	0 58	1 4	1 7	1 12	1 17	1 21	1 26	1 31	1 36	1 41	1 46	1 51	225
82	0 49	0 53	0 58	1 4	1 7	1 12	1 16	1 21	1 26	1 31	1 36	1 41	1 46	1 51	226
83	0 49	0 52	0 57	1 3	1 7	1 11	1 16	1 21	1 26	1 31	1 36	1 41	1 46	1 51	227
84	0 48	0 52	0 57	1 3	1 6	1 11	1 16	1 20	1 25	1 30	1 35	1 40	1 45	1 50	228
85	0 48	0 51	0 57	1 2	1 6	1 10	1 15	1 20	1 25	1 30	1 35	1 40	1 45	1 50	229
86	0 47	0 51	0 56	1 2	1 5	1 10	1 15	1 20	1 24	1 29	1 34	1 39	1 44	1 49	230
87	0 47	0 50	0 56	1 2	1 5	1 10	1 15	1 19	1 24	1 29	1 34	1 39	1 44	1 49	231
88	0 46	0 50	0 55	1 1	1 4	1 9	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 33	1 38	1 43	1 48	232
89	0 46	0 49	0 55	1 1	1 4	1 9	1 14	1 18	1 23	1 28	1 33	1 38	1 43	1 48	233

PART C—continued

Lat	24°	25°	26°	27°	28°	29°	30°	31°	32°	33°	34°	35°	36°	37°	
Var	10 16	10 13	10 10	10 07	10 04	10 00	9 57	9 54	9 51	9 47	9 44	9 40	9 37	9 34	
Long	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	
60°	1 59	2 4	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 0	240
61	1 59	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 0	241
62	1 59	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 43	2 48	2 53	2 58	3 0	242
63	1 59	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 44	2 49	2 54	2 59	3 0	243
64	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 44	2 49	2 54	2 59	3 0	244
65	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 44	2 49	2 54	2 59	3 0	245
66	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 44	2 49	2 54	2 59	3 0	246
67	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 44	2 49	2 54	2 59	3 0	247
68	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 44	2 49	2 54	2 59	3 0	248
69	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 44	2 49	2 54	2 59	3 0	249
70	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 44	2 49	2 54	2 59	3 0	250
71	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 44	2 49	2 54	2 59	3 0	251
72	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 44	2 49	2 54	2 59	3 0	252
73	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 44	2 49	2 54	2 59	3 0	253
74	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 44	2 49	2 54	2 59	3 0	254
75	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 44	2 49	2 54	2 59	3 0	255
76	1 56	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 44	2 49	2 54	2 59	3 0	256
77	1 56	2 1	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 44	2 49	2 54	2 59	3 0	257
78	1 56	2 1	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 44	2 49	2 54	2 59	3 0	258
79	1 56	2 1	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 44	2 49	2 54	2 59	3 0	259
80	1 56	2 1	2 6	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 44	2 49	2 54	2 59	3 0	260
81	1 56	2 1	2 6	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 44	2 49	2 54	2 59	3 0	261
82	1 55	2 1	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 44	2 49	2 54	2 59	3 0	262
83	1 55	2 1	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 44	2 49	2 54	2 59	3 0	263
84	1 55	2 1	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 44	2 49	2 54	2 59	3 0	264
85	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 44	2 49	2 54	2 59	3 0	265
86	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 44	2 49	2 54	2 59	3 0	266
87	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 44	2 49	2 54	2 59	3 0	267
88	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 44	2 49	2 54	2 59	3 0	268
89	1 54	2 0	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 44	2 49	2 54	2 59	3 0	269

TABLE XXVII (PART D—*Trop Long* $0=90^{\circ}-119^{\circ}, 270^{\circ}-241^{\circ}$)

Lat	10°	11°	12°	13°	14°	15°	16°	17°	18°	19°	20°	21°	22°	23°	
Fin.	10-93	11-01	11-03	11-05	11-08	11-10	11-13	11-15	11-18	11-21	11-23	11-26	11-28	11-32	
Long	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	Long
90°	0 45	0 49	0 51	0 50	1 0	1 3	1 5	1 13	1 15	1 23	1 28	1 33	1 38	1 42	270°
91	0 44	0 48	0 53	0 59	1 2	1 7	1 12	1 17	1 22	1 27	1 32	1 37	1 41	1 45	269
92	0 43	0 47	0 52	0 58	1 1	1 6	1 11	1 16	1 21	1 26	1 31	1 36	1 40	1 47	268
93	0 42	0 46	0 51	0 57	1 0	1 5	1 10	1 15	1 20	1 25	1 30	1 35	1 39	1 45	267
94	0 41	0 45	0 50	0 56	0 59	1 4	1 8	1 14	1 19	1 24	1 28	1 34	1 38	1 43	266
95	0 40	0 44	0 49	0 55	0 58	1 3	1 7	1 13	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 32	1 36	1 42	265
96	0 39	0 43	0 48	0 54	0 57	1 2	1 6	1 12	1 16	1 21	1 26	1 31	1 35	1 41	264
97	0 38	0 42	0 47	0 53	0 56	1 1	1 5	1 10	1 15	1 20	1 25	1 30	1 34	1 39	263
98	0 37	0 41	0 46	0 52	0 55	1 0	1 3	1 9	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 33	1 38	262
99	0 36	0 40	0 45	0 51	0 54	0 58	1 2	1 8	1 13	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 31	1 37	261
100	0 35	0 39	0 44	0 50	0 53	0 57	1 1	1 7	1 12	1 16	1 21	1 26	1 30	1 36	260
101	0 34	0 38	0 43	0 49	0 52	0 56	1 0	1 6	1 11	1 15	1 20	1 25	1 29	1 35	259
102	0 33	0 37	0 42	0 48	0 51	0 55	0 59	1 5	1 9	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 27	1 33	258
103	0 32	0 36	0 41	0 47	0 50	0 54	0 58	1 3	1 8	1 13	1 17	1 22	1 26	1 31	257
104	0 31	0 35	0 40	0 46	0 48	0 53	0 57	1 2	1 7	1 12	1 16	1 21	1 25	1 30	256
105	0 30	0 34	0 39	0 44	0 47	0 52	0 56	1 1	1 6	1 10	1 15	1 20	1 24	1 29	255
106	0 29	0 33	0 38	0 43	0 46	0 51	0 54	1 0	1 5	1 9	1 14	1 18	1 22	1 27	254
107	0 28	0 32	0 37	0 42	0 45	0 49	0 53	0 59	1 4	1 8	1 13	1 17	1 21	1 26	253
108	0 27	0 31	0 36	0 41	0 44	0 48	0 52	0 58	1 2	1 7	1 11	1 16	1 20	1 25	252
109	0 26	0 30	0 35	0 40	0 43	0 47	0 51	0 57	1 1	1 5	1 10	1 15	1 18	1 24	251
110	0 25	0 29	0 34	0 39	0 42	0 46	0 50	0 55	1 0	1 4	1 9	1 13	1 17	1 22	250
111	0 24	0 28	0 32	0 38	0 41	0 45	0 49	0 54	0 59	1 3	1 7	1 12	1 16	1 21	249
112	0 23	0 27	0 31	0 37	0 40	0 44	0 48	0 53	0 58	1 2	1 6	1 11	1 15	1 20	248
113	0 22	0 26	0 30	0 36	0 39	0 43	0 47	0 52	0 56	1 1	1 5	1 10	1 13	1 18	247
114	0 21	0 25	0 29	0 35	0 38	0 42	0 46	0 51	0 55	0 59	1 4	1 9	1 12	1 17	246
115	0 20	0 24	0 28	0 34	0 37	0 41	0 44	0 50	0 54	0 58	1 3	1 7	1 11	1 16	245
116	0 19	0 23	0 27	0 33	0 36	0 40	0 43	0 49	0 53	0 57	1 1	1 6	1 10	1 14	244
117	0 18	0 22	0 26	0 32	0 35	0 39	0 42	0 47	0 52	0 56	1 0	1 5	1 8	1 13	243
118	0 17	0 21	0 25	0 31	0 34	0 37	0 41	0 46	0 51	0 55	0 59	1 3	1 7	1 12	242
119	0 16	0 20	0 24	0 29	0 33	0 36	0 40	0 45	0 49	0 53	0 58	1 2	1 6	1 10	241

PART D,—continued

Lat	24°	25°	26°	27°	28°	29°	30°	31°	32°	33°	34°	35°	0°	
Fin.	11-34	11-37	11-40	11-43	11-46	11-50	11-53	11-56	11-60	11-63	11-67	11-71	-070	
Long	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	gh r	Long
90°	1 54	2 0	2 5	2 11	2 16	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 41	2 48	2 51	3 1	+0 0	270°
91	1 53	1 59	2 4	2 10	2 15	2 21	2 27	2 34	2 40	2 46	2 51	3 0	0 1	269
92	1 52	1 57	2 2	2 8	2 14	2 20	2 26	2 32	2 38	2 45	2 53	2 58	0 1	268
93	1 51	1 56	2 1	2 7	2 12	2 18	2 24	2 30	2 37	2 43	2 51	2 56	0 2	267
94	1 50	1 54	2 0	2 5	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 42	2 50	2 55	0 3	266
95	1 49	1 53	1 58	2 4	2 9	2 15	2 21	2 27	2 33	2 40	2 48	2 53	+0 4	265
96	1 47	1 52	1 57	2 2	2 8	2 14	2 20	2 26	2 32	2 38	2 46	2 51	0 4	264
97	1 46	1 50	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 12	2 18	2 24	2 30	2 37	2 45	2 49	0 5	263
98	1 44	1 49	1 54	1 59	2 5	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 43	2 48	0 6	262
99	1 43	1 48	1 53	1 58	2 3	2 9	2 15	2 21	2 27	2 33	2 41	2 46	0 7	261
100	1 42	1 46	1 51	1 57	2 0	2 8	2 13	2 19	2 26	2 32	2 40	2 44	+0 7	260
101	1 40	1 45	1 50	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 12	2 18	2 24	2 30	2 38	2 43	0 8	259
102	1 39	1 43	1 48	1 54	1 59	2 5	2 10	2 16	2 22	2 29	2 37	2 41	0 9	258
103	1 38	1 42	1 47	1 52	1 57	2 3	2 9	2 15	2 21	2 27	2 35	2 39	0 10	257
104	1 36	1 41	1 46	1 51	1 56	2 2	2 7	2 13	2 19	2 25	2 33	2 38	0 10	256
105	1 35	1 39	1 44	1 49	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 12	2 18	2 24	2 31	2 36	+0 11	255
106	1 34	1 38	1 43	1 48	1 53	1 59	2 4	2 10	2 16	2 22	2 28	2 34	0 12	254
107	1 32	1 37	1 41	1 47	1 52	1 57	2 3	2 9	2 14	2 20	2 26	2 32	0 13	253
108	1 31	1 35	1 40	1 45	1 50	1 56	2 1	2 7	2 13	2 19	2 25	2 31	0 13	252
109	1 30	1 34	1 39	1 44	1 49	1 54	2 0	2 5	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	0 14	251
110	1 28	1 33	1 37	1 42	1 47	1 53	1 58	2 4	2 10	2 15	2 21	2 27	+0 15	250
111	1 27	1 31	1 36	1 41	1 46	1 51	1 57	2 2	2 8	2 14	2 20	2 26	0 16	249
112	1 26	1 30	1 34	1 39	1 44	1 50	1 55	2 1	2 6	2 12	2 18	2 24	0 16	248
113	1 24	1 28	1 33	1 38	1 43	1 48	1 54	1 59	2 5	2 11	2 16	2 22	0 17	247
114	1 22	1 27	1 32	1 37	1 41	1 47	1 52	1 58	2 3	2 9	2 15	2 20	0 18	246
115	1 21	1 26	1 30	1 35	1 40	1 45	1 51	1 56	2 1	2 7	2 13	2 18	+0 19	245
116	1 19	1 24	1 29	1 34	1 38	1 44	1 49	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 11	2 17	0 19	244
117	1 18	1 23	1 27	1 32	1 37	1 42	1 48	1 53	1 58	2 4	2 10	2 15	0 20	243
118	1 17	1 21	1 26	1 31	1 36	1 41	1 46	1 51	1 57	2 2	2 8	2 14	0 21	242
119	1 15	1 20	1 25	1 29	1 34	1 39	1 45	1 50	1 55	2 1	2 6	2 12	0 22	241

TABLE XXVII. (PART E—Trop Long. O=120° — 149°, 240° — 211°)

Lat	10°	11°	12°	13°	14°	15°	16°	17°	18°	19°	20°	21°	22°	23°	
Vin	10 54	10 60	10 66	10 71	10 78	10 84	10 91	10 97	11 03	11 09	11 16	11 22	11 29	11 36	
Long	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	Long
120°	0 15	0 19	0 23	0 29	0 31	0 35	0 39	0 44	0 48	0 52	0 56	1 1	1 4	1 9	240°
121	0 15	0 18	0 22	0 28	0 30	0 35	0 39	0 43	0 47	0 51	0 55	0 59	1 3	1 8	239
122	0 15	0 17	0 22	0 27	0 29	0 34	0 38	0 42	0 46	0 50	0 54	0 58	1 1	1 7	238
123	0 14	0 17	0 21	0 27	0 28	0 33	0 37	0 41	0 45	0 49	0 53	0 57	1 0	1 5	237
124	0 13	0 16	0 20	0 26	0 28	0 32	0 36	0 40	0 44	0 48	0 52	0 56	0 59	1 4	236
125	0 13	0 15	0 20	0 25	0 27	0 31	0 35	0 39	0 43	0 46	0 50	0 54	0 58	1 3	235
126	0 12	0 15	0 19	0 24	0 27	0 30	0 34	0 38	0 42	0 45	0 49	0 53	0 56	1 1	234
127	0 12	0 14	0 19	0 24	0 26	0 30	0 33	0 37	0 41	0 44	0 48	0 52	0 55	1 0	233
128	0 11	0 14	0 18	0 23	0 25	0 29	0 32	0 36	0 40	0 43	0 47	0 51	0 54	0 59	232
129	0 11	0 13	0 17	0 22	0 24	0 28	0 31	0 35	0 39	0 42	0 46	0 50	0 52	0 57	231
130	0 10	0 12	0 17	0 21	0 23	0 27	0 30	0 34	0 38	0 41	0 45	0 48	0 51	0 56	230
131	0 9	0 11	0 16	0 20	0 22	0 26	0 30	0 33	0 37	0 40	0 43	0 47	0 50	0 54	229
132	0 9	0 11	0 15	0 20	0 23	0 25	0 29	0 32	0 36	0 39	0 42	0 46	0 48	0 53	228
133	0 8	0 11	0 15	0 19	0 21	0 24	0 28	0 31	0 35	0 38	0 41	0 45	0 47	0 52	227
134	0 8	0 10	0 14	0 19	0 20	0 24	0 27	0 30	0 33	0 37	0 40	0 43	0 46	0 50	226
135	0 7	0 9	0 13	0 18	0 20	0 23	0 26	0 29	0 32	0 36	0 39	0 42	0 45	0 49	225
136	0 7	0 9	0 13	0 17	0 19	0 22	0 25	0 28	0 31	0 34	0 38	0 41	0 43	0 48	224
137	0 6	0 8	0 12	0 17	0 18	0 21	0 24	0 27	0 30	0 33	0 36	0 40	0 42	0 46	223
138	0 6	0 8	0 12	0 16	0 17	0 20	0 23	0 26	0 29	0 32	0 35	0 39	0 41	0 45	222
139	0 5	0 7	0 11	0 15	0 16	0 20	0 22	0 25	0 28	0 31	0 34	0 37	0 40	0 44	221
140	0 5	0 6	0 10	0 14	0 15	0 19	0 21	0 24	0 27	0 30	0 33	0 36	0 38	0 42	220
141	0 4	0 6	0 10	0 14	0 15	0 18	0 20	0 23	0 26	0 29	0 32	0 35	0 37	0 41	219
142	0 4	0 5	0 9	0 13	0 14	0 17	0 20	0 23	0 25	0 28	0 31	0 34	0 36	0 40	218
143	0 3	0 5	0 8	0 12	0 14	0 16	0 19	0 22	0 24	0 27	0 29	0 32	0 34	0 38	217
144	0 2	0 4	0 8	0 12	0 13	0 15	0 18	0 21	0 23	0 26	0 28	0 31	0 33	0 37	216
145	0 2	0 3	0 7	0 11	0 12	0 14	0 17	0 20	0 22	0 25	0 27	0 30	0 31	0 35	215
146	0 1	0 3	0 6	0 10	0 11	0 14	0 16	0 19	0 21	0 24	0 26	0 29	0 30	0 34	214
147	0 1	0 2	0 6	0 10	0 10	0 13	0 15	0 18	0 20	0 22	0 24	0 28	0 29	0 33	213
148	0 0	0 2	0 5	0 9	0 9	0 12	0 14	0 17	0 19	0 21	0 23	0 26	0 28	0 31	212
149	0 0	0 1	0 4	0 8	0 9	0 11	0 13	0 16	0 18	0 20	0 22	0 25	0 27	0 30	211

PART E,—continued

Lat	24°	25°	26°	27°	28°	29°	30°	31°	32°	33°	34°	35°	0°	
Vin	11 43	11 50	11 57	11 63	11 71	11 78	11 86	11 95	12 03	12 11	12 18	12 27	+0 03	
Long	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	gh v	Long
120°	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 33	1 37	1 43	1 48	1 54	1 59	2 4	2 10	gh v	240°
121	1 13	1 17	1 22	1 26	1 31	1 36	1 41	1 47	1 52	1 57	2 2	2 8	+0 22	239
122	1 12	1 16	1 20	1 25	1 29	1 34	1 39	1 45	1 50	1 55	2 0	2 6	0 22	238
123	1 10	1 15	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 32	1 37	1 43	1 48	1 53	1 58	2 3	0 22	237
124	1 9	1 13	1 17	1 21	1 26	1 31	1 36	1 41	1 45	1 51	1 56	2 1	0 22	236
125	1 7	1 12	1 15	1 20	1 24	1 29	1 34	1 39	1 43	1 49	1 54	1 59	+0 22	235
126	1 6	1 10	1 14	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 32	1 37	1 41	1 47	1 51	1 56	0 22	234
127	1 5	1 9	1 12	1 16	1 21	1 25	1 30	1 35	1 39	1 45	1 49	1 54	0 22	233
128	1 3	1 7	1 11	1 15	1 19	1 24	1 28	1 33	1 37	1 42	1 47	1 52	0 22	232
129	1 2	1 6	1 9	1 13	1 17	1 22	1 26	1 31	1 35	1 40	1 45	1 50	0 22	231
130	1 0	1 4	1 8	1 12	1 16	1 20	1 24	1 29	1 33	1 38	1 43	1 47	+0 22	230
131	0 59	1 3	1 6	1 10	1 14	1 18	1 23	1 27	1 31	1 36	1 40	1 45	0 22	229
132	0 57	1 1	1 4	1 8	1 12	1 16	1 21	1 25	1 29	1 34	1 38	1 43	0 22	228
133	0 56	1 0	1 3	1 7	1 11	1 15	1 19	1 23	1 27	1 32	1 36	1 41	0 22	227
134	0 55	0 58	1 1	1 5	1 9	1 13	1 17	1 22	1 25	1 30	1 34	1 38	0 22	226
135	0 53	0 57	1 0	1 3	1 7	1 11	1 15	1 20	1 23	1 28	1 32	1 36	+0 22	225
136	0 52	0 55	0 58	1 2	1 5	1 9	1 13	1 18	1 21	1 26	1 30	1 34	0 22	224
137	0 50	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 4	1 8	1 11	1 15	1 19	1 23	1 27	1 32	0 22	223
138	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 59	1 2	1 6	1 9	1 14	1 17	1 21	1 25	1 29	0 22	222
139	0 47	0 51	0 53	0 57	1 0	1 4	1 8	1 12	1 15	1 19	1 23	1 27	0 22	221
140	0 46	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 59	1 2	1 6	1 10	1 13	1 17	1 21	1 25	+0 22	220
141	0 45	0 48	0 50	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 4	1 8	1 11	1 15	1 19	1 22	0 22	219
142	0 43	0 46	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 59	1 2	1 6	1 9	1 13	1 16	1 20	0 22	218
143	0 42	0 45	0 47	0 50	0 53	0 57	1 0	1 4	1 7	1 11	1 14	1 18	0 22	217
144	0 40	0 43	0 46	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 58	1 2	1 5	1 9	1 12	1 16	0 22	216
145	0 39	0 42	0 44	0 47	0 50	0 53	0 56	1 0	1 3	1 7	1 10	1 13	+0 22	215
146	0 37	0 40	0 42	0 46	0 48	0 51	0 55	0 58	1 1	1 4	1 8	1 11	0 22	214
147	0 36	0 39	0 41	0 44	0 47	0 49	0 53	0 56	0 59	1 2	1 6	1 9	0 22	213
148	0 34	0 37	0 39	0 42	0 45	0 48	0 50	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 3	1 7	0 22	212
149	0 33	0 36	0 38	0 41	0 43	0 46	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 58	1 1	1 4	0 22	211

TABLE XXVII (PART F—*Trop Long* $\odot = 150^\circ - 180^\circ, 210^\circ - 180^\circ$)

Lat	10°	11°	12°	13°	14°	15°	16°	17°	18°	19°	20°	21°	22°	23°	
<i>Fin</i>	10 00	10 05	10 12	10 19	10 27	10 34	10 41	10 49	10 57	10 64	10 72	10 80	10 88	10 96	
Long	<i>gh v</i>	<i>gh v</i>	<i>gh v</i>	<i>gh v</i>	<i>gh v</i>	<i>gh v</i>	<i>gh v</i>	<i>gh v</i>	<i>gh v</i>	<i>gh v</i>	<i>gh v</i>	<i>gh v</i>	<i>gh v</i>	<i>gh v</i>	Long
150°	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 6	0 8	0 10	0 12	0 15	0 17	0 19	0 21	0 24	0 26	0 29	210°
151	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 6	0 8	0 10	0 12	0 14	0 17	0 19	0 21	0 23	0 26	0 28	209
152	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 5	0 8	0 10	0 11	0 13	0 16	0 18	0 20	0 22	0 25	0 27	208
153	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 5	0 7	0 9	0 11	0 13	0 16	0 17	0 19	0 22	0 24	0 26	207
154	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 5	0 7	0 9	0 11	0 12	0 15	0 17	0 19	0 21	0 23	0 25	206
155	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 5	0 7	0 8	0 10	0 12	0 14	0 16	0 18	0 20	0 22	0 24	205
156	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 5	0 6	0 8	0 10	0 12	0 14	0 15	0 17	0 19	0 21	0 23	204
157	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 4	0 6	0 8	0 9	0 11	0 13	0 15	0 17	0 18	0 20	0 22	203
158	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 4	0 6	0 7	0 9	0 11	0 13	0 14	0 16	0 18	0 19	0 21	202
159	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 4	0 6	0 7	0 9	0 10	0 12	0 13	0 15	0 17	0 18	0 20	201
160	0 0	0 0	0 2	0 4	0 5	0 7	0 8	0 10	0 11	0 13	0 14	0 16	0 18	0 19	200
161	0 0	0 0	0 2	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 8	0 9	0 11	0 12	0 14	0 15	0 17	0 18	199
162	0 0	0 0	0 2	0 3	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 9	0 10	0 12	0 13	0 14	0 16	0 17	198
163	0 0	0 0	0 2	0 3	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 14	0 15	0 16	197
164	0 0	0 0	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 12	0 13	0 14	0 15	196
165	0 0	0 0	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 14	195
166	0 0	0 0	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 13	194
167	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 2	0 4	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	193
168	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	192
169	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 11	191
170	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 2	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	190
171	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	189
172	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 5	0 6	0 6	0 7	0 8	188
173	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 6	0 7	187
174	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 4	0 5	0 5	0 6	186
175	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 5	185
176	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 4	184
177	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 3	0 3	183
178	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 2	182
179	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	181
180	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	180

PART F—continued

Lat	24°	25°	26°	27°	28°	29°	30°	31°	32°	33°	34°	35°	0°	
<i>Fin</i>	11 04	11 13	11 21	11 30	11 39	11 48	11 57	11 66	11 76	11 87	11 97	12 07	+0 73	
Long	<i>gh v</i>	<i>gh v</i>	<i>gh v</i>	<i>gh v</i>	<i>gh v</i>	<i>gh v</i>	<i>gh v</i>	<i>gh v</i>	<i>gh v</i>	<i>gh v</i>	<i>gh v</i>	<i>gh v</i>	<i>gh v</i>	Long
150°	0 31	0 34	0 36	0 39	0 41	0 44	0 47	0 50	0 53	0 56	0 59	1 2	+0 22	210°
151	0 30	0 33	0 35	0 38	0 40	0 42	0 46	0 48	0 51	0 54	0 57	1 0	0 21	209
152	0 29	0 32	0 34	0 36	0 39	0 41	0 44	0 46	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 58	0 21	208
153	0 28	0 31	0 33	0 35	0 38	0 40	0 42	0 45	0 48	0 50	0 53	0 56	0 20	207
154	0 27	0 29	0 31	0 34	0 36	0 38	0 41	0 43	0 46	0 49	0 51	0 54	0 19	206
155	0 26	0 28	0 30	0 32	0 35	0 37	0 39	0 41	0 44	0 47	0 49	0 52	+0 18	205
156	0 25	0 27	0 29	0 31	0 33	0 36	0 38	0 40	0 42	0 45	0 47	0 50	0 18	204
157	0 24	0 26	0 28	0 30	0 32	0 34	0 36	0 38	0 40	0 43	0 45	0 48	0 17	203
158	0 23	0 25	0 27	0 29	0 31	0 33	0 35	0 37	0 39	0 41	0 43	0 46	0 16	202
159	0 22	0 24	0 25	0 27	0 29	0 31	0 33	0 35	0 37	0 39	0 41	0 43	0 16	201
160	0 21	0 23	0 24	0 26	0 28	0 30	0 31	0 33	0 35	0 37	0 39	0 41	+0 15	200
161	0 19	0 21	0 23	0 25	0 26	0 28	0 30	0 32	0 33	0 36	0 37	0 39	0 14	199
162	0 18	0 20	0 22	0 23	0 25	0 27	0 28	0 30	0 32	0 34	0 35	0 37	0 13	198
163	0 17	0 19	0 21	0 22	0 24	0 25	0 27	0 28	0 30	0 32	0 33	0 35	0 13	197
164	0 16	0 18	0 19	0 21	0 22	0 24	0 25	0 27	0 28	0 30	0 32	0 33	0 12	196
165	0 15	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 21	0 22	0 24	0 25	0 26	0 28	0 30	0 31	+0 11	195
166	0 14	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 25	0 26	0 28	0 29	0 10	194
167	0 13	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 20	0 22	0 23	0 24	0 26	0 27	0 10	193
168	0 12	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 20	0 21	0 22	0 24	0 25	0 9	192
169	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 8	191
170	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 20	0 21	+0 7	190
171	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 13	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 28	0 19	0 7	189
172	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 13	0 14	0 15	0 26	0 17	0 6	188
173	0 7	0 8	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 12	0 13	0 24	0 14	0 5	187
174	0 6	0 7	0 7	0 8	0 8	0 9	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 11	0 22	0 12	0 4	186
175	0 5	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 7	0 7	0 8	0 8	0 9	0 9	0 10	0 10	+0 4	185
176	0 4	0 5	0 5	0 5	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 7	0 7	0 7	0 8	0 8	0 3	184
177	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 5	0 5	0 5	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 2	183
178	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 1	182
179	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 1	181
180	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	180

TABLE XXVIII.—*The Ayanāmsa for centuries of the Kali Yuga and for odd years **

K.Y	Ayanāmsa	Years	Ayanāmsa.
3600	0° 0'	1	0° 0' 54"
3700	1 30	2	0 1 48
3800	3 0	3	0 2 42
3900	4 30	4	0 3 36
		5	0 4 30
4000	6 0	6	0 5 24
4100	7 30	7	0 6 18
4200	9 0	8	0 7 12
4300	10 30	9	0 8 6
4400	12 0	10	0 9 0
4500	13 30	20	0 18 0
4600	15 0	30	0 27 0
4700	16 30	40	0 36 0
4800	18 0	50	0 45 0
4900	19 30	60	0 54 0
		70	1 3 0
5000	21 0	80	1 12 0
..		90	1 21 0

TABLE XXIX.—*The Ayanāmsa according to the Siddhānta Siromani.*

K Y	Ayanāmsa.	Years	Ayanāmsa
3628	0° 0' 0"	1	0° 1' 0"
3700	1 11 32	2	0 2 0
3800	2 51 22	3	0 3 0
3900	4 31 12	4	0 4 0
		5	0 5 0
4000	6 11 2	6	0 5 59
4100	7 50 52	7	0 6 59
4200	9 30 42	8	0 7 59
4300	11 10 32	9	0 8 59
4400	12 50 22	10	0 9 59
4500	14 30 12	20	0 19 58
4600	16 10 2	30	0 29 57
4700	17 49 52	40	0 39 56
4800	19 29 42	50	0 49 55
4900	21 9 32	60	0 59 54
		70	1 9 53
5000	22 49 22	80	1 19 52
...	.	90	1 29 51

* Before K Y 3600 the Ayanamsa are negative, but they were probably not yet known at that time

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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

- Page 2, line 16, and page 7, line 16 — See page 298
 note 7
 „ 7, l 31—*for Tohwan read Tolman*
 „ 10, l 3—*read inscription*
 „ 15, in note 73,—*read Śrī*
 „ 17, l 25—*for Tohwan read Tolman*
 l 35—*read Vrahmādi-*
 „ 19, l 5 fr bot *for Aditya read Āditya*
 „ 25, ll 1, 2—*for Haradā aṣṭ read Haradāsa jī*
 „ 13, l 2—*from bottom, for Dev 4-karana read*
Devakarana
 „ 35, foot-note, *prefix* 2
 „ 81, l 27—*for n ayara read n a g a r a*
 „ 87, l 6—*for twenty, read nearly seventy (68)*
 „ „ l 9—*for hundred read hundred*
 „ „ 2nd foot note, *prefix* 2
 „ 94, l 5—*for Dhamā- read Dhamasiva*
 „ 126, l 7, and p 127, l 1—*As suggested by*
Prof Aufrecht in his Catal Catalogorum
the word Śūra of the original should be
taken to be a proper name, and the two
passages should therefore be translated
'The following is a verso of Śūra's,' and
'This is (a verso of) Śūra's'
 „ 128, l 41—*before which add of*
 „ 131, l 18—*for the pardoned deceased son of,*
read son of the deceased pardoned
 „ 133, foot-note, *prefix* 5
 „ 134, l 1—*for ابن read ابن and l 8, read*
Ism'a'il, son of Raib
 „ 134, ll 24 and 28, *delete "and"*
 „ 135, l 18—*for درجہ we may read درجہ i e*
Durgah Mall
 „ 136, l 11—*from bottom, dele of before the*
renowned
 „ 148, l 13, from bottom—*read اعا ابن سلم يوسف*
العفير جعفر حانيسف (l 6, from bottom)
"The poor, wretched Khan Yusuf Āghā,
son of Shaikh Yūsuf
 „ 150, l 20—*for تند كصبر read تند كصبر i e,*
(l 29) his Solomon like majesty
 „ 154, lines 25, 26, 27, *for Bohm read Bohar*
 „ 157, l 6—*for عامي read عاري*
 „ 160, l 12, *dele the sign of punctuation after*
Asatie
 „ 161—*prefix* 2 *to the first note*

- Page 162, l 13—*read दत्ताय°*
 „ „ l 27— „ °मिविशिष्टा°
 „ 175, l 29— „ °रुना°
 „ „ in note 7—*read been मू*
 „ 176, l 32—*read °दुग्धि.*
 „ 180, l 28— „ *vāshpāmbhakhana*
 „ 185, l 23— „ *वेकुरु*
 „ „ l 25— „ *सेनानी°*
 „ 192, note 72 *add* —*As pointed out to me by Prof*
Buller, this verso evidently contains a re-
ference to the towns of Kalyāna, Āsavallī
and Ayodhyā, but I cannot give yet an
entirely satisfactory translation
 „ 212, last foot note,—*prefix* 1, *and add* —*Dr Fleet*
informs me, that these copper-plates now
belong to Ganpatsingh bin Narāyansingh
Pattewala, of Samgamner He also informs
me that the Garuda of the seal is repre-
sented as a man, squatting, with his hands
joined palm to palm, and with a high tiara
on his head, and that his wings are depict-
ed in much the same way as on the Pathan
and other Rashtrakūṭa seals
 „ 217, note 18 *add* —*Dr Fleet, after cleaning the*
original plates, has kindly furnished the
following notes on the printed text —In
line 16 the inserted letters (compare note 29)
are syākhya, the anusāra is omitted —In
line 29 the reading is °madana-mādyan-
mānini° —In line 30 read iha hi narendro —
In line 31 for [nanu] read atha —In line 31
for [tale] read bhrito —In line 38 the
bracketed aksharas ra and iā are quite
clear — In line 40 read yen=ā°
 „ 219, l 51—*read निपुटन°*
 „ 223, l 6— „ °प्रयच्छ
 „ „ l 42— „ *anvatah*
 „ 226, l 3— „ °चित
 „ „ l 24— „ *कानुरिका°*
 „ 229, l 41— „ *Sūrya siddhānta*
 „ 230, l 30— „ °पुत्रराज°
 „ 238, l 32— „ *व्यावर्ण्य°*
 „ 240, note 2—*for Lakshmana read Lakshmana*
 „ 255, l 31—*for f read (f)*
 „ 265, l 10— „ *Posathā read Posatha*
 „ 287, l 21—*for P ath read F ath*
 „ 297, in note 3—*read Lanman*

Page 307, l 24—read °सर्व्वम्°.

„ 334, l 15—add the sign of *visarga* opposite the figure 8

„ 335, l 4—read °इति

„ „ l 11— „ °प्रतिप°

„ 338, l 31—put a comma after was

„ 339, l 13—put a comma at the end of the line

„ 343, l. 9—for which read which

„ 345, l 6—read भोगी°

„ „ l 21— „ कैदास

„ 361, note ³⁶—for Kielhern read Kielhorn

„ 366, note ², last line—for See place read See plate

„ 367, l 16 (2nd col)—for odatâ- read odata [4]

Page 411, l 7—read महीसद°

„ „ note ¹⁴— „ लात्तैवैपु

„ 412, l 10— „ रो न

„ „ l 19— „ वेभवी°

„ 413, l 17— „ विधिदृष्ट°

„ „ l 32— „ दत्तलचो

„ 415, l 34— „ राशयोम

„ 416, l 16— „ तनृष°

„ 420, l 23— „ घटम्य

„ 421, l 23—add a comma at the end of the line

„ 422, l 24—read Râmakirti and Jayakirti

„ „ l 25 for a read any

